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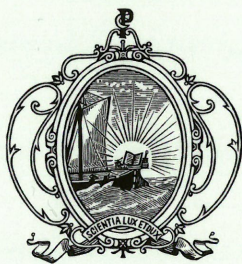
**Greeks, Latins, and
Intellectual History
1204-1500**

Edited by

Martin Hinterberger and Chris Schabel

PEETERS

This volume presents papers from sixteen established scholars who investigate the intellectual connections between the Greek East and the Latin West in the crucial period between the conquest and sack of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade and the close of the Middle Ages, when the migration of Byzantine scholars to the West fertilized the humanist trends that were transforming European thought. In connection with issues in education, philosophy, science, theology, ecclesiology, and politics, the papers cover such subjects as Greeks in the papal Curia and Western academies and universities, Dominicans in Constantinople, Greek translations of Latin works and their influence on Orthodox doctrine, debates over the *Filioque* and the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the image of Latins in Orthodox hagiography, and the reception of the patristic tradition. The volume should serve as a catalyst for further research in this neglected yet important field.



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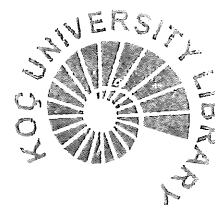
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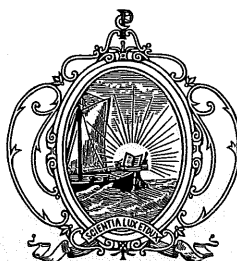
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PEETERS
LEUVEN - PARIS - WALPOLE, MA
2011

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PREFACE

The papers in this volume stem from a conference held in Nicosia in April 2008 at the University of Cyprus: *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History 1204-1500: Debates, Influences, Impressions, Translations, Migrations*. The idea originally came to us in the excitement of the years 2003 and 2004, which saw the 550th and 800th anniversaries of the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks and to the participants of the Fourth Crusade respectively. At that point the number of scholars dealing with the specific subject of the conference was not that great, and among the leaders was Deno Geanakoplos. In April 2005 the University of Cyprus had held a small conference in Nicosia on the life and works of *Peter of Candia—Alexander V—The Last Greek Pope*.¹ Years earlier Professor Geanakoplos had announced a new biography of Peter of Candia,² and naturally the organizers tried hard to get him to come, but the state of his health would not allow it. When we began planning the conference on which the present volume is based, we made another attempt, but it was just not possible. On 4 October 2007, when the final list of speakers had been established, Professor Geanakoplos passed away, and we dedicated the conference to his memory.³

We would like to thank our colleagues in the Interdepartmental Postgraduate Programme in Byzantine Studies and Dean Ioannis Taifacos for their support. Our two departments, the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies and the Department of History

1. Organized by Chris Schabel with William Duba and held on 23-24 April at the Department of History and Archaeology's Archaeological Research Unit, with talks by P.J.J.M. Bakker, M. Bertagna (on his forthcoming edition of Candia's [?] *De consequentiis*), S.F. Brown (on his forthcoming edition of Candia's *De obligationibus*), Duba, I. Harkas, R. Keele, S.V. Kitanov (published as "Peter of Candia on Beatific Enjoyment", in: *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 35 [2006], pp. 145-166), A. Nicolaou-Konnari, A. Kringos, and Schabel. The conference inaugurated the online edition of Peter of Candia's works, with Duba as webmaster, hosted by the University of Cyprus, mainly PETER OF CANDIA, *Lectura in quatuor libros Sententiarum*, ed. by BAKKER, BROWN, DUBA, KEELE, KITANOV, KRINGOS, and SCHABEL: <http://www.ucy.ac.cy/isa/Candia/index.htm>.

2. See, e.g., Geanakoplos' review of John Monfasani's *George of Trebizond* in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 32 (1979), pp. 355-362, at p. 361, n. 6.

3. See *In Memoriam: Deno Geanakoplos* (1916-2007): <http://opa.yale.edu/news/article.aspx?id=2363>.

and Archaeology, generously provided funding for the conference, which was held at the Department of History and Archaeology's Archaeological Research Unit, to whose director, Demetrios Michaelides, we express our gratitude. Our colleague Alexander Beihammer and our postgraduate students were very helpful with practical matters, and we owe a great debt to Eleni Hadjistylianou, the administrative assistant of the Department of History and Archaeology, for her usual energy and efficiency. Finally, Dora Schabel cooked a fine meal for the participants to conclude the wonderful conference.

M.H. and C.S.

Nicosia

24 November 2009

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INTRODUCTION

This volume gathers together the papers given at a conference in 2008 in Nicosia, the capital of the former Byzantine province and Crusader kingdom of Cyprus. The religious, cultural, and intellectual connections between the Eastern/Orthodox world and the Western/Catholic sphere in the Middle Ages are curiously neglected in Western scholarship. In contrast, relations with the West have never ceased to be of utmost concern to Greeks and other Orthodox Christians, although for that very reason this concern has not always resulted in the kind of dispassionate scholarship one finds in topics no longer considered immediately relevant. It is necessary, therefore, both to shed fresh light on and to reach a scientific understanding of the medieval exchanges and debates.

The purpose of the conference, conceived in the aftermath of the flood of events held to commemorate the anniversaries of the Fourth Crusade and the Ottoman Conquest of Constantinople, was to bring together scholars from a variety of backgrounds who had already dealt extensively with East-West intellectual relations. The organizers hoped to stimulate further research, cataloguing, editing, analyzing, and contextualizing Greek, Latin, and other texts, in order to study further the relations between the “sibling” cultures of the Greek East and the Latin West, to use the terminology of the late Deno Geanakoplos,¹ to whose memory the conference was dedicated. Sixteen papers by scholars from ten different countries returned to the sources and examined the intellectual connections between the Greek East and the Latin West in 1204-1500, i.e., the crucial period between the conquest and sack of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade and the close of the Middle Ages, following the failed attempt at Union at the Council of Florence, the final fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks, and the fifteenth-century migration of Byzantine scholars to the West, which fertilized the humanist trends that were transforming European thought.

1. See D. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Interaction of the 'Sibling' Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)*, New Haven 1976.

The conference was subtitled *Debates, Influences, Impressions, Translations, Migrations*, in connection with issues in education, philosophy, science, theology, ecclesiology, and politics. Every paper delivered is included in this volume, except that John Monfasani's contribution will be bound separately, while Yury Avvakumov agreed to contribute a paper, although he had not participated in the conference. Arranged in very rough chronological order, the papers cover such subjects as Greeks in the papal curia and Western academies and universities, Dominicans in Constantinople, Greek translations of Latin works and their influence on Orthodox doctrine, debates over the *Filioque* and the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the image of Latins in Orthodox hagiography, and the reception of the patristic tradition. Given the relative abundance of Greek and Latin source material for these topics, published and still in manuscript, it is hoped that the book will serve as a catalyst for further research in this neglected yet important field.

No volume called *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History 1204-1500* can ignore the importance of the ecclesiological context of East-West relations after the Fourth Crusade. In *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy* (1994) and *Crisis in Byzantium* (1997), Aristides Papadakis has focused his research on how the Gregorian Papacy's claims affected Byzantium and its ties with the Latin West in general, and in particular how Greek Orthodox theologians and prelates dealt with the *Filioque* issue after the Second Council of Lyons of 1274. Papadakis opens this volume with a presentation of the majority Byzantine view of the Gregorian interpretation of papal primacy as papal monarchy: it was new, an innovation, a mark of extreme discontinuity with Church tradition. But it was more than that, especially after 1204, when the Greeks fully understood what papal monarchy entailed, because it made it difficult and ultimately impossible for East and West to agree on a basis to solve their other differences. The Byzantines maintained that the ultimate authority to settle such matters as doctrinal truth was also the proper forum to do so: the general council, with free debate. Papadakis argues that, with the pope's refusal to agree to such traditional terms, on the Byzantine side the "minority of pro-unionist doves preferred religious capitulation", while "the hawks", the unionists' "far more staunchly Orthodox opponents", would not give in. For a short time the doves won, with

the “robber synod” of Lyons II and the election of John Beccos as patriarch, “an inside job”. But Patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus’ *tomos* that came out of the Council of Blachernae of 1285 settled the main theological issue, the procession of the Holy Spirit, in a fresh and Orthodox, although not completely anti-Latin way, one that would have a profound impact on later Byzantine thought. For Papadakis, however, Gregory’s efforts could not repair the “irreparable damage” caused by the new Roman stance on papal primacy.

Tia Kolbaba does not contest Papadakis’ main point about the crucial significance of ecclesiological differences, but she is at odds with Papadakis’ interpretation of Gregory II’s role in our story. Kolbaba has worked on the general Greek opposition to the Latins, for example in her *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (2000), but she begins her paper with the “fissures” in Byzantine society that were apparent after Michael VIII Palaiologos recaptured Constantinople in 1261. Kolbaba first presents a chronology of the complex political developments that led to the Union of Lyons II in 1274 and then to its dissolution at the Council of Blachernae. Most Byzantine theologians considered the Latins, including the pope, heretics, but some were willing to accept Palaiologos’ union for the other benefits it could bring. The majority were unwilling, and John Beccos was thrown in prison for his opposition, especially to the Latins’ heresy of the *Filioque*. In prison, however, Beccos converted to the Latin cause after studying selected passages from Greek theology, becoming thus the champion of Union and Palaiologos’ patriarch. When the Union fell apart, Beccos had to resign and recant his “errors”, but later he claimed that his renunciation had been forced. The Council of Blachernae was held and, as Papadakis has described, Gregory II produced his *tomos*. Here Kolbaba parts ways with Papadakis and highlights a central problem, or difficulty, with the history of doctrine: to a scholar who supports Orthodox continuity and tradition, Beccos “innovates” and Gregory “clarifies”, but the outsider may see innovation and tradition in both men, and not necessarily less innovation in Gregory than in Beccos. As regards the *Filioque*, Kolbaba maintains that, in the early 1270s, Byzantine theologians’ point of departure was the knowledge that the Latin doctrine was heretical, leaving them comfortable in their righteous opposition. Beccos threatened their comfort, their very Orthodox “identity and self-definition”

in contradistinction to the Latins. Gregory gave them back their security by explaining, “after-the-fact”, why the Latin position was heretical. At the same time, however, even if the Schism began in ecclesiology, Gregory’s definition made doctrinal reconciliation impossible in the future, an impossibility that, for Kolbaba, had not existed previously.

Kolbaba points out that Beccos’ continued adherence to the *Filioque* is interpreted by Catholic historians in one way and by Orthodox scholars in another, sincerity vs. pride, but that it was probably a mixture. Indeed, theological motivations could be complicated. The next two papers trace two issues of general Latin tolerance in the face of Greek intolerance, a situation that obtained on many if not most issues. Yet perhaps Latin tolerance and Greek intolerance should be seen in the general context of Latin demands for Greek submission to Rome: was it easier to tolerate difference when aiming at general dominance? Yury Avvakumov has investigated Latin approaches to the Greeks on disputed issues, especially in his *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens* (2002). Here he looks at the words used in the sacrament of baptism at a particular point in time when the Latin position wavered from its general acceptance of the validity of the Greek rite: the middle of the reign of Pope Gregory IX. There had been complaints of Greeks re-baptizing Latins and Avvakumov indicates some Greek treatises from Southern Italy and the Adriatic arguing against the Latin practice. Perhaps for this reason, in 1231, in answer to an inquiry of the Latin archbishop of Bari, Gregory declared that Greeks who supposedly had been baptized with the formula “So-and-so is being baptized in the name of the Father” etc., and not in the Roman way, i.e., “I baptize you in the name of the Father” etc., had not actually been baptized. The inquiry related to people in holy orders, who according to the pope should be re-baptized. The local Greeks were understandably concerned, but the pope lowered his tone, received a delegation of Greeks from Calabria to discuss the issue, and, although Gregory was unsatisfied with their abilities and hoped for better theologians from the East, he eventually rescinded his earlier statement pending further review. Avvakumov shows that Gregory’s uncertainty mirrors the divided opinion among Western theologians from the 1170s, when within a purely Western context some asserted that the entire formula was necessary, while others maintained that “I baptize

you” did not belong to the *substance* of baptism. When applied to the Greeks after 1231, most major Western theologians accepted the Greek formula as valid according to the substance, and hence it was confirmed at the Council of Florence.

Avvakumov finds that one argument used in support of the validity of the Greek rite was that, since the Greeks belong to the true Church, their sacrament is valid, although most Greeks and some Latins reasoned in reverse from ritual non-conformity to exclusion from the true Church. To an extent, this was true of the debate over the *Filioque*, because some Latins, while agreeing that the Greek position on the procession of the Holy Spirit was erroneous, nevertheless asserted that the Greek opinion did not entail the destruction of the Trinity, precisely because the [Roman] Church did not impute such a heresy to them. Chris Schabel has worked on *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus* (2010) and edited Latin texts on the *Filioque*, finding a Franciscan school that was generally more sympathetic to the Greeks, as opposed to a Dominican school that was vehemently opposed. In this volume Schabel surveys Latin treatments of the problem of the type of bread suitable for the sacrament of the Eucharist. The asymmetry of Greek and Latin views that Avvakumov finds with baptism is even more apparent with the Eucharist, because most Greeks condemned the Latin use of unleavened bread as heretical, but virtually all Latins accepted the validity of the Greek sacrament with leavened bread. Yet from the time of Pope Gregory IX, again, the Latins considered the Greek charges of heresy as heretical in themselves. Schabel sets out to determine whether, beneath the general Latin acceptance of the Greek rite and rejection of the Greek charges, there were significant differences among Western theologians. As in the case of the *Filioque*, the Franciscans were more pro-Greek than were the Dominicans. But one of the interesting elements of the story is how the Latins employed two apocryphal texts allegedly from the leading popes of late antiquity, Leo the Great and Gregory the Great, to explain and support their rite and opinion. What the delegates at the Council of Florence agreed to was in fact the Latin toleration of both rites, but Mark of Ephesus — and probably most Byzantines — maintained the Greek rejection of the Latin sacrament.

If popes and educated Westerners were generally tolerant of Greek deviations in liturgical practice, perhaps in the hopes that the Greeks

would submit to papal jurisdiction, in Greek hagiographical texts of the late Byzantine period, in contrast, one would expect these Westerners to play a prominent negative role, since the Latins were the principal political and ideological enemy after the capture of Constantinople in 1204 and continued to be so until long after the capital's recapture in 1261. Yet the conclusion Martin Hinterberger reaches in his investigation into the topic is different. Hinterberger, who has written on autobiography and hagiography in Byzantium, e.g., in *Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz* (1999), finds that in the great majority of hagiographical texts Latins are barely present. Instead, the texts referring to contemporary circumstances (and not merely eulogizing the saints of old) focus much more on internal opponents of what eventually emerged as Orthodoxy, namely on Michael VIII's attempts to force Church Union on his subjects and, afterwards, on the adversaries of Gregory Palamas and hesychasm in general. There are, however, three exceptional cases of Greek Orthodox martyrs put to death by Latin Christians. Surprisingly, even in these instances, which all come from areas on the periphery of the former Byzantine Empire that were ruled by Latins (Cyprus and Crete), the image of the Latins is not uniformly negative and the emphasis is on the martyr's strong desire to die rather than on those at whose hands he was martyred. It is also remarkable that, in these texts and in others where Latins figure more prominently than in mainstream hagiography, one does not find much discussion of dogmatic differences between the two Churches. The overall picture, therefore, is much more sober than one would expect based on the traditional historiography of Greek-Latin relations, although the reasons for this conclusion require further investigation.

Perhaps one reason was quotidian contact between Greeks and Latins in the East. In the period with which this volume deals, the most influential Western scholars in the East were Dominicans, the subject of Claudine Delacroix-Besnier's study *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (1997). The Dominicans were installed in Constantinople soon after the foundation of their order, which roughly coincided with the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople following the Fourth Crusade. Aside from a period of exile on Euboea from the Greek reconquest in 1261 down to 1299, the Friars Preacher resided in the capital or in the northern suburb of

Pera across the Golden Horn. From 1252 to 1359 the Constantinopolitan Dominicans composed a series of polemical texts concerning the Greeks, from the anonymous *Contra Graecos* to Philip of Pera's own writings. Delacroix-Besnier shows how these authors conducted their research, searching for Greek manuscripts in Orthodox monastic libraries and enlisting the help of friendly Greek scholars, such as Demetrios Kydones. The texts and documents they discovered, building on the work of the twelfth-century Pisans Hugh Etherien and Leo Tuscus, allowed them to delve ever deeper into the roots of the ecclesiological, doctrinal, and ritual differences between Greeks and Latins. The culmination is Philip of Pera's *De oboedientia Ecclesiae Romanae*, which Delacroix-Besnier is currently editing, a combination of history and ecclesiology. Such intimate familiarity with Greeks was combined with a Gregorian view of the history of the Church and the papacy, however, and Philip placed the blame for the Schism squarely on the shoulders of the Greeks, especially Photios, and so the Greeks would have to make all the compromises to achieve Church Union.

Some Latins living in the East could claim knowledge of the history of the Greek Church, but what exactly did the greatest Latin scholastics, so steeped in Ancient Greek thought, actually know about the Greeks? The answer turns out to be "not much", according to Sten Ebbesen, author of *Greek-Latin Philosophical Interaction* (2008). Part of the reason was that, unlike the Byzantines, who maintained a humanistic interest in the past, Western scholars were scientists. Thus Ebbesen presents an often amusing catalogue of items that scholastics "knew" about the East, for example that "Ptolemy was the greatest philosopher and most excellent king of the Egyptians". Given this situation, where it really mattered, as in commentaries on Aristotle's *Politics*, the safest path would be to ignore what one did not understand, as Thomas Aquinas did, rather than to follow his confrere Albert the Great's explanations, such as that Chius (Chios, not Kiev) is "a town in Russia, under Greek rule, but now under the Mongols". Walter Burley exemplified the best of Western science when commenting on how Aristotle's examples are passed over because they are specific to "the Greeks and remote nations" unfamiliar to the fourteenth-century West. For Ebbesen, perhaps their ignorance allowed scholastics to concentrate on the philosophy.

One can also perceive relative mutual ignorance among Greek and Latin theologians concerning precisely contemporary doctrinal developments, although the two most controversial theological debates in Eastern and Western Christianity in the mid-fourteenth century were in many ways parallel. The Latin dispute centered on the *visio beatifica*, the beatific vision of the saints in heaven, while the Greek debate was the so-called Hesychast controversy. Both were marked by official decisions by the respective leaders of the Churches, in 1336 by the pope, reversing statements made by his predecessor qua theologian, and in 1341, 1347 and 1351 by the patriarch of Constantinople and his Synod. György Geréby has engaged in comparative studies of late antique and medieval philosophy and theology, notably as co-editor of *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy: Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West from the Patristic Age to the Reformation* (2005). Here Geréby tries to show that these dogmatic decisions were at least indirectly related to each other. On the surface, it seems that the Latins discussed only the present state of the vision of the beatified souls, that is, whether those souls who have either left their bodies without sin or have been purged from their non-mortal sins now see God face-to-face, while the Byzantine dispute addressed the Light of Tabor and the problem of the divine essence and energies, which Demetracopoulos discusses at great length in his paper. But necessarily both debates concerned the knowability of the divine essence and the presence of the divine in the world, divine transcendence and immanence. Geréby maintains that ultimately these disputes implicitly touched on the divinity and the Incarnation as well, and he proposes that general views on these issues, divergent theological trends that had long existed in the two Churches, were ultimately responsible for the different dogmatic determinations that resulted. On the Latin side, Geréby identifies the underlying presuppositions as strong monarchianism, an emphasis on the humanity of Christ, and the dominant role of academic theologians who dared to question patristic authority (Ebbesen's "science"?), whereas the Byzantines stressed the primacy of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, exhibiting an unwavering belief in the authority of the Fathers (Ebbesen's "humanism"?).

Yet despite these fundamental differences, while it is true that Latin scholars usually displayed little knowledge of their Eastern counterparts, fourteenth-century Greeks became increasingly aware of contemporary

Western writings in various genres, some of which were translated into Greek. Fritz S. Pedersen has focused his research on Western astronomy in the Middle Ages, notably with the edition of *The Toledan Tables* (2002). Here he examines the Latin roots of the Greek translation of the Toledan Tables, a translation most likely accomplished in Nicosia by the Greek Cypriot polymath George Lapithes in the fourteenth century. The Toledan Tables, based on various Arabic sources, some lost, are extant in over one hundred Latin manuscripts. Pedersen finds that the Latin witness closest to the sole Greek manuscript, Vat. gr. 212, is MS Paris, BnF, lat. 11249, an early thirteenth-century codex that probably stems from Cremona or the vicinity.

Antonio Rigo has written on late Byzantine theology, especially mystical and heretical movements, for example in *Mistici bizantini* (2008) and in the edited volume *Gregorio Palamas e oltre* (2004). Here Rigo tackles the questions whether and, if so, to what extent Greeks knew and used Latin spiritual and devotional texts (especially prayers) during the period under investigation. Some of these texts, somewhat brief ones, circulated (in rather small numbers) in the form of translations by Demetrius Kydones, Manuel Kalekas, and Georgios Scholarios. Interestingly, some are preserved in MS Escorial, Ψ. IV. 22 (496), otherwise well known for the story of Digenis Akritas and the Libystros romance. In the second part of his paper, Rigo investigates the history of MS Petropolitanus gr. 113, containing the Greek translation of texts by the famous Catalan theologian and physician Arnau de Vilanova (†1311). Contrary to the opinion of the recent editor of these texts, who maintained that the translation was produced during the author's last years, Rigo argues that the manuscript was executed in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, probably in the West or in a westernizing environment in the East (Athens?), before it arrived in Greek territory. The St Petersburg manuscript is exceptional because illustrations were inserted in several places between Vilanova's different works, without any apparent connection to the texts. In an annex, Andrea Babuin examines the provenance and art historical context of these illustrations, and the results corroborate Rigo's conclusions. The circulation of Vilanova's spiritual texts in a Greek-speaking milieu, however, does not change the overall picture, namely that these kinds of devotional or spiritual writings were rather rare and of limited influence.

The same cannot be said for Demetrius Kydones' translations of Latin theological and philosophical texts. Kydones was a key figure in the intellectual life of fourteenth-century Byzantium. On account of his personal involvement in Byzantine-Western relations, his biography and writings are important for our topic, not least because many facets concerning his role still need further investigation. At an early point in his life Kydones embraced the Roman Church, but he remained the devoted counselor of the Byzantine emperor. He thus seems to be the prototype of a person torn between East and West, a person of divided loyalties. Judith Ryder, author of *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones*, addresses the question how far his loyalties really were divided. After an examination of key texts concerning Kydones' personal convictions, and restoring the original context of these writings, Ryder concludes that Kydones' political loyalties definitely lay with Byzantium, although he required for himself the freedom of conscience. Ryder regards Kydones not as an isolated figure, but as a well-functioning member of Byzantine society, so she extends her conclusions to this society in general: it was more open-minded than is usually believed, and it was willing to grant Kydones this freedom of conscience, at least in part.

This Byzantine open-mindedness may even have extended to Orthodox doctrine. Many of the translations of Kydones and others have not yet been printed, so the full impact of these works in the East is still to be determined. Nevertheless, on the basis of what is available and through his own manuscript work, John Demetracopoulos has argued that Latin theological and philosophical texts, both patristic and scholastic, had a significant influence on Greek thought in the later Middle Ages, notably in his *Augustine and Gregory Palamas* (in Greek, 1997), articles in *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales*, and the pertinent chapter in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy* (2009). Here Demetracopoulos deals with perhaps the best known theological element in Palamite thought, the strong distinction between God's essence and energies. In his analysis, Demetracopoulos shows not only that almost all Palamites softened and, therefore, compromised Palamas' own *distinctio realis*, but that a number of Palamites made use of Thomas Aquinas' ideas to do their softening. Thus, it was not just the anti-Palamites who used in a positive way Demetrius and his brother Prochoros Kydones' translations of the *Summa*

theologiae, *Summa contra Gentiles*, and *De potentia*, but even some of the Palamites themselves, who came to look upon the person whom they considered the main Latin author as something of an authority for Greek theology.

If Demetracopoulos sheds light on the impact of Western thought on what is traditionally considered purely Byzantine theology, in her chapter Katerina Ierodiakonou reconsiders a case where recent scholarship has viewed a Byzantine work as purely derivative of Western philosophy. Georgios/Gennadios Scholarios is best known as the first patriarch of Constantinople after the Ottoman conquest and for his participation in the Council of Ferrara and Florence where he, although a pupil of Mark Eugenikos (the “pillar of Orthodoxy”), took a philo-unionist stance (but which he soon abandoned). Less known is that Scholarios had been a teacher of philosophy since the 1420s, and that in this capacity he composed commentaries on the Aristotelian *Ars vetus* that he later (1433–35) dedicated to the future Emperor Constantine XI. In an article published more than a quarter century ago, Sten Ebbesen and Jan Pinborg established a strong dependence of Scholarios’ commentaries on Latin sources, primarily on Radulphus Brito. Ierodiakonou’s works have contributed to the creation of a more positive image of Byzantine philosophy, for example in the edited volume *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources* (2002) and in her chapter “Byzantium” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy* (2009). Here Ierodiakonou undertakes a reappraisal of the content and method of Scholarios’ work. Examining the commentary on *De interpretatione*, she shows that Scholarios not only took into serious consideration the commentaries by Ammonius and Michael Psellos as well, but that on other occasions Scholarios even differentiated his opinions from those of his forerunners. Furthermore, the commentary’s structure has as much in common with Greek logical commentaries as it does with Latin ones. Therefore, she asserts, it would be an oversimplification to claim that Scholarios slavishly followed a Latin model. Scholarios’ use of both Greek and Latin sources distinguishes him clearly from other Byzantine commentators. What was the reason for this innovation? Ierodiakonou comes to the conclusion that in this way Scholarios could improve significantly both the method and the philosophical content of his logical comments, thus enhancing their pedagogical value and facilitating his teaching.

For one specific but important case, then, Ierodiakonou's paper argues against the generally unfavorable appraisal of the Byzantines as philosophers. Indeed, it has even been said that in Byzantium no philosophy proper existed at all, but merely theology that occasionally made use of philosophical procedures. Georgi Kapriev, a specialist on *Philosophie in Byzanz* (2005), argues in his paper that this view does not do justice to Byzantine philosophers on the whole. They are misunderstood and their writings are misinterpreted because modern scholars approach Byzantine philosophy on the basis of a preconceived notion of philosophy that stems from Western scholasticism, a notion alien to the Byzantine philosophical tradition and therefore inadequate for its interpretation. In particular, Kapriev argues that Byzantine intellectuals distinguished, in a sufficiently strict way, between philosophy and dogmatic theology, even in those cases where philosophical reasoning dealt with theological issues. For this reason, it was possible, even for authors who in their confessional disposition were extremely anti-Latin, to treat a given Latin author in different ways, depending on whether the issue was philosophical or theological. This reassessment of Byzantine philosophical thinking serves Kapriev as a point of departure for the investigation of this kind of differentiated treatment of Western philosophy by the Byzantines of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, e.g., Mark Eugenikos' treatment of Aquinas, as well as for a fruitful exchange with the authors of the two preceding papers. On the one hand, Kapriev believes that it is pointless to characterize Gregory Palamas as an Augustinian theologian merely on the grounds that he quotes Augustine in his work (*pace* Demetracopoulos), while, on the other, he argues that Byzantine and Western philosophers indeed "had been talking to each other" for the entire Byzantine period, not only in the fifteenth century (*pace* Ierodiakonou).

John Monfasani's contribution highlights the impact of Western thought on the Greek East in the fifteenth century, but he leaves the extent of that impact to future research. Monfasani has studied many of the leading Greek intellectuals of the fifteenth century, in *George of Trebizond* (1976), *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* (1984), *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy* (1995), and *Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy* (2004). Thus he was able to identify fifteen philosophical tractates by George Amiroutzes (ca. 1400 - ca. 1469), known as "The Philosopher",

a scholar from Trebizond who, along with Pletho and Scholarios, was one of the leading lay intellectuals representing the Greeks at the Council of Florence. Because of their extent, Monfasani's introduction to the life and works of Amiroutzes, edition of the Greek text of the philosophical tractates, and English translation constitute a separate, companion volume to these proceedings, *George Amiroutzes the Philosopher and His Tractates*. Although the tractates are probably related to low-level teaching activities and have not been polished for publication, they do show Amiroutzes to be a sophisticated Aristotelian supporting his hero against Plato and Plotinus and most likely Pletho in the context of the fifteenth-century Aristotle-Plato debate. On some issues, moreover, Monfasani finds strong indications that Amiroutzes' brand of Aristotelianism was distinctly Thomist.

The last two papers concentrate on Greeks in the West at the two ends of the fifteenth century. Although the Emperor Manuel II was one the prominent political and literary personalities of his time, and for this reason he is also one of the best studied ones (see, e.g., John Barker's biography from 1969), there still are unpublished and unexplored texts that shed additional light on Manuel's worldview and also on his attitudes toward the West. Charalambos Dendrinos has been engaged in the investigation and edition of these texts, among them the emperor's treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, which Manuel composed during his journey to the West during the years 1400-03, in reaction to a (now lost) Latin treatise on the same subject presented to him in Paris. From this lengthy text it becomes clear that Manuel was well aware of the controversies inside the Western Church, be it the Great Schism or the dispute between the mendicant orders, and that he considered them important factors in his dealings with the leaders of Latin Christendom, whom he took pains to convince of the need for another crusade in order to relieve Byzantium from the Ottoman threat. Furthermore, the treatise bears witness to Manuel's caution concerning Church Union, but also to his willingness to reach an agreement and his conviction that both sides were parts of one Church.

The volume concludes, as it opens, with a Byzantinist writing about the papacy and the Greeks, but while Aristeides Papadakis deals with the Reform Papacy after the eleventh century, Jonathan Harris' papacy exists on the eve of the Protestant Reformation that it helped

provoke. Among Harris' publications is *Greek Émigrés in the West, 1400-1520* (1995), tracing the lives of many Greek scholars, aristocrats, and others who left the Empire in decline or eclipse for better opportunities in Italy and elsewhere. Perhaps the best example is Cardinal Bessarion, who himself became the patron of numerous other Greek immigrants in Italy, providing protection until his death in 1472. Many of the exiles suffered after Bessarion's demise during the papacy of Sixtus IV, who could not afford to live as he wanted and fund the Greeks at the same time. One of the exceptions to this rule was George Vranas, whose career Harris traces from the late 1470s, when Sixtus issued an indulgence allowing Vranas to collect money to ransom his relatives from the Turks, to his death in Edinburgh in ca. 1529, when the former bishop of the Irish sees of Dromore and Elphin was enjoying a comfortable retirement. Vranas played the game well, Harris relates, among other things promoting Sixtus IV's chosen charity, the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, to such an extent that in the mid-seventeenth century an associated building in Trim was still known as "the Greek church".

THE BYZANTINES AND THE RISE OF THE PAPACY:
POINTS FOR REFLECTION, 1204-1453

Aristeides PAPADAKIS

Considering the essential context of this volume, devoted broadly to intellectual history, the subject of my paper may seem misplaced. On the other hand, as we all know, it is virtually impossible to separate the phenomena of religious problems and concerns from the wider social or cultural space of the medieval world. What is properly "religious" does not exist in isolation. It is likely that we also agree that Christianity was a defining characteristic in the formation of Byzantine culture, even if we often differ on most other matters.¹ For the span of history that concerns us, I would even argue for the primacy of religious issues. The heated factional dissention produced by the search for Christian unity, the storm we associate with Palamism, or the more peripheral problem of *Latinophronia*, to cite only three examples, involved not only the foundation, but the future of Byzantine civilization itself.²

Then again, any account of Palaiologan Byzantium would be scandalously lopsided if we failed to consider the providential, if not miraculous, survival of the patriarchate after 1204. Against all expectations, it was the Church that managed to retain its resilience and authority, not the empire. That conclusion is hard to fault and, on purely historical grounds, is of supreme importance. In comparison with the prolonged agony of the dying empire, it was the Church that became increasingly more independent, self-assured, even powerful.³

1. A. CAMERON, "New and Old in Christian Literature", in: *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers*, New Rochelle, NY 1986, p. 45.

2. J. MEYENDORFF, "Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century: Religious Problems", in: IDEM, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church*, Crestwood, NY 1982, p. 129; originally published in the proceedings of *XIV^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, Bucharest 1971, Bucharest 1974.

3. A. PAPADAKIS and J. MEYENDORFF, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy: The Church 1071-1453AD*, Crestwood, NY 1994, pp. 216-217, 308-310; also J. MEYENDORFF, "Rome and Constantinople", in: IDEM, *Rome, Constantinople, Moscow: Historical and Theological Studies*, Crestwood, NY 1996, p. 24; J. SHEPARD, "The Byzantine

Crucial to its expanding authority and activities was the role played by the many Palamite patriarchs with their common commitment to Orthodoxy, to say nothing of hesychasm's lead as a unifying element in the culture. That the primacy of the see of Constantinople was felt in distant regions far from the State's shrinking borders is well known. In simple terms, despite the increasing political disintegration, the patriarchate's jurisdictional claims, policies, and territorial and canonical powers continued to be respected throughout the Greek and Slavic East. Provincial obscurity was rarely part of its strategy, especially when dealing with the Byzantine Commonwealth or its daughter churches. As Patriarch Kallistos I rightly claimed, according to the canons, his see was united in unbroken eucharistic communion and liturgical commemoration with the Orthodox churches everywhere.⁴ As a rule, the focus of unity among these churches was no longer the empire, but the ecumenical patriarchate.

To an unusual degree, the religious problems of church union and the rise of the papacy were major concerns of the patriarchate throughout this period. Both threatened to rearrange radically existing patterns of church authority. They were, besides, an important slice of social and cultural history, serving an increasingly, politically, practical purpose for the beleaguered empire. The State's use of these problems in its diplomatic offensive with the West is a tidy story and is well ploughed. Some time ago, a very distinguished historian even argued that since the position of both churches never changed in two centuries, and was familiar to most observers, it was pointless to survey the question further.⁵ Although that verdict seems incontestable, it is

Commonwealth 1000-1500", in: M. ANGOLD (ed.), *Eastern Christianity* (The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. 5), Cambridge 2006, pp. 3-52; and A.E. LAIOU, "The Byzantine Empire in the Fourteenth Century", in: M. JONES (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6, Cambridge 1995, pp. 822-823.

4. J. KODER, M. HINTERBERGER and O. KRESTEN, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, vol. 3, Vienna 2001, p. 566, document 264 (issued between 1360 and 1362), 54-58 (= F. MIKLOSICH and J. MÜLLER, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, vol. 1, Vienna 1860, p. 438).

5. P. LEMERLE, "L'Orthodoxie byzantine et l'oecuménisme médiéval: les origines du 'schisme' des Églises", in: *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 4th series, no. 2 (June 1965), pp. 228-246, at p. 244. Strictly speaking, the diplomacy of reunion was not exclusively a Palaiologan phenomenon; it is also implied in late eleventh century diplomatic negotiations; see PAPADAKIS, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, p. 75.

hardly a clinching argument.⁶ The question why attempts at reunion failed is still important and deserves attention. What is more, individuals in both East and West refused to admit that the breach of communion was permanent, even if the historic community of the Church was technically divided.⁷ That is not only an important observation for contemporary ecumenism but for scholarship as well.

That said, let me assure you that there is no immediate cause for panic: revisiting the supremely depressing story of the empire's diplomatic strategy regarding these matters in general, or the unionist cause and its literature in particular, is not my intention. All the same, there is always room for reflection and interpretation. The goal is to focus on what made the prospect of Christian reconciliation so problematic within the Byzantine context, and to stress as points for reflection certain trends and reactions that have not always been sufficiently emphasized or appreciated. Although the general narrative may be familiar ground, I hope to avoid telling the same old story in the same old way.

THE PETRINE PRIMACY

Among the historical developments that contributed to the mounting East-West rivalry, none was perhaps as decisive as the role played by the Latin expansionist ecclesiology championed by the Gregorian Reform movement of the eleventh century. Its new exegesis of primacy was responsible for rendering the work of ecclesiastical unity dangerously more difficult than at any previous time. True, it was some time before Byzantium's best theologians were to voice their objections. All the same, by the 1200s a common consensus had emerged regarding that question. Briefly, if we are to grasp properly Byzantine religious controversy after 1204, knowledge of the growth of papal power is essential.⁸

6. LEMERLE, "L'Orthodoxie Byzantine", p. 244; Y. CONGAR, "Quatre siècles de désunion et d'affrontement. Comment les Grecs et Latins se sont appréciés réciproquement au point de vue ecclésiastique", in: *Istina* 13 (1968), pp. 131-152, at p. 146.

7. A. DUCELLIER (ed.), *Le Moyen Age en Orient: Byzance et l'Islam*, Paris 2006, p. 307.

8. J. MEYENDORFF, "Les causes directes du schisme", in: *Le Messager Orthodoxe* 7 (1959), pp. 4-9, at p. 5: "Une nouvelle Europe chrétienne s'édifiait, une nouvelle conception du

The problem was not with primacy proper (as senior hierarchy, the pope had for centuries enjoyed pride of place in the Church), nor with St Peter's exceptional position in the early Christian movement, but with the concentration of supreme power in the hands of the pope by virtue of the so-called "Petrine" succession. Although Christ's promise in Matthew 16.18, regarding authority in the Church, had been bestowed personally on the Apostle Peter, founder of the Roman Church, that blessing according to the Gregorian reformers was also transmitted to his successors as a unique, indelible, papal prerogative. Rome, in the event, became the only true "see of Peter"; as Peter's successor, the Roman bishop alone occupies the *cathedra Petri*. The essential feature of this exegesis is the conviction that the papal office exists *jure divino*; or, to phrase it differently, papal claims to sovereignty or absolute monarchy in the Church in *toto orbe* are a divine right supported firmly, theologically, by divine decree, which is to say by Christ's solemn pledge to his disciple. Rome, logically, could never be stripped of the primacy and all its prerogatives, nor could it ever err doctrinally. This is its permanent characteristic mark, distinguishing it from all other churches.

To repeat, the Byzantines were not opposed to Peter's rank of *korymbaios* among the apostles, or to Rome's place in the wider Church traditionally assigned to its incumbents. The snag was the formal establishment by divine command of monarchical church government. As an idea firmly grounded on the Petrine succession, or apostolic origin of a see, it is uniquely western. In the Orthodox world no churchman had ever laid claim to anything remotely resembling the primacy of power sanctioned by Rome; eastern apostolic sees were far too numerous for apostolic foundation ever to involve jurisdictional rights.

monde s'elaborait à Rome, conception qui, dans large mesure, ignorait l'Orient de l'époque, la tradition des pères grecs et la conception ancienne de l'Église. Les intérêts du Siège Romain lui-même se concentrent entièrement sur l'Occident". Y. CONGAR, "The Historical Development of Authority in the Church. Points for Christian Reflection", in: J.M. TODD (ed.), *Problems of Authority*, Baltimore and London 1964, pp. 119-156, at pp. 136-137. See the following studies and their extensive bibliographies: C. MORRIS, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford 1989; H. JEDIN and J. DOLAN (eds.), *The Church in the Age of Feudalism* (Handbook of Church History, vol. 3), Montreal 1969; A. FLICHE, *La Réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols., Paris 1924-37; and the useful chapter on the eleventh century by F. DVORNIK, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, New York 1966, pp. 124-153.

As was earlier emphasized, it was during the post-1204 period that the full implication of these changes was revealed for the first time.⁹ True, there had been discussion and some formal debate on the issue in the twelfth century. A highly impressive growth of Byzantine opinion was by then already evident.¹⁰ Besides, public perception of the subject in a broader sense was not unknown. The underlying issues of authority were always there.¹¹ If this were not the case we would be hard pressed to explain Rome's determined rejection of canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon (451), which endorsed Constantinople's patriarchal status. (Even then the papacy was attempting to define its role in the Church in terms of its alleged Petrine character.) Still, to repeat, the real showdown began when the two sides confronted each other directly following the Fourth Crusade.¹² It was only then that the Christian East witnessed Roman ecclesiology in practice, when it was revealed what the popes and their canonists had made of an autocratic primacy of power. That the Orthodox were thoroughly dismayed goes without saying. And for good reason. As a French Byzantinist recently suggested, the reactivated papacy of the eleventh century had a vision of Rome in the Christian world that in effect threatened the legitimacy of an Eastern Church, by recognizing no

9. See the richly informative study of G. GALLAGHER, *Church Law and Church Order in Rome and Byzantium*, Aldershot 2002.

10. J. DARROUZÈS, "Les documents byzantins du XI^e siècle sur la primauté romaine", in: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 23 (1965), pp. 51-100; PAPADAKIS, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, pp. 152-67.

11. J. MEYENDORFF, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450-680 A.D.* Crestwood, NY 1989, pp. 60-63; F.X. MURPHY, *Peter Speaks through Leo. The Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451* Washington, DC 1952; W. DE VRIES, *Orient et Occident. Les structures ecclésiastiques vues dans l'histoire des sept premiers conciles oecuméniques*, Paris 1974.

12. When and how the Roman primacy first caught the attention of the Byzantine Church was recently again raised by T.M. KOLBABA, "Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors': Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350", in: A.E. LAIOU and R.P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington, DC 2001, pp. 117-143, at pp. 126-128. But see the answer of D.M. NICOL, "The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin Empire, 1204-1261", in: J. HUSSEY (ed.), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4/1, Cambridge 1967, p. 307; and J. MEYENDORFF, who cites Nicol with approval in "Ideological Crises in Byzantium, 1071 to 1261", idem, *The Byzantine Legacy*, p. 81. The latter is a reply to DARROUZÈS, "Les documents byzantins", p. 51. Cf. the intelligent observation of C. SCHABEL, "Attitudes towards the Greeks and the History of the Filioque Dispute in Early Fourteenth-Century Oxford", in: P. PIATTI (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade Revisited. Atti del Convegno Internazionale nell'ottavo centenario della IV Crociata 1204-2004 (Andros 27-30 maggio 2004)*, Vatican City 2008, pp. 320-335, at p. 320.

other foundation than Peter for the universal Church, and by demoting the ancient Christian center of Constantinople to below the level of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.¹³

The Byzantine counter-arguments to these views cannot be analyzed adequately at this point. The literature *contra Latinos* is a rich and abundant genre.¹⁴ Even so, a summary sketch is necessary and will show, even in outline, why the closely reasoned argument of the Byzantines was often compelling.¹⁵ The historian, in particular, may be startled by the exceptional theological continuity evident in their careful scrutiny of church history and tradition; that they knew when an argument lacked historical foundation (to say nothing of biblical authority) becomes all too evident. They were rarely credulous country bumpkins.

For starters, Orthodox theologians refused to swallow the Latin exegesis of Jesus' words as referring solely to the bishop of Rome. According to the Greek patristic tradition, the Lord's mandate was addressed to all the apostles and was effectively, ultimately, fulfilled or realized in the ministry of every bishop within his community. The Petrine primacy, in other words, was inherited by the entire episcopate; every member of that body occupies the *cathedra Petri*—to borrow the magic formula—in common with his colleagues. The pope, in sum, does not have any special claim on Jesus' promise; at no time was he Peter's sole successor or anointed heir apparent. If it is indeed proper for him to use the title "successor of Peter", it is no less legitimate for every bishop to do the same. The implication that one church could somehow be more "apostolic" or "Petrine" than the others was for the Byzantines simply inadmissible. As Nicholas Mesarites neatly put it, the Savior's promise had a "catholic"

13. G. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, Cambridge 2006, p. 239; see also the recent detailed exposition by W.O. DUBA, "The Status of the Patriarch of Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade", in: A.D. BEIHAMMER, M.G. PARANI, and C.D. SCHABEL (eds.), *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000—1500. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, Leiden-Boston 2008, pp. 63-91.

14. Cf. Demetrios Kydones' *Apology* in: G. MERCATI (ed.), *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidoni, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Studi e Testi 13), Vatican City 1931, p. 386. For a general review of the literature, see A. PAPADAKIS, "The Problem of Religious Union and its Literature", in: *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 38 (2006), pp. 287-302.

15. J. MEYENDORFF, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate, Yesterday and Today", in: IDEM, *The Byzantine Legacy*, pp. 235-255, at p. 250.

meaning.¹⁶ Confining Christ's words to one church and its primate made no sense. The *cathedra Petri* belongs in each local church, to the bishop.

That being said, on no account could the papacy assume that it is the God-established center of the Church, vested permanently with ultimate jurisdiction. Transforming the bishop of Rome into a universal primate would be possible only at the expense of the succession of Peter in the person of every bishop. More prosaically, a bishop cannot exercise a power of divine right over his peers and their communities if the entire episcopate is itself equally heir to Jesus' promise. As many of us are aware, there is a great deal we do not know about Christian antiquity. One thing is certain, however: a Petrine power that is somehow "independent of and separable from the sacramental perpetuation of the episcopate is totally foreign to early Christian ecclesiology".¹⁷ This is precisely what the Byzantines routinely claimed. As Neilos Cabasilas pointedly argued in a study that has never lost its special eloquence, the episcopal ministry functions only within the concrete confines of the local diocese. On no account could a bishop become "general" bishop of the Church universal and claim supreme power over the Body of Christ and his own fellow bishops. There is no such thing, in short, as a bishop at large.¹⁸ To the Byzantines such an idea was acutely silly.

Such was certainly the view of Patriarch John X Camateros, as his letters to Pope Innocent III amply illustrate. His brief correspondence, written on the eve of the dismemberment of the empire, is remarkable for its plainspoken, yet devastatingly trenchant response to the pope's own ultra-papal commentary on *Tu es Petrus*. As a skillful deflation of

16. A. HEISENBERG (ed.), *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*, III: *Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kaiserlichen Ereignisse des Jahre 1214* (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos., philog. und hist. Klasse), Munich 1923, p. 34: "You try to present Peter as teacher of Rome alone. But the Fathers spoke of the promise made to Peter by the Savior as having a catholic meaning and as referring to all those who believed and believe... each church is founded on the rock, namely, on the doctrine of Peter, in conformity with the promise".

17. J. MEYENDORFF, "Was There an Encounter between East and West?" in: G. ALBERIGO (ed.), *Christian Unity. The Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39-1989*, Leuven 1991, pp. 153-175, at p. 168.

18. *De principatu Papae*, PG vol. 149, col. 701B-C.

the papal balloon it has few rivals.¹⁹ Unique, too, is the author's subtext which reverberates with bewilderment at Innocent's breathtaking claims. "Although we believe the Church of Rome is first in rank and honor, as among sisters of equal honor, among the other churches of God honored with patriarchal rank, at no time have we been taught that Rome is their mother or is comprehensive of them. Such primacy and honor have been allotted to Rome over the years neither because Peter was its bishop... nor because he died there; such traditions have no scriptural basis".²⁰ Arguments of this sort, the patriarch implied, cannot be employed to sustain the papal claims; by themselves they cannot justify the origin of primacy. Clearly, the connection between ecclesiastical structures and the presence of the tombs of the apostles in the city of Rome left the patriarch baffled. He was not alone. Demetrios Tornikes, the patriarch's contemporary, could not seriously believe that criteria of this sort had any intrinsic theological importance.²¹

The patriarch instead countered by suggesting that Rome's primacy was the end result of historical factors. He was referring to canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople (381) and to canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon (451). The frequent reference to this legislation across the centuries by Byzantine writers clearly indicates that they were aware that the canons were effectively a formal denial of the basis of the Petrine claims.²² And, indeed, the unequivocal language of these texts is clear and compelling confirmation of the Byzantine reading. The old viewpoint, baldly embraced by papal partisans, suggesting that this legislation enshrined a "heretical" doctrine and was being quoted

19. For a perceptive reading of the correspondence by a good theologian who was also a good historian, see CONGAR, "Les siècles de désunion et d'affrontement", p. 143: "On ne pouvait guère imaginer de point de vue plus opposés que ceux du patriarche et du pape". See also M. ANGOLD, "Greeks and Latins after 1204: The Perspective of Exile", in: B. ARBEL, B. HAMILTON, and D. JACOBY (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean After 1204*, London 1989, pp. 63-86, at p. 66. The remarks of J. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy 1198-1400*, New Brunswick, NJ 1979, p. 12 (repeated by KOLBABA, "Byzantine Perceptions", p. 127) do not rule out the views expressed here.

20. A. PAPADAKIS and A.-M. TALBOT, "John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: An Unpublished Correspondence", *Byzantinoslavica* 33 (1972), pp. 39-40.

21. J. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès: Lettres et discours*, Paris 1970, p. 351: "Churches are not vested with supremacy because of the burial places of the apostles, but because of the disposition taken by the holy ecumenical councils".

22. See NEILOS CABASILAS, *De principatu Papae*, PG vol. 149, col. 709, who insists that the Roman primacy is conciliar in origin and is not connected with Christ's promise to Peter.

out of context by the Orthodox — against considerable evidence to the contrary — is tenuous at best.²³ In all, primacy for Constantinople had always been a matter of conciliar legislation, rather than a divinely ordained function of a particular church. All ecclesiastical authority was historically dependent on the consensus of the Church in council, not on the words of Christ to Peter. The indelible mark exclusively claimed by the Church of Rome was fiction. It was neither biblically nor historically based.

Such views are today widely shared by historians. The theoretical and practical development of a centralized papal autocracy, it is charged, was revolutionary. Labels such as “reform” or “restoration” used to describe the eleventh century changes are seriously misleading; they genuinely minimize the magnitude of the discontinuity involved. As a major scholar irrefutably recently argued, statements about the primacy, the Petrine succession, and papal theory are for the most part pious romance. “In fact, wherever we turn, the solid outlines of the Petrine succession at Rome seem to blur and dissolve... [Nor does Scripture] ever hint that the special role of Peter could be passed on to any single ‘successor’. There is nothing directly approaching a papal theory in the pages of the New Testament”.²⁴ In truth, most of these ideas by and large belong to a world of pure fantasy, not history.

By the 1200s if not before, this was also the prevailing opinion in the Christian East as a whole. Suspicions that a sudden departure from Christian tradition had occurred were neither frivolous nor extravagant. As one member of the episcopate had earlier memorably phrased it, papal assertions will remain untenable, even if the Latins should “shake the keys of the Kingdom in our faces”.²⁵ Although this seems to be no more than a casual remark made in jest, it does playfully place its finger on the problem. Its exceptionally prescient author was saying that the papal office does not exist *jure divino*; primacy is not an indelible marker. This was always, then and now, the Orthodox position. It explains why the primacy in the end passed

23. See especially, M. JUGIE, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 13, Paris 1936, col. 374 (“Primauté”).

24. E. DUFFY, *Saints and Sinners. A History of the Papacy*, New Haven-London 2002, pp. 2, 6; J. MEYENDORFF, *Witness to the Word*, Crestwood, NY 1987, p. 77.

25. P. GAUTIER (ed.), *Théophylacte d'Achrida: Discours, Traités, Poésies*, Thessalonica 1980, p. 275.

to Constantinople. I hasten to add that our author was not an illiterate anti-Latin fanatic, but a genuinely tolerant, well-meaning churchman.

On balance, the canonical narrative constructed by historians to explain the widening East-West ecclesial divide seldom yields the stage to theology or ecclesiology. Pride of place is instead habitually given to a variety of historical factors—national, cultural, political and, for good measure, even psychological. These, it is often argued, are clearly echoed in the primary sources, as well as in the familiar defamatory polemic produced by both sides, in the formal and informal debates generated by the *Filioque*, and in the minor issues of diversity in ritual and church order. This combination of factors, it is strongly suggested, ultimately proved fatal to unity. While some causes were doubtless peripherally important only, others played a more decisive role.²⁶ In simple terms, the tendency of the conventional historiography is to treat the schism primarily as a problem of history. Stressing the cultural or historical, rather than the theological factors, is the norm.

To say it once more, revisiting the standard account on this subject is not my primary concern. What I want to emphasize instead, as a point for reflection, is the sharp dichotomy in ecclesiology that characterized the late medieval world and the fact that it is rarely properly emphasized by the scholarly literature. Ultimately, the underlying cause for the ecclesial rift was the different understanding of the role of ecclesiastical authority and government in the Church. The western development, in particular, spawned a sharply distinguished ecclesiology from that which was in force in the East. Byzantine polemicists, helpfully, repeatedly remind us of its destabilizing impact on unity, and why it was invalid. In some real sense, then, the reason why the various undeniable historical and cultural factors led to disunity is to be found in the failure of the churches to agree on a common conception of authority in the Church. The Orthodox on this point were

26. Some typical views follow. J. DARROUZES, "Le mémoire de Constantine Stilbès contre les Latins", in: *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 21 (1963), pp. 50-100, at p. 100 (political and national opposition contributed to the separation more than questions of doctrine); DUCCELLIER, *Le Moyen Age en Orient*, p. 309 (the theological issue remained secondary); H. JEDIN and J. DOLAN (eds.), *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation* (Handbook of Church History, vol. 4), New York 1982, p. 119 (national and cultural differences have always been charged with responsibility).

quite clear. It is likely that they were swayed first and foremost by their reading of history, by the realization that unity of faith and church order had been preserved intact since antiquity, without the Church ever having to resort to a legally binding totalitarian ecclesiastical structure.²⁷

THE WAY OF CONCILIARITY

But Byzantines were also deeply skeptical of the papal model for yet another reason. Arbitration of the whole Church in council, used in the past to settle differences between churches, was rejected by the West as being out of date. Ever mulish and inflexible, the solution to disunity for Rome was not the way of conciliarity, but the way of submission, forcible if need be, to the see of St Peter. Papal ecclesiology had in fact become an ecclesiology of return by the 1200s. The mutually acceptable collaborative process, which in the past had routinely settled problems and, significantly, restored communion, was denied to the Orthodox. This too is another point for reflection.

The secondary literature, as was earlier mentioned, has long lingered on the subject of unity negotiations. But, as a rule, attention has centered on the imperial chancery and its need to exploit this goal to secure aid—against either the Turks or the Angevins. Scholarship's devotion to the topic is, of course, justified. The strategy after all was at the very center of Byzantine diplomacy and politics for nearly three centuries and deserves attention. As a policy of self-preservation the government could not abandon it; ignoring the vast benefits to be gained by "political union" was seemingly not an option. As it turns out, virtually all the emperors of the Palaiologan period saw fit to initiate union discussions with the popes. Even so, the Church was rarely a willing partner to this sort of state-sponsored unionism. Whenever possible it preferred to oppose it outright, regardless of the emperor's wishes. (The fact that the patriarchate was able to resist such diplomacy and even obstruct

27. It was also what impressed John Meyendorff; see especially MEYENDORFF, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*, pp. 379-380; J.H. ERICKSON, "John Meyendorff. Scholar and Churchman", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 27 (2002), pp. 196-206; IDEM, in M.G. TOULOUSE and J.O. DUKE (eds.), *Makers of Christian Theology in America*, Nashville 1997, pp. 500-503.

delicate negotiations is compelling proof of its growing authority.) What was needed, the Church maintained, was a full-dress debate among equals within the context of a common general council. As the numerous Orthodox requests to the papal curia frequently argued, this was the only sensible solution for a true settlement.²⁸

Undertaking an analysis of these appeals here is not possible. I will mention instead only one debate that took place in 1367 at the palace of Blachernae, in which the subject was again raised in the presence of Paul, a visiting papal legate. It was, to an unusual degree, a powerful presentation and summation of the Orthodox case. The speaker in question was no less exceptional. It was not the patriarch or some eminent metropolitan (although both were represented in the audience), but the monk Joasaph, the former Emperor John Cantacuzenos. The exchange was patiently, carefully, edited and published with extensive commentary decades ago.²⁹ So it is notable that it is rarely emphasized in the literature other than in passing. Cantacuzenos' integrity and intelligence, plainly on display, deserve better. Besides, his consummate review of the problem is anything but formulaic.³⁰

Unlike most of his friends at the court, Cantacuzenos believed that the East-West impasse was not a peripheral problem. He firmly believed it could not be solved by diplomacy, or by some sort of political agreement. What was really needed was a negotiated ecclesiastical settlement. Peace could be achieved only if both parties were able to discuss reasonably and openly all that divided them. A fully representative assembly could do just that and reveal precisely what everyone should believe.³¹ For that matter, the proposed synod must

28. D.M. NICOL, "Byzantine Requests for an Ecumenical Council in the Fourteenth Century", in: *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 1 (1969) pp. 69-95; reprinted in: IDEM, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World*, London 1972, no. VIII. For an early twelfth century articulation of collegiality by Niketas of Nicomedia, see PAPADAKIS, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, pp. 156-161; and DARROUZÈS, "Les documents byzantins du XIII^e siècle sur la primauté", p. 65.

29. J. MEYENDORFF, "Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367: un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), pp. 147-177; reprinted in: IDEM, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems*, London 1974, no. XI.

30. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 216.

31. JOHN CANTACUZENOS, *Historiae*, 3 vol., ed. L. SCHOPEN, Bonn 1832, p. 59; see PAPADAKIS, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, pp. 382-384; J.M. HUSSEY, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford 1986, pp. 264-266.

resemble the ancient general assemblies of the Church in which all the churches participated with their accredited representatives. To crown it all, an atmosphere of unrestricted esteem and affection was essential. Should you come to instruct us in the truth or to judge us, he sternly informed the legate, you will not be recognized. Only if you come as friends and brothers (without your typical insolence or quarreling), seeking the truth, peace, and unity, will you be welcome.³² It is worth quoting Cantacuzenos' earlier remarks on this same point:

Since the beginning of the separation you [westerners] have never sought unity in a courteous, fraternal manner. Instead, in your peremptory, high-handed way you have habitually ordered us never to challenge or contradict what the pope says or will say, since he is Peter's successor, which is to say Christ's. Everyone must yield and bow down before him as if Christ himself is speaking. Know this, your Grace, as long as that approach prevails among you, church unity will never be possible.³³

Cantacuzenos, with exemplary composure, was suggesting that a council must not be used as a stage for submission to a pope who thought of himself as Christ's replacement on earth and as answerable to no one. This thinly veiled allusion to the forced unity that the Latins had attempted to impose under Michael VIII has few equals. Similarly, his insistence on total transparency — unity of faith is impossible without free debate — was an equally stinging riposte to the long-standing papal argument that the faith itself would be called into question by such discussion. And, indeed, papal representatives to Constantinople seldom failed to stress that Roman doctrine could never be the object of deliberation or definition, since it had already been decided and confirmed by many popes.³⁴ Arguably, the former emperor was also responding to the other demand, which the Latins frequently used with typical dictatorial decisiveness, namely, that the Orthodox before any discussion must first confess the error of their ways by submission. Only then could requests for substantial military help be considered. (Of course, the fact that the Turkish tide was increasing daily in momentum made little difference.)

32. MEYENDORFF, "Projets de concile", p. 177; cf. similar complaints addressed to Innocent III, *Graecorum ad Innocentium III epistula*, PG vol. 140, col. 296 (where the Byzantines reproach the pope for ordering them around like brute beasts).

33. MEYENDORFF, "Projets de concile", p. 172.

34. Cf. the advice of Pope Clement IV, A.L. TAUTU (ed.), *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261-1276)*, Vatican City 1953, p. 65.

Unsurprisingly, the ambassador's response was reliably predictable. It was also grotesque, since he chose to repeat the familiar option long favored by his superiors in Rome. Why turn to serious theological dialogue, or to contentious assemblies — the ambassador asked his colleague in debate — when all I need is to convince you? Your power over the Church is absolute. You resemble a roasting spit, and every time you turn the entire Church turns with you, as kebab spinning on its skewer.³⁵

Cantacuzenos ignored the crude comparison, but not its implications. Your view of imperial power, he quickly added, is misplaced. In matters of faith my authority and prestige are conditioned entirely by my orthodoxy. No one is able to force his views upon the Church, including the emperor. This is not the tradition of our Church — faith cannot be forced.³⁶ There are genuine limitations to an emperor's hold over the Church. Cantacuzenos' remarks were not pedantic protestations, but a remarkable description of what he thought of Byzantine imperial caesaropapism and of his own expansive powers over the Church.³⁷ That he also put the papal representative politely in his place needs no emphasis.

Remarkably enough, the emperor's sang-froid and self-discipline throughout the discussion had its upside. The legate was actually persuaded by Cantacuzenos and, in the end, a final date for the council was formally agreed upon by both parties. All the same, the council never met: the papacy's response was, in fact, total silence.³⁸ Still, the emperor's personal perspective on a reunion council, the reasons why it should be convoked, where and when, and who was to be involved and consulted, to say nothing of his request that its accredited membership be multinational (a traditional pentarchy of patriarchal sees he insisted would be insufficient),³⁹ proved to be a remarkable anticipation of the later Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1439.

35. MEYENDORFF, "Projets de concile", p. 174.

36. MEYENDORFF, "Projets de concile", p. 174.

37. NICOL, "Requests for an Ecumenical Council", p. 95.

38. Pope Urban V wrote nearly two dozen letters to various individuals involved with the debate; his recommendation to everyone was to submit. Nowhere in this correspondence is the word "council" mentioned. See GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 218. The agreed date for the council's convocation was between 1 June 1367 and 31 May 1369.

39. Except as an ideal, the pentarchy as a historical reality had lost its practical usefulness by the fourteenth century. See C. GALLAGHER, "Gratian and Theodore Balsamon.

What also needs to be emphasized as part of this point for reflection is that the official Byzantine Church, members of the episcopate, theologians, prominent monks and laity, were no less earnest in their desire for religious unity and pleaded for such a venue, where they believed reasoned debate would resolve all differences. "Unanimity according to Christ" — to steal Nicephoros Blemmydes graceful phrase — continued to be the goal for essentially traditionalist groups and, yes, even for conservative Palamite patriarchs and monastics.⁴⁰ True, the verdict that monks had a corrupting effect on unity negotiations has long been proclaimed widely from the rooftops and is now a commonplace — always a bad sign. They have been caricatured coarsely as a *de facto* backward band of dismally ignorant extremists, deeply anti-Latin in sentiment, with little knowledge of theology, and immune to reason. The goal of scholarly strategy, in short, has been to pin the blame firmly on Byzantium's impassioned ascetics. At a minimum, this is something of a stretch, if only because the portrait, for the most part, is based on the prejudiced evidence of their opponents — both Greek and Latin. The pressure of monastic opinion surely, arguably, cannot alone account for the broader popular opposition to the Latins in general, and the failure of unity negotiations in particular. As it happens, what the monks were usually resisting was the unity schemes of the State. Monastic fanaticism or blind intransigence was not their only inspiration.

To be fair, Latin sympathizers were also enthusiastic lobbyists of unity. However, their motives and concerns were radically different from the more official Church posture. Plainly put, this minority of pro-unionist doves preferred religious capitulation. Best of all, such a solution was for them a promise of salvation both for the empire and

Two Twelfth-Century Canonistic Methods Compared", in: N. OIKONOMIDES (ed.), *Byzantium in the Twelfth Century*, Athens 1991, pp. 91-139, at pp. 80-82.

40. M. STAVROU, "Le premier traité sur la procession du Saint-Esprit de Nicéphore Blemmydès", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 67 (2001), pp. 59-65, at p. 41. The recent suggestion that the palamite hierarchy were "hardcore opponents of union", see M. HINTERBERGER, "Από το ορθόδοξο Βυζάντιο στην καθολική Δύση. Τέσσερις διαφορετικοί δρόμοι", in: E. GRAMMATIKOPOULOU (ed.), *Byzantium and the Beginnings of Europe*, Athens 2004, pp. 11-30, at p. 22, is not supported by the case of Patriarch Philotheos, who concurred to the convocation of the council planned in 1367; see his letter to the patriarch of Bulgaria in MIKLOSICH and MÜLLER, *Acta et Diplomata*, vol. 1, pp. 491-493.

Hellenism. The discovery by some members in this group that the West had become the final bastion of Hellenic wisdom, mirrored primarily in the growth of scholastic philosophy, was often the crucial factor for their sort of stridently insistent *Latinophronia*.⁴¹ Equivocating on doctrine in order to accommodate Hellenism and an ailing empire on death's door was evidently a non-problem. No wonder the group's ongoing tug of war with the hawks — its far more staunchly Orthodox opponents — proved so intractable. Their collision was plainly all about priorities. As the monk Joasaph noisily complained, not unfairly, unity could never be achieved by state-sponsored unionism, or by compromising the integrity of the Church and its teaching.

In these matters, Demetrios Kydones is an obvious case in point. For this aristocrat what mattered most was the West's intellectual superiority. He desperately pined for civilization's charms. That he should not be blamed for being attracted to western philosophy and especially Thomism goes without saying. Still, despite his prodigious talents, knowledge of church history and theology was not his strong point. He once likened the need for the Roman primacy to mastery on the battlefield and, with a straight face, seriously suggested that the Church (as with any army) required an absolute leader if it wished to avoid chaos.⁴² The collegial nature of the government of the universal Church, in which framework Rome's primacy has its proper place, was for this influential adviser to Cantacuzenos clearly secondary. In Roman Catholic scholarship Kydones has achieved

41. Awareness of Byzantium's political and cultural decline is beautifully analyzed by I. ŠEVČENKO, "The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of its Intellectuals", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961), pp. 169-186; reprinted in: IDEM, *Collected Studies: Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium*, London 1981, no. II. See also the broad overview by F. TINNEFELD, "Das Niveau der abendländischen Wissenschaft aus der Sicht gebildeter Byzantiner im 13. und 14. Jh", in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 6 (1979), pp. 241-280.

42. Apology in MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidoni*, pp. 377-379. Cf. Barlaam's sensible remarks (written in the 1330s, before he became a card-carrying defender of the papacy), in T.M. KOLBABA, "Barlaam the Calabrian. Three Treatises on Papal Primacy. Introduction, Edition, and Translation", in: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 53 (1995), pp. 41-115, at p. 75. On these texts, see also the comments and excerpts by M. JUGIE, *Theologia Dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab ecclesia catholica dissidentium*, vol. 4, Paris 1931, p. 391.

iconic status and, predictably, figures prominently in the modern pantheon of Roman ecumenist "saints".⁴³

TRANSCENDING THE IMPASSE

If many Byzantines pressed for a common union council as the most effective way to bring about a true meeting of the minds, they also sought to rise above the problems that had caused the difficulties in the first place. Responsible individuals endowed with the competence to search for answers were not lacking. Their strategy was authentically creative as well as non-confrontational. Cantacuzenos is himself a salutary representative of this approach. How else can we possibly interpret his decision to encourage translations of Latin authors into Greek?⁴⁴ But there were others, especially theologians, whose genuine desire to transcend the impasse with the Latins needs to be better known. I would be remiss if I failed to mention (in a volume edited by professors at the University of Cyprus) anyone other than one of the defining figures of Byzantine Christianity in the thirteenth century, Gregory II of Cyprus, patriarch of Constantinople.

Arguably, the disruptive role played by the *Filioque* throughout much of the Middle Ages ranks high on the list of factors contributing to Christian disunity. The insertion of that formula into the common Creed along with its final canonization in 1274 at the Second Council of Lyons — as a non-negotiable item of Latin Trinitarian theology — unsettled the Byzantines to no end. That crisis was not resolved until the death of Michael VIII (1282) and the accession of the exceptionally gifted Gregory to the patriarchate a year later.⁴⁵ By

43. Y. SPITERIS, "Il patriarca Giovanni Beccos: un uomo 'ecumenista' (+1297), Demetrio Cidoni: un teologo bizantino 'tomista' (+1398)", in: *Lateranum* 65 (1999), pp. 69-80. For the earlier fellow-traveler, see also J. DARROUZÈS, "Jean Beccos, le conciliateur", in: *Communio: Revue Catholique Internationale* 11 (1986), pp. 73-83.

44. G. PODSKALASKY, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, Munich 1977; S.G. PAPADAPPOULOS, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις ὁωμιστικῶν ἔργων. Φιλοθωμισταὶ καὶ ἀντιθωμισταὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*. Athens 1967.

45. A. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)*, Crestwood, NY 1997. See also the brief summary by J. MEYENDORFF, "The Mediterranean World in the Thirteenth Century, Theology: East and West", in: *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers*, New Rochelle, NY 1986, pp. 669-682; reprinted in: J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES (ed.), *ΚΑΘΗΗΤΡΙΑ. Essays*

then an objective theological evaluation of Lyons was urgent. Besides, the deposed patriarch, John XI Beccos, having vigorously defended the addition to the Creed at Lyons during the preceding turmoil, was pressing for a hearing as well.⁴⁶ It was left to Gregory to define and even reframe the Orthodox teaching — and a good thing, too. That he had the intellectual competence and backbone to confront both the Latins and his deeply conservative Orthodox critics is clear. His election, arguably, was “an inside job”⁴⁷ carefully choreographed for this reason.

Professor Michel Stavrou recently, persuasively, demonstrated that Gregory was inspired directly by Nicephoros Blemmydes’ earlier meditations on the procession of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁸ (For that matter, his impact on Gregory Palamas is no less certain.⁴⁹) The patriarch clearly did not come to his theology from some uninformed or neutral standpoint. Be that as it may, his intellectual stature remains untarnished. (To be sure, the same cannot be said of the disgraced Beccos, who was equally influenced by Blemmydes.) His astonishing theological maturity and moral stamina, displayed during his short tenure as patriarch, is beyond question. He proved to be a battle-tested veteran as well (not unlike Blemmydes), and was unafraid to defy the more insular base of the opposition with its frequent openly polemical approach to church unity. Gregory, in fact, remained pointedly

Presented to Joan Hussey for Her 80th Birthday, Camberley 1988; and the overview of T. KOLBABA in the present volume.

46. On Beccos, see now A. RIEBE, *Rom in Gemeinschaft mit Konstantinopel. Patriarch Johannes XI. Bekkos als Verteidiger der Kirchenunion von Lyon (1274)*, Wiesbaden 2005; and the review of this study by A. PAPADAKIS in: *Speculum* 83.3 (2008), pp. 739-741.

47. ANGOLD, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 61. For a recent nuanced exposition of this topic, as viewed by several educated western university theologians, see SCHABEL, “Attitudes Towards the Greeks and the History of the *Filioque*”.

48. M. STAVROU, “L’Esprit Saint procède du Père par le Fils. L’actualité de la pneumatologie de Nicéphore Blemmydès (13e siècle)”, in: *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 52.1/2 (2005), pp. 115-144; also the author’s “Le théologien Nicéphore Blemmydès (1197-v.1269), figure de contradiction entre Orthodoxes et Latinophones”, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, forthcoming; and NICÉPHORE BLEMMYDÈS, *Oeuvres Théologiques*, vol. 1 (= Sources Chrétiennes 517), ed. M. STAVROU, Paris 2007.

49. Cf. I.D. POLEMIS, “Nikephoros Blemmydes and Gregory Palamas”, in: A. RIGO (ed.), *Gregorio Palamas e oltre: Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino*, Florence 2004, pp. 179-189, at p. 186, who, rightly, suggests that the tendency to emphasize Palamas’ patristic sources often results in the neglect of his closer predecessors. This is no less true, *mutatis mutandis*, regarding Gregory of Cyprus.

unsympathetic to the conservative orthodoxy of his opponents. For his part, their habitual approach to patristic literature as a treasury of proof texts was a violation of good sense and rarely resolved the debate.⁵⁰

Much of this becomes obvious when one looks at the Council of Blachernae (1285), which in part was a detailed discussion of the use and abuse of the patristic evidence.⁵¹ Gregory himself presided over this assembly and was the author of its *tomos*, the council's formal doctrinal definition.⁵² What is notable about this text is its striking response not only to the Orthodox, but to the Latins as well; the latter were especially eager to hear what was said about the relationship between the Son and the Spirit. In a broader sense, the text is the key doctrinal statement of the century. Although it was criticized, it was able to survive scrutiny unscathed. Attempts to modify it were unsuccessful. The Church, as it happens, never rescinded its endorsement. Its permanent place in the history of Tradition is secure.⁵³ It is, importantly, the only conciliar decision ever issued on the subject by the Byzantine Orthodox Church. Given the controversial nature of the offending interpolation, that fact is supremely significant. For that matter, Gregory's achievement, with its profound penetration into Blemmydes' thought, disproves the cliché that great theological swings in Byzantine history were rare or exceptional.

At the center of the debate was Gregory's interpretation of the phrase "through the Son" and its usage by the Greek Fathers. He rejected the idea that the expression was a reference to the causation of the Spirit — the Latin position. On the contrary, the Spirit has its existential origin — its causal derivation — uniquely from the Father, the primordial cause of all divinity. It is from this source that the Spirit derives its being. Within the Trinitarian framework of Greek patristic literature, the Father always remains the source of Godhead, the begetting deity of both the Son and the Spirit. That is the Father's

50. The situation in the time of Blemmydes was similar, as STAVROU deftly notes; see *Oeuvres Théologiques*, p. 101: "C'est dans ce contexte d'une théologie assez sclérosée que Nicéphore va chercher à approfondir le sens patristique de la procession de l'Esprit".

51. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 83-105.

52. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 209-229, English translation (Appendix I).

53. Cf. D. STANILOAE, *Theology and the Church*, Crestwood, NY 1980, pp. 16-29; O. CLÉMENT, "Grégoire de Chypre 'de l'ekporèse du Saint Esprit'", in: *Istina* 3-4 (1972), pp. 443-456.

defining characteristic and it is absolutely incommunicable. In simple terms, then, “through the Son” cannot be a *de facto* reference to the Spirit’s procession or mode of being. As a justification of the Latin *Filioque*, it fails to pass muster.

According to Gregory, the phrase could only be a reference to the Spirit’s revelation, or “eternal manifestation” by the Son. To be sure, the Spirit has its existence from the Father. But then the Spirit ventures forth on the path towards the Son. Indeed the true “goal” of procession from the Father is the Son, upon whom the Spirit eternally rests and abides and through whom it is made known. Procession, evidently, does not mean that the Spirit sets out “on a way which leads nowhere”.⁵⁴ Two divine and eternal movements are involved that must not be confused. Gregory, importantly, also links the Spirit’s manifestation through the Son to its “economic” mission in history. The divine act of manifestation is in effect the basis for the pouring forth of the Spirit through the Son to the created order in time. To sum up, the Son in the end is the agent or intermediary through whom or by whom the gifts of the Spirit (the deifying charismata or energies) are not only revealed eternally, but are conveyed temporally.⁵⁵ The eternal and pre-eternal manifestation is the foundation for the deifying grace received from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit.

With one sublime stroke Gregory was able to deflate the Latin insistence that the formula was a resounding endorsement of the *Filioque* by the Greek Fathers. At the same time, however, he was also able to address the decisive question that had long concerned the Latins, namely, the relationship between the Son and the Spirit, which apparently the *Filioque* safeguards. Although the Son, to repeat, has no originating role in the procession of the Spirit proper — in its movement towards existence — he does participate in its manifestation. It is through the Son that the Spirit from all eternity shines forth and is made known. Besides, the Son is the eternal giver of the gifts

54. STANILOAE, *Theology and the Church*, p. 99; on the views of John of Damascus, see now A. LOUTH, *St John Damascene. Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, Oxford 2002, p. 107.

55. Cf. the similar views on the formulas “through” and “from” expressed by Mark Eugenikos, in M. ORPHANOS, “Some remarks of Mark of Ephesus’ criticism of the *Filioque*”, in: A. KALLIS (ed.), *Philoxenia*, Münster 1980, pp. 223-232, at pp. 227-228.

of the Spirit to the believer. For Gregory the two divine persons are clearly neither independent nor unrelated! The direct relationship that embraces them also unites them to the Father. Effectively, the intratrinitarian communion of persons that Gregory describes with such sensitivity indicates that God is eternally active.⁵⁶ For the patriarch, at any rate, the reproach leveled by the Latin polemic against the Byzantines was unfounded.

In the end, overall, Gregory was suggesting by his reading of Blennydes and the Greek Fathers that Latin Trinitarianism with its *Filioque* could be understood in terms acceptable to the eastern patristic tradition. The testimonia of the Fathers could even be viewed as a bridge connecting the two traditions, without in any way casting doubt on the fact that the Spirit's origin — its personal hypostatic existence — is the work of the Father alone. In the main, the patriarch's insight was a striking clarification of this age-old controversy in terms that should have been acceptable to both sides. To portray him as inflexibly anti-Latin would be grossly misleading.

All in all, Gregory's achievement was a major swing in Byzantine theology. His subtle solution to the hermeneutical conundrum, generated by the formula "through the Son", single-handedly shifted the problem in the right direction. Scholars who agree that he mounted a strong theological defense are in good company: many Byzantines also viewed it similarly as a real triumph. For a later generation (despite what Pope Gregory X and Michael VIII thought of their diplomatic masterstroke), it was Blachernae that was a true ecumenical council, not the "robber synod" of Lyons. Gennadios Scholarios, among others, was not only convinced of its great importance, but honored it with ecumenical status. And, indeed, the modern German authority on Lyons has rightly observed that the essentially local assembly of 1274 was in no sense ever an ecumenical council, let alone a reunion council.⁵⁷ It is worth adding, finally, that Gregory's

56. Cf. the rich suggestive summary by D. BRADSHAW, *Aristotle East and West. Metaphysics and the Division of Christendom*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 219-220: "The life of the Trinity is a kind of movement: the Spirit proceeds from the Father to rest upon the Son, and in so doing both glorifies the Son, manifesting his energy, and is himself made known through the Son. It is also true, of course, that the Son manifests the Father, as is implied in calling him 'Word'. Thus each person of the Trinity is manifested eternally to the others".

57. B. ROBERG, *Das Zweite Konzil von Lyon (1274)*, Paderborn 1990.

theological scaffolding is also remarkable for its contribution to the theological concerns of the fourteenth century and the Palaiologan hesychast revival, in particular. Tenets of his thought became pivotal to the Palamite synthesis.

CONCLUSION

To elaborate further on the points chosen for reflection is unnecessary. To summarize, the Byzantine attempts to transcend the stalemate just outlined, along with the need for a council and reasoned debate, were on balance practical and sensible, being rooted firmly in church order, canon law, and tradition. If anything, collegiality and its complement conciliarity were essential ecclesiological notions, by which the historic community of the Church had long been governed. By contrast, the monarchical principles of the West were not — according to the Byzantines. Doctrinal truth, so the Orthodox invariably maintained, was proclaimed not by any one particular bishop, however distinguished his office or title, but by the entire Church represented by its bishops in council.⁵⁸

And yet, we are often invited to ignore the Byzantine viewpoint. In its place we are instead asked to sneer at the confessional bias and hostile prejudice of the Byzantines. Sure, many were forced into the religious trenches. But polemic merely forms part of the story. Much else was decisive than the rhetoric of popular propaganda. Not every Byzantine was incurably xenophobic or hostile to all things western. Then, too, very few Byzantines could be described as gullible theological bumpkins. Failing to notice their obvious commitment to theological continuity or the fact that their views were usually legitimate would be difficult indeed. To disregard their struggle to preserve their Orthodox identity, and what they viewed as irreducible truth about primacy, say, or the Spirit's personal hypostatic *hyparxis*, would be ill-advised.

Granted, the unsettled atmosphere of the age did not help matters. After all, what the Byzantines had to say was expressed during a period

58. Cf. D. OBOLENSKY, "The Balkans in the Ninth Century: Barrier or Bridge?" in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988), pp. 47-66, at p. 62.

of western aggression, when the very existence of Orthodox Christendom as a social and cultural unity was seriously threatened. The dangers are easily itemized: the offensive installation of a Latin patriarch in Constantinople; the fiasco of Lyons and the Fourth Crusade; the establishment of a rival parallel Latin hierarchy everywhere (Cyprus is the classic example); and the troops of friars sent in "to finish the job" of conversion is only a partial list. Although few of these political and psychological challenges — caused mainly by the papacy's imperialistic momentum — favored discussion, the Orthodox persisted in their requests for dialogue and reconciliation. True, we need to tread lightly on this somber litany of reversals. Some historians would prefer to view them as secondary. A prominent western medievalist dutifully exhorted us a few years ago to be more cautious: he was convinced Byzantinists find it impossible to treat the subject objectively.⁵⁹

As for the failure of the unionist cause and the rise of the papacy, in particular, most of us probably would agree that these issues are approachable from a range of angles. I have sought to emphasize what is pivotal for all perspectives. In simple terms, the papacy's self-transformation into a single juridical center for the Church altered the rules by which legitimate primacy until then had been exercised. The meaning of primacy was changed into a primacy of power, causing a profound polarization in ecclesiology and the rise of an intractable schism.⁶⁰ According to the Orthodox, then as well as now, a genuinely "para-ecclesiastical dogma"⁶¹ was raised to an article of faith. The impact of this error on Christian unity was a deeper tragedy than is commonly realized. In the end it was calamitous and caused irreparable damage.⁶² Arguably, the Byzantine reaction was not only even-

59. See a review by J. RILEY-SMITH in: *English Historical Review* 99 (1984), pp. 147-148.

60. See the timely remarks of MEYENDORFF, *Byzantine Legacy*, p. 245.

61. N. NISIOTIS, "Is the Vatican Council Really Ecumenical?", in: *Ecumenical Review* 16 (1964), pp. 357-375, at p. 372.

62. "Much more important and dangerous [was Rome's] insensitivity to all seriousness of schism and the divergence of East and West. It is a kind of mystical insensitivity"; see G. FLOROVSKY, "Rome, the Reformation, and Orthodoxy", in: *The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, vol. 14, Belmont, MA 1989, pp. 52-58, at p. 57; G. DENZLER, "Lignes fondamentales de l'ecclesiologie dans l'empire byzantin", in: *Concilium* 67 (1971), pp. 57-65, at p. 65: "Bien qu'il doive garantir l'unité des chrétiens, le ministère de Pierre devint donc l'occasion et la cause de disaccord".

handed and impartial, but consistent always. The conviction that the papal version of primacy was unanswerable was routinely shown to be nothing of the kind. If anything, Christian Byzantium was confident that no intellectually respectable support existed for the papacy's more extreme claims. To say it once more, for some historians, it is tempting to put much of the argumentative backbone of the Byzantines aside.⁶³ And yet, it was deeply true and faithful to the catholic spirit of the Christian East and its living spiritual tradition.

63. For Roman Catholic historiography, see the valuable detailed study by M.-H. BLANCHET, "La question de l'union des églises (13e-15e s.). Historiographie et perspectives", in: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 61 (2003), pp. 5-48.

REPERCUSSIONS OF THE SECOND COUNCIL OF LYON (1274): THEOLOGICAL POLEMIC AND THE BOUNDARIES OF ORTHODOXY

Tia M. KOLBABA

In 1261, after 57 years of Latin rule, the city of Constantinople was once more in the hands of a Greek-speaking emperor who followed the teachings and rituals of the Greek Church and restored a Greek patriarch to the Great Church. The capital he now ruled was a pale shadow of its former self. The Blacherna Palace, favorite residence of the Komnenoi, was practically uninhabitable. The churches had been stripped of their ornaments and even of their lead roofs by the impoverished Latin emperors. Large areas of the city which had been devastated by fires in 1203 and 1204 had never been rebuilt.¹ Michael VIII Palaiologos and his subjects rejoiced none the less. The Queen of Cities was restored to her rightful owners. She would need new robes and jewels, but she was saved from slavery to the alien Latins.² Nor was it the City's poverty which would cause the troubles to come. Those came from old fissures in Byzantine society, fissures which the liturgies of praise in 1261 initially concealed as a ceremonial curtain might hide holes in the walls. Unfortunately, when the rejoicing was over the curtains were taken down and returned to the treasury. The fissures gaped for all to see.

One of the widest gaps — though certainly not the only one — separated Michael's attitude toward Latins from the attitude of most

1. T. MADDEN, "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade, 1203-1204: A Damage Assessment", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85 (1992), pp. 72-93; A.-M. TALBOT, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), pp. 243-261.

2. I shall refer to Western Christians who acknowledged the primacy of the Roman Church as "Latins" throughout this chapter because that is the term Byzantines generally used to refer to westerners when matters of ecclesiastical discipline or theology were discussed. For more on the many terms Byzantines could use to refer to Western Europeans see A. KAZHDAN, "Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century", in: A.E. LAIOU and R.P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington, DC 2001, pp. 83-100.

of his subjects. Even before 1204 the people of the capital could be roused to massacre Latins, but the sack of Constantinople by the crusaders and the 57 years of Latin rule had hardened such hatred of the Latins. This does not mean, of course, that all Greeks abhorred all Latins all the time. Evidence of inter-marriage, business partnerships, and other interactions abounds. Nevertheless, anti-Latin sentiment seems to have been a continuously smouldering fire in the capital, one which could easily be whipped up to a roaring blaze. In contrast, the first Palaiologan emperor had no antipathy toward Latins in general. Before his usurpation of the throne, he had been the commander of a troop of Latin mercenaries, and that troop had been instrumental in putting him on the throne. Moreover, his realm's security and prosperity depended in various ways on the goodwill of westerners. He was committed to an alliance with the Genoese, whose naval support was crucial. He also understood the role of Latin merchants in supplying the city's residents with food and less necessary goods. As a result, his initial treatment of Latins within the City was careful and conciliatory.³

Michael has occasionally been criticized for this conciliation, for not recognizing and attempting to bridge the gap between his subjects and himself. He erred, some say, by failing to use his people's anti-Latin sentiment to his own advantage and by actively courting Latin support. Such criticism, however, results less from historical understanding than from a modern tendency to see nationalism as a potent force to be harnessed and manipulated. Whatever else he was, Michael was no nationalist, but rather an ambitious aristocratic usurper concerned to protect himself, his family, and his throne. He did not think that the wholehearted support of his Greek subjects would suffice to hold the city and he was probably correct. It would take time to repopulate the city with Greeks, to strengthen the walls, to perhaps build up some naval capability. With just his own Greek people he would have had only a small army and no naval support. He needed western mercenary soldiers and Italian ships. That his enemies, too, were western did not change these facts; in fact his western enemies gave him additional reasons to seek church union. The most important claim of Charles

3. D.J. GEAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West 1258-1282. A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations*, Cambridge, MA 1959, pp. 131-135.

of Anjou, the main proponent of a crusade against Michael and his people, was that they were schismatics or heretics and thus worthy targets of a crusade. Regardless of domestic sentiment, then, Michael had many reasons to define himself and his people *not* as a people radically distinct from western Europeans, but rather as a people with much in common, as brothers.

Thus Michael's attempts to unite his Church with the Church of Rome were not policies arrived at by careful philosophical consideration. He did not ponder his own or his people's ethnic identity. He did not have a modern nationalist demagogue's idea of the power of national rhetoric, nor, indeed, would such rhetoric have made sense in his time. Maybe he also failed to understand his people's profound attachment to their religious traditions and profound antipathy towards any "Latinization" of their Church, but he needed above all a force which could check his western enemies and perhaps help him against his Greek ones and he saw the papacy as that force. Unfortunately for him, his approach to Rome re-opened fissures that had appeared already in the Komnenian Church, and he found himself at odds with his people and most of his clergy. Opposition to *rapprochement* with the Latins was much more popular than the emperor's position, which asked the people to forgive and forget the outrages of the Fourth Crusade, the decades of Latin rule and Latin interference in the Church, and their long-standing resentment of wealthy merchant communities in the capital. The ensuing struggle, which took more than twenty years to resolve, is important to East-West relations in innumerable ways. Most interesting for my purposes here, this struggle first proposed a new solution to the schism of the Churches and then, in reaction to that proposal, produced definitions which seemed effectively to end, once and for all, any hope of a theological consensus.

The events are complicated, their sequence often confused in the extant sources. For our purposes, however, an outline of Michael VIII's negotiations with the papacy can be brief.⁴ Even before he

4. For the chronology of events, I have largely accepted the arguments of V. LAURENT and J. DARROUZÈS, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 15), Paris 1976. The chronological table in that work, pp. xv-xvii, covers events from 1272 on. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier* also contains most of the Greek documents related to the Union of Lyon. The most thorough studies are J. GILL, *Byzantium and the*

re-conquered the City, Michael VIII tried to contact the pope. His first two embassies probably did not arrive in Rome, but the third, sent early in 1262, managed to reach Urban IV. The emperor's letter gently reminded the pope of the importance of Christian charity. Why was the pope his enemy? Why was the pope excommunicating his western friends? Were they not all Christians?⁵ Urban's first response was not friendly, for he had already tried to help the refugee-emperor of Constantinople by preaching a crusade against the Greeks and by excommunicating the Genoese for their alliance with Palaiologos.⁶ This preaching had had little effect, however, because the western powers were busy with their own affairs. The pope himself had more pressing problems, for Manfred Hohenstaufen was causing him headaches in southern Italy. From the beginning, then, the negotiations were complicated by the multitude of parties involved: the Byzantine emperor, the Roman pope, the Sicilian Hohenstaufen, the Greeks in Epiros and the Peloponnese, the Genoese and Venetian merchants and government officials, the exiled Latin emperor of Constantinople, and others. Each of these parties had its own shifting priorities and allegiances. Keeping track of who was on which side at which time is a complicated process.

So it happened that, after his initial calls for a crusade against the schismatic Greeks, Urban softened his position. In a letter dated 18 July 1263, he praised Michael's desire for peace and promised an embassy to discuss church union.⁷ He did so because he was seeking an ally against Manfred. Meanwhile, before the papal chancery had finished drafting this letter, another letter from the Byzantine emperor arrived in which Michael promised to recognize the pope as a mediator between himself and other Latins.⁸ Happy with these assurances, Urban formed an embassy of four Franciscan friars to go to Constantinople. Before

Papacy 1198-1400, New Brunswick 1979, pp. 97-185, and B. ROBERG, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)*, Bonn 1964. ROBERG also has documents not published in LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, provides the greatest detail regarding secular powers such as the lords of Epiros and the Morea; his history of the overall diplomacy involved, beyond pope and emperor, is invaluable.

5. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 106-107.

6. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 141-142.

7. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 107-109.

8. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 109.

these ambassadors reached their destination yet another embassy from Constantinople arrived at the papal court. The delegation was led by Bishop Nicholas of Cotrone, a Latin prelate who had mastered the Greek language. According to the imperial letter he carried, Nicholas had been invited to Michael VIII's court in 1262. He and the emperor had then conversed at great length about the differences which divided the Churches, and Nicholas had managed to convince Palaiologos that the differences were unimportant. So Michael had written to the pope again, sending the letter with Nicholas, to assure Urban that he was ready to submit to the pope and reunite the Churches. He asked the pope to send a reply soon, by the hand of the same Nicholas, so that they could get on with "the infallible work of reuniting the church".⁹ Urban did as he was asked, sending a friendly letter and the requested legates.¹⁰ Those legates seem to have agreed with the emperor that a council should be convened to resolve the issues which separated the Churches, but we cannot be certain of that. What is certain is that Urban IV died in October 1264 and negotiations between the emperor and the pope were halted for the moment.

Meanwhile, Western European diplomacy had assumed a new urgency for Michael. The papacy had solved its problems in southern Italy by calling in Charles of Anjou, brother of the king of France, to get rid of the Hohenstaufen. Although the last rising of the Hohenstaufen would be quashed only in 1269, in 1266 and 1267 it looked like Hohenstaufen intervention in Italy was finished. As the pope's champion in both northern and southern Italy Charles posed two major threats to Byzantium. First, negotiations with the papacy had gone so well in the preceding years in part because the papacy needed the Byzantine emperor as an ally against the Hohenstaufen. With their own man in southern Italy, the popes no longer needed Byzantine help there. Second, Charles had made no secret of his desire to

9. See his letter (undated, but probably from 1264) in J. GUIRAUD, *Les registres d'Urban IV*, Paris 1901-1929, vol. 2, no. 748. GEANAKOPOLOS' discussion of this letter, its dating, and its significance is useful; he also translates a section of the letter (*Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 176-178). The final quotation is from *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 177-178. See also A. FAILLER, ed., and V. LAURENT, trans., *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques*, vol. 2 (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 24/2), Paris 1984, bk. 5, ch. 8, p. 463; GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 110, and J. HUSSEY, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford 1986, p. 223.

10. GUIRAUD, *Reg. Urbain*, vol. 2, no. 848, pp. 405-408. Letter dated 23 May 1264.

attack Byzantium. Well aware of Charles' ambitions and his dangerous friends, Michael wrote to Pope Clement IV in late 1266 or early 1267, again proposing a reunion of the Churches, asking the pope to restrain Charles, and suggesting that he would be willing to help with a crusade against the Muslims. He also apparently suggested that the reunion could be accomplished by a church council.¹¹

Clement IV's reply was hardly encouraging. Not confronted by the threats which Urban IV had faced, he did not need the goodwill of the Byzantine emperor. So if he did not deliberately alienate the emperor, he at least presented papal claims to primacy in an uncompromising fashion. He rejected any suggestion of a council, for the Roman Church, he maintained, had the right and the duty to decide all matters of doctrine. To subject the teachings of that Church to discussion in a council was unnecessary, undesirable, and unfitting. It would merely call the faith into doubt without accomplishing anything useful. He also presented a creed which the emperor was to accept — again without discussion. Among the traditions alien to Michael's Church which the creed included were the double procession of the Holy Spirit (the *Filioque*), Purgatory, and seven sacraments (including the rite of confirmation, separated from baptism and performed only by bishops).¹² This creed was to become the basis for most Latin demands in the future.¹³ But it was utterly unacceptable to the Greeks. It gave no credit to their own traditions, including their unswerving conviction that differences between the various episcopates could be solved only by a general council. Michael did not respond directly to these papal demands, but rather proposed a joint crusade to the Holy Land, promising all the help his empire could offer. Pope Clement, still feeling secure behind the power of Charles of Anjou, again replied with rather harsh words, accusing the emperor of insincerity and threatening a crusade against his lands.¹⁴

11. This letter is not extant. We know its content only from Pope Clement's reply.

12. A.L. TAUTU, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261-1276)*, Vatican City 1953, no. 23. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 113-115. Parts of this letter are translated by GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, p. 203, and by T. KOLBABA, "Barlaam the Calabrian. Three Treatises on Papal Primacy", in: *Revue des études byzantines* 53 (1995), pp. 46-47.

13. For example, the letter from Gregory X to Michael VIII, dated 24 October 1272, contains the same creed: TAUTU, *Acta Urbani IV*, no. 32.

14. TAUTU, *Acta Urbani IV*, no. 25; GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 117; GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 204-205.

Meanwhile, Charles of Anjou had tied himself, with many strong knots, to the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin. In May 1267, Charles, Baldwin, and William of Achaia (another of Michael VIII's enemies), with Pope Clement's approval, signed a treaty at Viterbo by which they agreed to unite forces in an attack on Byzantium.¹⁵ This was a moment of great danger for the empire, but fortunately Charles was distracted by another enemy. Conradin of Hohenstaufen, the last leader of that great family of papal enemies, entered Italy with an army in the fall of 1267. It was not until the fall of 1268 that Charles could defeat him. Shortly thereafter, Clement IV died.

Clement's death was followed by a long interregnum in Rome. Freed of both Hohenstaufen threats and papal control, Charles of Anjou became more dangerous to the emperor as each day passed. Michael's network of spies told him that Charles continued to prepare to attack the empire, not only by building up his own forces, but also by forming alliances with Michael's other enemies.¹⁶ With no pope on the throne, Michael had to seek other kinds of western help against the Angevin. He sent letters and an embassy to Charles' brother, King Louis IX of France.¹⁷ Because the letter addressed the subject of church union, Louis sent it on to the cardinals. The cardinals warned Louis against Greeks bearing gifts and were more unyielding than Clement IV before them. Their letter to the emperor included the profession of faith from Clement's letter, as well as demands that the emperor, his clergy, and his people convene a council and profess Roman primacy and the other points publicly.¹⁸ Such demands could not be met, so Michael tried to buy time by approaching King Louis again. He sent another embassy to the king, which had to catch up with him near Tunis where Louis was on crusade. They managed to find the king there and deliver their messages. He promised to help promote peace between his brother and the Byzantine emperor, but

15. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 115-116; GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 197-200.

16. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 120-121; GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 216-223.

17. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 121; L. BRÉHIER, "Une ambassade Byzantine au camp de St. Louis devant Tunis", in: *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga*, Paris 1933, pp. 139-146.

18. For sources, see GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, p. 225; GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 121-122.

he was already gravely ill and died soon after. Again Michael's efforts had come to naught.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the events of 1270 and 1271 allowed the Greek emperor to regain hope. First, much of Charles' energy and the bulk of his fleet were diverted to North Africa to help Louis' crusade. On the way back from Tunis, many ships were destroyed by a freak storm and Charles would need time to rebuild before he could launch a full-scale attack on the Greeks.²⁰ Second, a new pope, Gregory X, was elected. A devout man who had spent time in the Holy Land as a papal legate, Gregory had a burning desire to launch a successful crusade. As he saw it there were two preconditions for such a crusade: righteousness within the Western Church and reunion with the Byzantine Church, in order to ensure Byzantine cooperation. Enthroned in September 1271, Gregory immediately began to plan a council which would make his dreams possible. In March 1272 he announced that the council was to be held in the city of Lyon in 1274 and was to consider three major issues: church reform within the Western Church, the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, and the launching of a new crusade.

In the autumn of 1272, Michael VIII wrote to the pope, re-opening the issue of church union. Gregory wrote back in October, inviting the emperor to the Council of Lyon. He enclosed Clement IV's profession of faith, but his instructions to his envoys indicate a more moderate position than that of his predecessor. He did not promise that he would restrain Charles of Anjou; in fact, in what could only be construed as a threat, he warned that the Churches must be reunited quickly in order to avoid an Angevin attack on the empire.²¹ Still, the conditions for union which he imposed were more reasonable than anything the Greeks had previously seen.²² Michael's reply promised envoys to the Council of Lyon and asked for papal protection of those envoys from the Angevins.²³

19. BRÉHIER, "Une ambassade"; GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 122-123; GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 225-227. Pachymeres recounts only the second embassy: bk. 5, ch. 9 (pp. 463-467).

20. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 228, 232; GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 122-123.

21. TAUTU, *Acta Urbani IV*, no. 32.

22. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 124-127; GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 238-241.

23. TAUTU, *Acta Urbani IV*, no. 36. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 241-243.

Meanwhile, Michael had to reconcile his promises to the pope with his actions at home. By early 1273, his plans had advanced to the point that he had to bring the matter of reunion to his Church. The response of his clergy was overwhelmingly — though not entirely — negative. This seems to have surprised the emperor. He pointed out to them that he was asking no more than Ioannes III Vatatzes had asked 20 years before.²⁴ He extolled to them the virtues of peace and the dangers of bloodshed if this union were not effected. He emphasized, again and again, that the terms of reunion did not require the Greek Church to give up any of its traditional practices. He stressed that the papacy wanted only three things: acknowledgement of the pope's primacy among the bishops; recognition of the papacy's role as the final court of appeal in all ecclesiastical matters; and commemoration of the pope in the liturgy. As we have seen, this was not strictly true. Clement IV's letter had demanded far more than that. Still, some of the bishops were willing to go along with the emperor's plans. They knew that previous emperors had used union as a diplomatic bargaining chip, but negotiations had always come to naught, so why worry?²⁵ But others were unwilling to accept even a nominal union which preserved Greek traditions if it meant that they must commemorate the pope, whom they called a heretic. Were the Latins heretics? It was a burning question. Ordered by the patriarch to speak his mind, the chartophylax of the Great Church, Ioannes Bekkos — perhaps the second most important clergyman in the capital — rose in the synod and denounced the Latins as heretics.²⁶ The emperor threw Bekkos in prison.²⁷ The imperial, unionist party then produced a detailed statement of their position, usually called the "Imperial Tome", which laid out the arguments in favor of union.²⁸ Unfortunately, it does not survive, but we can trace its basic arguments from

24. On Vatatzes' embassy to the pope — including his and his clergy's acknowledgement of papal primacy, canonical obedience to the pope, the pope's right to hear appeals, and so on — see GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 92-95. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 10 (pp. 469-473), tells us that Michael "compared what he was doing to a synod under Ioannes Doukas, which aimed to stop the sending of aid from [the West] in alliance with those who held the City. Our [clerics] were then ready to officiate there and to commemorate the pope, if he would keep his promises". PACHYMERES also reports that Michael produced an ecclesiastical register as proof: bk. 5, ch. 12 (p. 478).

25. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 10 (p. 473).

26. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 12 (p. 481).

27. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 13 (pp. 483-485).

28. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 14 (pp. 485-487).

the anti-unionist response.²⁹ The tome began with an exhortation to peace, which it declared good and beneficial to all people. To be at ecclesiastical peace with the Italians will mean to be at secular peace with them, meaning an end to wars and bloodshed.³⁰ Besides, Jesus and the apostles repeatedly exhort Christians to be at peace with one another.³¹ Moreover, there is no obstacle to this ecclesiastical peace, for the Latins have never been anathematized in the canons.³² They are asking only that we recognize papal primacy, acknowledge the right of the papacy to be the final court of appeal in ecclesiastical matters, and commemorate the pope in the liturgy. There is no harm in any of this, so long as we keep our faith, our creed, and our other traditions intact.³³

The opponents of union then met, with Patriarch Joseph presiding, to discuss this imperial proposal. The meeting included not only bishops, but also monks, and even the emperor's sister Eulogia. They read the Tome aloud and each responded as he or she felt inspired. Later, Job Jasites, writing in the name of Patriarch Joseph, wrote up an official response, based on these discussions.³⁴ The opponents of union denied that peace with heretics, brought about because of a military threat, could be real peace. God's peace is good, but peace which is not of God leads to destruction. Peace with the Italians is not of God because they are heretics, and we are enjoined in all sacred texts to avoid such people.³⁵ As for the concerns about war and bloodshed, God will take care of us, so long as we hold firm in the faith.³⁶ We cannot acknowledge papal primacy and other papal rights without falling into sin, either, for the pope is leading people into heresy. We can pray for him to return to orthodoxy, but we cannot commemorate him as an orthodox patriarch.³⁷ Besides, it is absolutely impossible to acknowledge the pope in these ways and still hold to our own faith and creed, for "he who commemorates the pope as a bishop, or accords

29. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 1.

30. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, p. 168/9.

31. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, pp. 180/1-188/9.

32. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, pp. 170/1-172/3.

33. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, pp. 190/1-192/3.

34. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 14 (p. 487).

35. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, pp. 168/9-170/1, 180/1-188/9.

36. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, pp. 194/5-198/9.

37. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, pp. 200/1-202/3.

to him the right of appeal, or considers him first among the bishops, must also accomplish all Latinism: must celebrate the feasts of the Jews, must receive azymes and communicate with them, must observe the sabbath, must reduce the fasts to nothing, and — to reach the heights of evil — must atheistically blaspheme concerning the Holy Spirit".³⁸ In June, pressured by Jasites and others, Patriarch Joseph took an oath not to accept the union unless the addition to the creed were dropped by the Latins. He also called for a council, including the eastern patriarchs, to decide the matter.³⁹ The opposition's position was hardening, and the patriarch was now "a prisoner of his own words", sworn to resist the union without wavering.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, however, in the imperial prisons a momentous transformation had taken place. Someone had been supplying Ioannes Bekkos, the imprisoned chartophylax, with excerpts from Greek patristic texts and other Greek theological treatises which suggested that the Latin doctrine regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit — the very thing for which Bekkos had condemned them as heretics — was not wrong, after all. It seems that St. Cyril had said, speaking of the Spirit, "that which has its essence from two, that is, from the Father through the Son".⁴¹ St. Maximos and St. Athanasios, too, had spoken of the Spirit proceeding "through the Son".⁴² Convinced that there was no significant difference between the procession of the Spirit "through" the Son and His procession "from" the Son, Bekkos also decided that there was no obstacle to reunion which could not be overcome with a little Christian charity. He became an ardent proponent of union.⁴³ Once he had convinced the emperor of his change of heart, he was released from prison (probably around June 1273) and reassumed his office in the church (probably early in 1274).

38. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, pp. 252/3.

39. The text is LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 2. V. GRUMEL, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 4, #1401; PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 16 (pp. 489-491).

40. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 16 (p. 489).

41. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, "On worship in spirit and truth", I: PG 68, col. 148A; cited by PACHYMERES bk. 5, ch. 16 (vol. 2, p. 491).

42. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 16 (p. 491 and p. 490 n. 1). For specific texts Bekkos read in prison, see GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 129, 153-155.

43. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 15-16 (pp. 487-491).

Despite Bekkos' support, many vocal clerics and laymen still refused to agree to union. By the autumn of 1273, the emperor was frustrated and furious. He needed this *rapprochement* with the papacy as never before. Charles of Anjou was feverishly preparing his attack on the empire.⁴⁴ The only force able to check him was the papacy, and the papacy was insisting that Michael's clergy ratify the union. Again Michael tried to convince the churchmen that they would lose nothing of their own traditions, while they would gain the rewards of God for promoting peace and preventing bloodshed. Again he told them that the pope demanded only three things — commemoration, primacy, and the right of appeal. These things were meaningless, he argued, for the pope would never cross the sea to enforce such rights. Think of God made man, he urged, and the indignities he suffered for us. Can we not humble ourselves and suffer indignity for a good cause? The opponents, mostly among the members of the patriarchal administration, still held firm, saying that the greater danger was spiritual error, and that the emperor must not lead his people from the lesser evil of church division into the greater evil of heresy.⁴⁵

Faced with this obstinance (or steadfastness, depending on one's point of view), the emperor acted in the way which came most naturally to a man of power and violence. He confiscated property from the anti-unionists. He accused his opponents of high treason, exiling some and imprisoning others. Especially angered by Manuel Holobolos, who had been a proponent of union and then changed his mind, the emperor decided to make an example of him. In October 1273, he had Holobolos brought to Constantinople in chains. With him were nine other men and his niece. There, Pachymeres tells us, the emperor organized a "novel triumph". He had the ten men tied together by their necks: Holobolos first, then the others, with Holobolos' niece on the end. They were all denounced for magic. The first two men were loaded down with sheep guts filled with excrement; Holobolos was struck repeatedly with a sheep's liver. They were led around the City in this horrifying procession. The purpose of this punishment was to make the rest of the clergy fearful.⁴⁶ It worked.

44. GEANAKOPLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, p. 256.

45. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 18 (pp. 495-499).

46. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 20 (pp. 503-505).

In an ideal world, perhaps, such violent action would make martyrs and influence nobody. But in the real world, it is disheartening to see how a little violence can reward its perpetrators. Sometime after the October punishments and before 11 January 1274, an imperial chrysobull announced that most of the synod had accepted the pope's right to primacy, jurisdiction, and commemoration, on the condition that the Greek Church's traditions, rituals, and dogmas were left untouched.⁴⁷ The synod produced its own document, confirming this imperial statement, and adding that any attempt to change their traditions would nullify the agreement.⁴⁸ Faced with these deeds, Patriarch Joseph wrote a letter to the synod, sometime before 24 December 1273.⁴⁹ He released the metropolitans under him, allowing them to follow the emperor. For himself, he promised that when envoys returned from negotiating with the pope, he would remain on the patriarchal throne only if the peace they had negotiated pleased him. If it was not acceptable, he would resign. In other words, Joseph does not seem to have believed the emperor's guarantee that Greek traditions would be left untouched, but he adopted a policy of waiting to see.⁵⁰

Early in 1274, then, Michael VIII was free to choose his ambassadors to the Council of Lyon. They were two churchmen (the former Patriarch Germanos III [1265-1266] of Constantinople and the Metropolitan of Nicaea Theophanes) and three imperial officials (the Grand Logothete Georgios Akropolites, the Prokathemenos tou Bestiarion Nikolaos Panaretos, and the Grand Interpreter Georgios Berrhoiotes).⁵¹ On 11 January Joseph retired to the monastery of Peribleptos to await the outcome.⁵² Around the same time, Ioannes Bekkos resumed the post of chartophylax and was therefore one of the signatories on a synodal letter to the pope, written in February 1274.⁵³ This letter assured the pope that the Constantinopolitan Church was prepared for union. In February and March, the preparations for the ambassadors were completed, including Michael VIII's

47. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 4.

48. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 5.

49. GRUMEL, *Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 4, #1409; see LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 6.

50. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, p. 28.

51. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 17 (pp. 491-493).

52. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 17 (p. 493).

53. TAUTU, *Acta Urbani IV*, no. 42; ROBERG, *Die Union*, p. 435.

profession of faith in a form pleasing to the pope.⁵⁴ In March, the ambassadors departed. The trip was eventful. Panaretos and Berrhoiotes were lost, with the diplomatic gifts, in a storm at sea. The rest of the embassy arrived in Lyon on 24 June 1274. Five days later the envoys participated in a mass with the Latins, in which the epistle and gospel were read and the creed recited, with the *Filioque*, in both languages. There had been no discussion of the doctrinal and liturgical differences between the Churches. Quite simply, the Greeks promised to accept the Latin way of seeing and doing things. On July 6, in the name of the emperor, Akropolites formally abjured the schism.⁵⁵

The Byzantine ambassadors returned to Constantinople in the autumn of 1274. Around the end of that year, the synod promulgated the agreement reached at the council. That agreement included a statement regarding the double procession of the Spirit, produced in the sixth session of the council, which condemned both those who denied the double procession of the Spirit and those who taught that double procession wrongly, maintaining that the Spirit proceeds from Father and Son as from two principles.⁵⁶ Opposition to the union was strong at all levels, including the highest: Patriarch Joseph refused to accept the union. His decision was accompanied by a text which, like many of the other writings attributed to Joseph, was probably written by one of the radical anti-unionists who surrounded the patriarch. Job Jasites is the most likely candidate. The text begins by claiming that some people are trying to force Joseph "to adhere to the Latin dogma" of double procession. But the author will never agree to the

54. TAUTU, *Acta Urbani IV*, no. 41; ROBERG, *Die Union*, p. 239, no. 6; French trans. in H. WOLTER and H. HOLSTEIN, *Lyon I et Lyon II, Histoire des conciles oecuméniques* 7, Paris 1966, pp. 276-280.

55. TAUTU, *Acta Urbani IV*, no. 48; ROBERG, *Die Union*, pp. 146-148; not to be confused with LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 15; GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 134-139; PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 21 (pp. 507-509).

56. Anti-Latin Greek polemicists often asserted that the Latin doctrine of the *Filioque* implied two principles in the Godhead, and that such an implication was heretical. See, for example, the Greek profession of faith cited by GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 72. Latins, defending the *Filioque*, denied such a charge, and made their denial official and explicit in the sixth session of the Second Council of Lyon (1274). The text, *Cum sacrosancta*, was promulgated later as *Fideli ac devota*; ed. ROBERG, *Die Union*, Appendix I, p. 247; discussed and partially translated by GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 139-140; Greek translation is LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no 7.

Latin doctrine of double procession, for the Scriptures, the councils, and the fathers say otherwise.⁵⁷ Yet Joseph also did not resign the patriarchal throne voluntarily. The emperor had to produce witnesses that Joseph had promised to retire if the union was accomplished, so that the synod could judge whether he must resign. They decided that his promise was binding, and he was deposed on 9 January 1275.⁵⁸ A week later, the union was formally celebrated in Constantinople. But in a sign of things to come, it was celebrated in the imperial palace, not in the Great Church or any other such public venue.⁵⁹ Imperial letters were sent around the empire, instructing clergy to commemorate the pope in their prayers.⁶⁰ On 26 May 1275 Bekkos was elected patriarch.⁶¹

But this was not the end of the matter. "From this moment", Pachymeres writes, "the Church was ill, and men separated themselves from one another". Opponents of the union joined other enemies of Michael VIII to produce a level of civil strife which rendered him scarcely able to rule. The opponents of union cranked out tract after tract, letter after letter, stating their position and calling for all orthodox people to resist any contact with the horrid Latins or with their abominable friends, the unionists.⁶² Their attempts to carry the debate to the common people, whipping up the crowd, aroused Pachymeres' scorn. Not content to discuss these things within the hierarchy and among educated men, both sides sought out the common people and tried to persuade them, instead of leaving the common man in peace, "to work out his salvation without trouble... knowing nothing more than the pickaxe, the mattock, and a life without problems".⁶³ Michael VIII tried to stem the tide. He threw some of his opponents in prison

57. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 8.

58. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 22 (pp. 509-511); GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 163.

59. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 22 (p. 511); GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 163 and p. 289 n. 10.

60. Such, at least, seems to be the indication of the letter from the monks of Athos (spring (?) 1275), which is a reply to a *Prostagma* of Michael VIII (LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 12).

61. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 24 (pp. 513-521).

62. E.g., see LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, nos. 9, 10, 13, and 20. See also T.M. KOLBABA, "Meletios Homologetes' 'On the Customs of the Italians'", in: *Revue des études byzantines* 55 (1997), pp. 137-168. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 23 (pp. 511-513).

63. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 23 (p. 513).

and inflicted various corporal punishments upon them. He announced that anyone caught with a *libellus* against the union would be executed. But this time he succeeded only in making martyrs.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, the pope was restive. Popes and cardinals had suspected, from the beginning, that Michael was pursuing union only in order to avoid an attack on the empire. Perhaps he was; we will never know for certain whether any of his statements about his own burning religious desire to unite Christ's Church were sincere.⁶⁵ Papal suspicion sharpened in the first couple of years after Lyon, as it became apparent that the Byzantine Church was not submitting to Rome. The promises of the Byzantine envoys at Lyon were not worth the paper they were written on. The popes demanded repeated confessions of faith from Michael and his son and co-emperor, Andronikos II. They asked for proof that the Church in Constantinople was complying with the terms of Lyon. Michael and his patriarch tried their best to comply. In response to papal letters of late 1276, in February 1277 Bekkos arranged a synod, held in the chapel of the Blacherna palace. This synod produced a document which condemned the opponents of union — "members of the imperial family,... of the senate, of the episcopal college, of the ecclesiastical *archontes*, of the clergy, of the monks, and of the laity (...alas! the abuse of Satan! even women!)" — subjecting them to excommunication and anathema.⁶⁶ At the same time, a meeting of important palace officials produced a document calling for adherence to the union and civil peace.⁶⁷ In March 1277, legates of Pope John XXI arrived in Constantinople, sent to ensure that the union was real. The papal letters which this delegation carried demanded extensive action, including the chanting of the *Filioque* in the creed.⁶⁸ The emperor did his best to satisfy them. At the pope's request, he and his son Andronikos repeated the oaths acknowledging Roman primacy and recited the

64. PACHYMERES, bk. 6, ch. 24 (pp. 611-621).

65. G. DAGRON, "Byzance et l'union", in: 1274 — *Année charnière: mutations et continuités*, Paris 1977, pp. 191-202. Reprinted in DAGRON, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient*, London 1984.

66. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 16; GRUMEL, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 4, #1431; GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 164.

67. LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, nos. 17 and 18.

68. Content of papal letters detailed in GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 165-168.

creed with the *Filioque* in the Blacherna palace in the presence of the papal envoys, Byzantine clergy, and imperial officials. The emperor and patriarch also prepared an embassy to go to Rome. This embassy carried yet more letters pledging the sincerity and zeal of the emperor and the patriarch.⁶⁹

John XXI died before his legates returned from Constantinople. He was followed by Nicholas III. Nicholas opposed Charles of Anjou's designs and forbade Charles to attack the empire. But at the same time he "insisted upon a more rigorous consummation of religious union than had any of his predecessors".⁷⁰ Nicholas sent ambassadors to Constantinople with detailed instructions. He wanted no more waffling. The emperors had taken oaths in 1277, but their clergy had not. Now the clergy, too, must acknowledge papal primacy. Not only that, but the Greeks must accept the creed with the *Filioque*, for "unity of faith does not allow of diversity in its adherents either in the profession, the chanting or any other manifestation of the faith and especially in the chanting of the Creed".⁷¹ This went further than Gregory X had gone, further than Michael had promised the union would go, and further than any of the clergy were willing to accept.⁷² Pope Nicholas also wanted his envoys to travel around the empire, collecting signatures on professions of faith which included acknowledgment of papal primacy. Moreover, the envoys were to arrange for the establishment of a permanent cardinal-legate in Constantinople.⁷³ Michael VIII had promised his clergy that papal supremacy would never be important, for the pope was too far away. He was again shown to be wrong. The ambassadors with this mission met the emperor in Adrianople in the middle of the spring of 1279.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, tensions had been building between Bekkos and the emperor. Bekkos took his patriarchal duties very seriously, especially his duty of interceding with the emperor for mercy toward the guilty

69. Bekkos' letter to the pope is LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 19; GRUMEL, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 4, #1432. Bekkos' profession of faith: GRUMEL, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, #1433.

70. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, p. 310.

71. GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 173.

72. See LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, p. 30.

73. Detailed discussion of Nicholas' letters and his instructions to his envoys in GILL, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 172-175.

74. PACHYMERES, bk. 6, ch. 14 (p. 577).

or reconsideration of the cases of those unjustly accused. Pachymeres tells stories of Bekkos' obstinacy in this task, of his bothering the emperor continually with pleas, even of his once refusing the emperor communion when the emperor refused a favor he had asked.⁷⁵ So the emperor, who admired the patriarch, was also completely fed up with him. He tried to solve the problem by setting aside only one day a week in which the patriarch could present petitions.⁷⁶ Then Bekkos succumbed to the temptation to answer the anti-unionist polemical works which were circulating in great numbers, although he had previously promised to take the high ground, not responding to their accusations.⁷⁷ It was probably a combination of his importunities on behalf of others and his adding to the controversy about union by responding to the anti-unionists which made the emperor unwilling to support him any longer. When slanderers accused Bekkos of fornication, sacrilege, and cursing the emperor, the emperor chose to believe them.⁷⁸ Although the accusations were absurd, Bekkos realized that the emperor was going to use them as an excuse to remove him from office. In March 1279, therefore, he announced that he was prepared to resign the patriarchate and retired to a monastery.⁷⁹

So when the papal embassy arrived in the East a bit later in the spring, Bekkos was not available. There was no patriarch. Michael had to beg Bekkos to come out of retirement to help him convince the papal envoys that he was trying to implement the union.⁸⁰ As further evidence for the papal envoys that he was sincerely pursuing union, Michael had them shown round the prisons, where anti-unionists, including some of Michael's relatives, languished in chains.⁸¹ In August or September of 1279, Michael and Andronikos repeated their oaths of allegiance to the union for the last time. Bekkos and Michael wrote to the pope — also for the last time. Still, no one could get the synod to sign a profession of faith in precisely the form the popes demanded. What went to the pope was a document which, while skirting the

75. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 24 (pp. 517-521).

76. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 25 (pp. 521-523).

77. PACHYMERES, bk. 5, ch. 28 (p. 531).

78. PACHYMERES, bk. 6, ch. 10 (pp. 569-571).

79. PACHYMERES, bk. 6, ch. 13 (pp. 575-577).

80. PACHYMERES, bk. 6, ch. 14 (p. 577).

81. PACHYMERES, bk. 6, ch. 16 (p. 581).

issue of the *Filioque*, lacked some important signatures and forged others.⁸²

Pope Nicholas III was far from satisfied and immediately sent off another embassy. But he died on 22 August 1280, probably before that embassy returned.⁸³ Thanks to competing factions within the College of Cardinals, it took a long time to elect his successor. When the successor was finally elected, it was bad news for Michael VIII. Martin IV (elected 22 February 1281) was "blindly subservient" to Charles of Anjou.⁸⁴ He changed the direction of papal policy, condoning Charles' plans for a crusade against Byzantium. He may have excommunicated the emperor as early as October 1281; he certainly excommunicated him in November 1282.⁸⁵ Finally Charles was free to launch his "crusade" against Byzantium, but it was too late. Charles' power in Sicily had already been broken by a popular uprising ("The Sicilian Vespers") in March 1282. That uprising was followed by Aragonese attempts to take the Kingdom of Sicily from Charles. Michael had outlived his great opponent's strength, but he was not to savor his triumph for long. On 11 December 1282 he died on campaign in Thrace.

Michael's son and successor, Andronikos II, immediately repudiated the union. In January 1283 Bekkos resigned from the patriarchate and renounced his errors before the Synod.⁸⁶ He was succeeded, first, by Joseph, who had also been his predecessor. After Joseph's death in March, Gregory II of Cyprus was elected patriarch. Soon after his elevation to the patriarchate, Gregory held a synod to finish the work of dismantling the union. This synod condemned the leading clerics who had agreed to the union. It also accepted a statement from the Empress Theodora, Michael's widow and Andronikos' mother, that she renounced the union and would never seek ecclesiastical commemoration for her late, unlamented husband.⁸⁷ The union was dead.

82. PACHYMERES, bk. 6, ch. 17 (pp. 583-585).

83. GEANAKOPLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, p. 325.

84. GEANAKOPLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, p. 340.

85. GEANAKOPLOS, *Michael Palaeologus*, p. 341.

86. A. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium. The "Filioque" Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)*, Crestwood, NY 1984, pp. 48-49.

87. S. PÉTRIDÈS, "Chrysobulle de l'impératrice Théodora (1283)", in: *Echos d'Orient* 14 (1911), pp. 25-28.

Or was it? Bekkos and his companions, in exile and disgrace, claimed that their recantations of January 1283 had been coerced. All of them returned to their unionist positions. Even this obstinacy might have presented only a minimal challenge to the majority opinion had Bekkos been willing to live quietly in exile. He was not. Early in 1284, he wrote a letter which circulated widely and in which he claimed that his trial in 1283 had been illegitimate. He demanded another chance to defend his views.⁸⁸ Bekkos' motives are, of course, a matter for debate. Catholic scholars tend to emphasize his steadfastness, his sincere commitment to union, his desire to have his position honestly evaluated in an atmosphere cleared of the anti-Latin emotion which characterized the synod of 1283.⁸⁹ Orthodox scholars tend to emphasize his pride, his "stiff-necked attitude, and... impetuous and opinionated nature".⁹⁰ No doubt there was a bit of both — concern for the Church's unity which he thought needlessly compromised and desire for personal vindication. In the end, the two could not be separated. For more than a decade he had made it his life's work to unite the Churches. If that union succeeded, he was a hero; if it failed, he was dismissed to obscurity (at best) or relegated to the list of anathematized heretics (at worst). It is not surprising that he provoked another hearing for his views.

That hearing, commonly known as the Synod of Blacherna (1285), was notable in a number of ways. First, although anti-unionists were clearly in the majority at the synod and almost certainly a vast majority in the population at large, Bekkos and his fellow unionists had their supporters. Patriarch Gregory himself admitted that Bekkos' encyclical letter had won him some support, although it made others all the more determined to punish him.⁹¹ Second, the synod produced an innovative theological statement — something hitherto lacking in these debates. Up to this point, the main theological arguments of the unionists, based on their reading of the Trinitarian theology of the Church fathers, had not been refuted theologically. It may be true,

88. See PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, p. 56, for a summary and a discussion of the sources.

89. See, for example, J. GILL, "John Beccus, Patriarch of Constantinople 1275-1282", in: *Byzantina* 7 (1975), pp. 253-266, at pp. 265-266.

90. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, p. 55.

91. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, p. 56.

as modern Orthodox theologians claim, that the difference between Latin and Greek teaching about the procession of the Holy Spirit has roots in the distinction between the eastern Cappadocian fathers' fundamental conception of the Godhead and the western Augustinian tradition.⁹² But nobody at the time had raised that point yet. Most of the opposition texts produced in the 1270s were not refutations as much as *ad hominem* attacks on Bekkos and the other unionists: they had become Franks; they were Latinizers; they were craven sycophants. A few more intelligent responses resisted the unionists' claims in the traditional manner: by citing the Fathers. It was a contest to see who could gather the most patristic citations and, sometimes, to see who could discredit his opponents' citations.⁹³ This was also the first response of the Synod of Blacherna.⁹⁴

Later, however, the Orthodox, anti-*Filioque* defense was developed into a theological position of great subtlety and complexity by Patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus. The complicated history of his statement (known as the *Tomus*) has been studied in great detail and analyzed cogently by Aristeides Papadakis. I see no need to repeat his study and defense of this treatise here. I do, however, want to add to Papadakis' analysis some observations which strike the non-Orthodox historian.

Gregory's sophisticated explanation of why the *Filioque* was heresy was new. It introduced new theological concepts. Papadakis refers to these as clarifications: the Byzantine Church, "By endorsing Gregory's formula of the eternal manifestation of the Spirit by the Son, supplied the doctrine of the procession with that 'conceptual clarity' that it had hitherto lacked".⁹⁵ For Gregory, he writes, "... recognized in the *Tomus* that the patristic evidence cannot be reduced solely to Photius' exclusive formulation 'from the Father alone'. His solution was to resolve the impasse in terms of an eternal manifestation (ἐκφανσις αἰδίου) of the Spirit through the Son. It was a formulation that was both seminal and original".⁹⁶ Gregory interpreted certain passages of the Fathers as they had not been interpreted before in order to refute

92. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 62-65.

93. E.g., see LAURENT-DARROUZÈS, *Dossier*, no. 23, no. 26, no. 27.

94. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 67-71.

95. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, p. 7.

96. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, p. 37.

Bekkos. For example, Bekkos had pointed out that Cyril of Alexandria had spoken of the Spirit proceeding substantially from both the Father and the Son. Naturally enough, Bekkos took this to mean that the Latin assertion that the Spirit proceeded from both the Father and the Son agreed with St. Cyril. Gregory, however, re-interpreted the passage by distinguishing between the *eternal manifestation* of the Spirit by the Son, on the one hand, and his *origin* in the Father, on the other. In other words, Bekkos explained this patristic statement by saying that Cyril meant what he wrote; Gregory maintained that Cyril meant quite a lot more than that. The theologian may perhaps, after careful study, accept Gregory's innovation as a legitimate re-statement or clarification of the genuine patristic tradition — that is, not at all innovative in the way that heresy is innovative. The West has Thomas Aquinas; the East Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas. An outsider studying the theology of each of these men sees a combination of tradition and innovation, and may indeed be more struck by the innovation. In this case, I cannot judge Gregory's position and its faithfulness to tradition in any purely objective way, and I find myself suspicious of those who claim such judgment. Papadakis, for instance, states categorically that when Bekkos introduces new ideas, they are to be rejected, for they are innovations not found in the legitimate tradition of the fathers.⁹⁷ Simultaneously, however, he praises Gregory of Cyprus for innovative ideas, claiming that these are "the creative development of... patristic meaning in terms of an eternal manifestation".⁹⁸ I find more faith than objectivity in the statement that "Patriarch Gregory's theology was traditional. This is true of his own personal contribution, which, in fact, broke new ground".⁹⁹

Besides, regardless of their legitimacy or Truth in some absolute sense, I am more interested in the reasons for these new distinctions at this time and their impact in the same period. Here a couple of basic points are clear. First, the careful refutation of the theology of double procession at this point, including Gregory's innovative use of the patristic tradition, was not produced for purely intellectual

97. E.g., PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 70-71.

98. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, p. 83.

99. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, p. 89.

reasons. It was not even the result of a need to argue with the Latins; for a couple of centuries already the Greeks had considered their arguments against the Latins sufficient as they were. The synod of 1285 had to deal with the *Filioque* in such detail because Greeks — Bekkos and the other unionists — had raised the possibility that the Latins were right. But if the Latins were right, and substantially in agreement with the Byzantines, then a much more fundamental and emotional question arose: what separates us from them? Now, this was not a tough question for the average person. Latins spoke a different language, ate different things, dressed funny, and in other ways made themselves obnoxious. For the people who shouted at George Metochites and his friends “You have become Franks”, there was not much trouble defining Latins as “other”. But for intellectuals, especially theologians who took the ideal of Christian unity seriously, the questions were tougher. They started out, in the 1270s, with one solid foundation: the Latins had added a phrase to the creed, and that phrase was clearly heretical. This was Bekkos’ position before he was thrown in prison. But when Bekkos changed his mind, and began to argue that certain passages in the revered writings of the Church fathers spoke of the Spirit proceeding from the Son, the solid foundation crumbled. Was it the only foundation under the wall which separated Greeks from Latins? Of course not. But for some theological minds, reared on the idea that the *Filioque* was the only essential issue, it must have been extremely troubling to think that the *Filioque* was now no issue at all. On one level, they *knew* that the Latins were alien, that their religion was wrong; on another level, they were no longer sure how to explain or justify their conviction. The *Tomus* of 1285 shored up the foundation. It offered a clear explanation of why the *Filioque* was wrong and returned the Latins to their heretical status. In this context occurs my greatest disagreement with Papadakis: I would emphasize that much of the reasoning here is after-the-fact. It *begins* with the assumption that the Latins are wrong and then tries to explain why and how. Papadakis calls Gregory’s *Tomus* and other events, “... this Byzantine reaction and rejection of Lyons”.¹⁰⁰ But Lyon had *already* been rejected three years earlier. This is not the rejection of Lyon, but rather the justification for the rejection of

100. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, p. 4.

Lyon. Gregory started from the assumption that the *Filioque* was wrong and that the patristic passages cited by Bekkos could not possibly mean what Bekkos said they did. He proved this point to his own satisfaction.

In doing so, he hardened a distinction that had been soft and closed a door to church union which had been open. I am not blaming the Orthodox for the schism and its continuation, as if the papacy's demands and western theologians had not been unyielding even when some Greeks were more willing to compromise.¹⁰¹ I am not denying the theological skill of Gregory or his fidelity to patristic tradition. I am not even saying that it was wrong to close the door. That sort of placing of blame, judging of theology, and closing or opening of doors is the work of ecumenists, who are doing something quite different from what I am attempting here. I am simply stating what seems to me clear: that in 1273, it was still possible for a Greek theologian to read the Greek fathers and interpret their writings in a way which indicated that neither Greeks nor Latins were heretical in their understanding of the relations of the persons in the Trinity; that the Spirit did proceed from both the Father and Son; and that there was nothing wrong with the Latins saying so. Once Gregory's theology, developed deliberately to refute the unionist position, was accepted in the Greek Church, it was not possible to ignore it.¹⁰² In definitively condemning Bekkos and all of his works, the *Tomus* closed the door through which Bekkos had passed from East to West. Indeed, it barred the door, for the ideas which Gregory introduced were new, and would be accepted in the West no more than Aquinas' ideas were accepted in the East.

This is, then, an important step in the history of the Churches, especially of the educated hierarchy of the Churches. For while there had been strong feeling for a long time about the alien and perhaps

101. Although I admire and depend upon the work of various Catholic scholars, I freely admit the pro-Catholic biases of their works, which I hope I have not adopted. I began my study of the schism with more sympathy for the Orthodox side than for the Catholic. Over time, I have come to see blame on both sides, and, cowardly though it may seem, I am unwilling to pronounce one side or the other less to blame. There is plenty of blame to go around. Besides, the quest to apportion blame has led historians in circles for too long.

102. I am aware that the acceptance of Gregory's position was not straightforward, and refer my readers to PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, for a thorough discussion.

heretical character of the Latins, there had still been room for a kind of intellectual dialogue. Bekkos is one example of this; Nikephoros Blemmydes is another. The enforced union of Lyon closed many minds. Still, there was room for theologians to talk, perhaps even for Greeks and Latins to see their common beliefs as more essential than the insoluble issue of double or single procession. By providing the Orthodox with a sophisticated argument claiming to prove conclusively that the *Filioque* was heretical, Gregory eliminated that room. If, as Papadakis argues, Gregory established that the difference is rooted in fundamental differences between Cappadocians and Augustinians, there seems to me little hope of dialogue.¹⁰³

Thus my reading of the significance of the union of Lyon and its aftermath can be summed up as follows. Because the debate was expressed in religious terms, and because, like most polemical theology, this debate bores most historians, its larger significance has been overlooked. At issue was the very definition of orthodoxy. And orthodoxy was central to the identity and self-definition of the people of the crumbling empire. The problem was not that one group (the unionists) introduced new ideas, which shook up traditional, established definitions. In the course of this debate, both unionists and anti-unionists proposed definitions which were, at least in part, not traditional. One view, emphasizing the unity of all Christians and a *traditional* alliance with Rome, would have yoked the Byzantine horse with the Latin one. The other view, emphasizing the differences between Latins and Greeks and the antiquity of the schism, would rather have Byzantium fall than be "Latinized".¹⁰⁴ These two views had co-existed for a long time; perhaps they had been irreconcilable for a long time. But it was the events around Lyon which polarized

103. PAPADAKIS, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 147-148, writes that Bekkos' solution cannot be accepted because it "was not a solution to the above-mentioned fundamental issue of the two distinct approaches to God, but an accommodation of the two...". What would be a "solution" to these fundamental issues if not an "accommodation"? The yielding of one view to the other? Either Catholics must give up their Augustinian tradition or Greeks their Cappadocian one? That seems to me highly unlikely, and ecumenical dialogue therefore futile.

104. See the vivid description of this position, albeit with some Catholic bias, in V. LAURENT, "Le cas de Photius dans l'apologétique du patriarche Jean XI Beccos (1275-1282) au lendemain du deuxième concile de Lyon", in: *Echos de l'Orient* 29 (1930), pp. 396-415.

the two views and made that polarization clear to everyone. These events led to a re-statement of the Greek theological position which made Bekkos' discovery impossible in later generations. Bekkos hoped that he could remain an orthodox Greek and yet accept the Latins. His opponents argued — loudly, often — that this was *not* possible. His defeat indicated that his view of the future had lost. From his time on, when someone decided that the Latins were correct, he was obliged to decide that the Greeks were wrong. The true unionist position of John Bekkos, George Metochites, and others — that they are both Orthodox and in accord with the Latins — became untenable. In the fourteenth century, those who decided that the Latins were right converted to Catholicism. There was no middle road.

THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA UNDER POPE GREGORY IX

Yury P. AVVAKUMOV

In the famous constitution four of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), "on the arrogance of the Greeks against the Latins", the re-baptism of Latins was listed among the Greeks' scandalous habits that had to be punished with excommunication and the deprivation of all ecclesiastical offices and benefices.¹ In the highly tense atmosphere of the post-1204 Empire of Constantinople, the re-baptism of Latins reflected, without doubt, the highest degree of Byzantine aversion toward the "Frankish" intruders. Yet the wave of re-baptisms that the Council reports is far from unique in the history of the Byzantine-rite Churches. The non-recognition of Latin baptism surfaced repeatedly. The occasions are relatively well known, from Patriarch Keroularios' doubts about the validity of Latin baptism in 1054² up to, say, the officially decreed re-baptism of Latins in the Moscovite Church under Patriarch Filaret Romanov in 1620.³

In contrast, instances that would point in the opposite direction — the re-baptism of Greeks by Latins — are rather few and often disregarded by historians of Byzantine-Latin relations. Some influential Roman Catholic scholars of the first half of the twentieth century, like Martin Jugie, apparently never allowed themselves to doubt that Latins always and unanimously recognized the validity of the Greek baptism.⁴ Nevertheless, it is precisely these rare cases of re-baptism of

1. *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. by J. ALBERIGO et al., ³Bologna 1973, pp. 235-236.

2. See KEROULARIOS' letter to Peter of Antioch in *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis Ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo compositae extant*, ed. by C. WILL, Leipzig et alibi 1861, p. 182.

3. On the re-baptism of Latins under Patriarch Filaret, see, e.g., A. KARTAŠEV, *Očerki po istorii russkoj Cerkvi*, vol. 2. Paris 1959, pp. 98-99.

4. See, e.g., M. JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab ecclesia catholica dissidentium*. Vol. 1: *Theologiae dogmaticae graeco-russorum origo, historia, fontes*, Paris 1926, pp. 34-35; Vol. 3: *De sacramentis seu mysteriis*, Paris 1930, pp. 80-85, 103-125.

Byzantine-rite Christians in the Western Church and their theological background that may reveal something very important about the intellectual framework of the conflict between Greeks and Latins, especially if compared — and confronted — with Byzantine attitudes.

One such case of re-baptism seems to have taken place during Pope Gregory IX's reign, some 16 years after Lateran IV protested against the Byzantine re-baptism of Latins. We find a brief passage related to this in Albert the Great's commentary on distinction 3 of the fourth book of the *Sentences*. Here Albert, discussing the baptismal formula, recalls that Pope Gregory once ordered the re-baptism in Rome of at least three Dominican brothers from Dalmatia, the reason being that they had been baptized according to the Byzantine rite, i.e., not with the usual Latin formula — *Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti* — but with the deviating (from the Roman standpoint) baptismal formula of the Greeks: *Βαπτίζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ [ὁ δεῖνα] εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος* (Albert uses the Latin translation in the subjunctive: *Baptizetur servus Christi in nomine, etc.*).⁵ The papal register confirms that in the years 1231-32 the Greek baptismal formula became the subject of the pope's special attention, causing serious doubts concerning its validity,⁶ so it seems plausible to date the re-baptisms Albert mentions to approximately the same time. Let us try to trace the intellectual background of this episode and the theological discussions connected with it.⁷

Pope Gregory IX came across the Greek baptismal formula in the context of Southern Italy, through an inquiry of Marinus Filangieri, archbishop of Bari from 1226 to 1251.⁸ The letter of Marinus is not known; Gregory's answer, recorded in the register, is dated 12 November 1231:

To your inquiry we reply briefly that Greeks who someone thinks have been baptized using the following verbal formula: "N. is being baptized

5. ALBERT THE GREAT, *In IV Sententiarum*, d. 3, E, a. 2, q. 2, arg. 8, in *Opera Omnia* 29, ed. by A. BORGNET, Paris 1894, pp. 63 and 66.

6. *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. AUVRAY (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), Paris 1890-1955, no. 740 (vol. 1, cols. 460-461).

7. What follows contains some material from the related chapter in my book, G. AVVAKUMOV, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Mittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche*, Berlin 2002, pp. 199-217.

8. On Marinus recently see N. KAMP, "The Bishops of Southern Italy in the Norman and Staufen Periods", in: G.A. LOUD and A. METCALFE (eds.), *The Society of Norman Italy*, Leiden 2002, pp. 185-209, at p. 206.

in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit", have not been baptized, because they were not baptized according to the evangelical form. Therefore we decree that these, as well as those who will be baptized from now on, are to be baptized using the following formula: "I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit". [...] And because, as you assert, many persons who had been baptized in such a way later had themselves promoted to minor and major orders, we would like to follow the most secure way and, therefore, we decree that these persons should be first baptized with the formula which was indicated above, and only after that ordained according to the sequence of holy orders.⁹

In the same letter the pope declares that confirmation administered according to the Byzantine custom "by a simple priest" is invalid and orders (re-)confirmation "by bishops alone". In addition, he prohibits the liturgical use of a "linen cloth signed by a Greek bishop" (the *antimension* of the Byzantine Church) as a "portable altar".

How Greeks reacted to the pope's prohibitions may be understood from the correspondence of Georgios Bardanes, the Greek metropolitan of Corfu (Kerkyra) (†1240). Bardanes, a significant ecclesiastical and political figure in the Epirote Empire, cultivated relations with Greeks in Southern Italy, especially with Nikolaos-Nektarios, hegumen of the monastery of San Nicola di Casole near Otranto. A series of Bardanes' letters to Southern Italian addressees from 1231-36 are preserved in Latin translation and were edited by Johannes Hoeck and Raimund Loenertz.¹⁰ Here Bardanes repeatedly mentions "persecutions" of Byzantine rites in Southern Italy. Thus, in a letter to Giovanni Grasso, notary in Otranto, presumably dating to the winter of 1230-31, Bardanes describes his own feelings after having received the "bad news" about the persecution of Greeks in Otranto:

9. *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. AUVRAY, no. 740 (vol. 1, cols. 460-461); *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. by A.L. TAUTU (Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis. Fontes. Series III, Vol. 3), Città del Vaticano 1950, Acta Gregorii IX no. 170 (pp. 225-226).

10. J.M. HOECK and R.J. LOENERTZ: *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.*, Ettal 1965, pp. 175-235. These letters were translated into Latin by Federigo Mezio, bishop of Termoli, in the early 17th century for Cesare Baronio, who published them partly in his *Annales ecclesiastici*. The Greek original that Mezio used is no longer preserved. On the manuscript tradition and translation, see HOECK-LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, pp. 148-149.

"My heart burnt, and my womb trembled, and the ardor of the holy wrath came forth, for I could not tolerate the coming of such news into the world".¹¹ As becomes clear from the general context of the correspondence, Bardanes is speaking here about Latin attacks on the Greek rites of baptism and confirmation. He promises his addressee that he will compose a special treatise in defense of the Byzantine baptism and confirmation later, for he is not able to do it immediately because of his current illness. In another letter dated approximately the summer of 1231, he expresses his hope that "the danger that threatens us due to Roman actions will be mitigated" and that "this storm will settle down and this daily distress, affliction and disorder will rather pass over to the side of our adversaries".¹²

Soon the pope somewhat modified and mitigated this categorical demand for the re-baptism of Greeks. One of the manuscripts preserved in the library of the cathedral of Bari contains the pope's letter to Marinus dated 20 February 1232.¹³ In this letter Gregory proposes that the Greeks of Apulia and Calabria should send experts to the Apostolic See "with necessary books" in order to investigate and discuss the matter of the baptismal formula at the Papal Curia. The Greeks must be "brought to the uniform observance through reason rather than through coercion". At the same time the pope orders Marinus to abstain from re-baptisms in the meantime. However, in all future baptisms the archbishop of Bari is obliged to make sure that only the formula of the Roman Church is applied, the only one that is "free from any doubts or suspicions".

A Greek delegation was sent from Calabria to Rome and discussed the matter at the Roman Curia (most likely in Rieti or Spoleto; the pope's related letters were all sent from Rieti). One of the experts, perhaps the leader of the delegation, was Bardanes' friend Nikolaos-Nektarios, hegumen of San Nicola di Casole. On the Greek side we find information about the delegation in Georgios Bardanes. After having received the news of the death of Nektarios on 9 February 1235, Bardanes wrote a eulogy dedicated to the memory of his friend. Among other achievements of the hegumen, Bardanes describes with

11. HOECK-LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, p. 188.

12. HOECK-LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, p. 190.

13. *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 1. Bari 1897, p. 177 (no. 95); *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. TAUTU, *Acta Gregorii IX* no. 173 (p. 229).

the highest praises the dispute over the baptismal formula at the Roman Curia. Nektarios stood "like a high column" before the gathering of those who tried to trample on the "mystery of our perfection" (the usual Byzantine term for baptism and confirmation) and brilliantly defended the "endangered custom" of the Greeks.¹⁴

At the Roman Curia, however, the Greek defense of the baptismal formula was evaluated much more reservedly. On 8 June 1232, the pope informs the archbishop of Bari that the Greek experts who came to the Papal Curia "did not seem to possess the expertise necessary for having a comprehensive discussion with them on the problem of the baptismal formula".¹⁵ Gregory hopes to find such experts in Romania, i.e., in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Meanwhile, he sends the Calabrian theologians back and reiterates his demand to suspend for the time being all sanctions against those "who assert that they are baptized", but to use exclusively the Roman formula in the future. However, only five days later, in a letter dated 13 June 1232, Gregory decrees the following:

We have carefully listened to the Greeks whom you sent to us recently concerning the baptismal formula. But because waiting for a more comprehensive investigation can delay coming to a decision, we are sending them back home and, in tolerance for their rite, we maintain that in the meantime they are not to be disturbed over the aforementioned matter.¹⁶

The Byzantine baptismal formula that the pope had prohibited seven months earlier finally gained recognition via this decree, albeit only provisionally. The Apostolic See reserved for itself the right to return to this question and eventually resolve it in another way if new arguments or considerations appeared.

In the Greek literature of the period there are at least two texts that discuss the differences of the baptismal formulae of the Roman and the Byzantine Churches. The author of one of them is Georgios Bardanes. His text is apparently the *apologia* for the Greek baptismal formula that he promised to compose in his letter to Giovanni Grasso.

14. HOECK-LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, p. 201.

15. *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. AUVRAY, no. 797 (vol. 1, col. 498); *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. TAUTU, *Acta Gregorii IX* no. 178 (pp. 234-235).

16. *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. AUVRAY, no. 798 (vol. 1, col. 498); *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. TAUTU, *Acta Gregorii IX* no. 178a (p. 235).

The apology is — like almost the entire correspondence of Bardanes — preserved only in later Latin translation and can be dated to the period between 1231 and 1235. The Greek baptismal formula is, according to Bardanes, of revered antiquity; in vain do its Latin adversaries try “to spoil the words of truth” and “to pour water into the pure vine of orthodoxy”. Thus they have been repeatedly condemned by the holy canons. Bardanes does not discuss validity of the baptismal formula of the Latins, but he is convinced that they exclude themselves from the kingdom of heaven, because they “do not enter the kingdom through the true rebirth in water and spirit”. Moreover, the Latins also hinder others — those who are of true faith — from entering freely into the kingdom of heaven. Bardanes stresses that the grammatical form of the Latin formula, i.e., the first person singular (*ego te baptizo...*), has no roots in Holy Scripture.¹⁷

There are a number of other Greek treatises and fragments of the period that defend the Byzantine way of administering the sacraments. Among them the fragment in MS BAV, Vat. gr. 1276, ff. 113r-116r, treats confirmation. Of primary interest for our topic is the fragment from MS BAV, Vat. gr. 1541, ff. 240v-241v, that was edited by Ciro Giannelli.¹⁸ This fragment bears the title “On the divine baptism” and is in fact not a defense of the Byzantine way of administering baptism, but rather an attack on the Latin baptismal praxis. The author’s main argument against the Latin baptismal formula is that it puts too much weight on the priest who administers the sacrament; the action of the divine *Logos* is therefore neglected. The sacrament of baptism is actually accomplished not by the action of a minister, but by Christ Himself. This is confirmed by the words of John the Baptist: “It is He who will baptize with the Holy Spirit” (John 1:33), and: “He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit” (Mark 1:8). In contrast, the Greek formula, which stresses the divine operation, is in conformity with the words of Apostle Paul: “I no longer live, but Christ lives in me” (Gal 2:20). The Latin minister, however, by pronouncing the words “I baptize...”, claims the grace of Christ for himself. In a similar way he could have said: “I evangelize”, and by pronouncing these words put himself above Apostle Paul. As

17. HOECK-LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, pp. 232-233.

18. C. GIANNELLI, “Un documento sconosciuto della polemica tra Greci e Latini intorno alla formula battesmale”, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 10 (1944), pp. 150-165.

concerns the validity of the Latin baptism, the fragment gives no evaluations.

It is worth noting that this short treatise, which is preserved in a Calabrian manuscript, utters not a single word about the pope's prohibition of the Greek formula and his demand for the re-baptism of Greeks. On palaeographical grounds the manuscript is likely to date to the first decades of the thirteenth century.¹⁹ It seems that this fragment was composed before the events of 1231. If so, this text bears clear evidence that the conflict concerning the sacrament of baptism in Southern Italy had already begun before the pope's intervention. This is confirmed by the very text of the first related letter of Gregory IX from 12 November 1231: the pope replies here to a request of the archbishop of Bari, who seems to have been looking for a solution to a problem that was already pressing.

The Byzantine polemics against the Latin baptism continued in later authors. In particular, Symeon of Thessalonike (†1429)²⁰ and Manuel of Corinth (ca. 1460-ca. 1551)²¹ held the opinion that the Latin formula ignores the freedom of the will of the person who is being baptized.²²

We can better understand the doubts that Gregory IX expressed about the Greek formula if we try to look at them against the background of related discussions in the early scholastic theological literature. Already in the 1170s Latin theologians and canonists discussed the question whether the words *Ego te baptizo* belong to the substance of the sacrament.²³ This academic question originated in an episode that occurred somewhere between 1170 and 1176. The bishop of Clermont, Pontius, sent an inquiry to the bishop of Paris, Maurice de Sully, and to the famous canonist Etienne of Tournai, who was at that time abbot of Saint-Euverte.²⁴ Pontius reported a "very bad custom"

19. GIANELLI, "Un documento", pp. 158-159.

20. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKE, *De sacramentis*, PG 155, cols. 228D-229A.

21. See JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica*, vol. 3, p. 83.

22. Martin Jugie asserted that the polemics against the Latin formula began only with Symeon of Thessalonike. The episode of 1231/1232 seems not to have been known to him (JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica*, vol. 3, p. 82).

23. On these discussions see A.M. LANDGRAF, *Dogmengeschichte der Frühscholastik*. Part III: *Die Lehre von den Sakramenten*, vol. 2, Regensburg 1955, pp. 47-86.

24. On this correspondence see L. OTT, *Untersuchungen zur theologischen Briefliteratur der Frühscholastik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Viktorinenkreises*, Münster i. W. 1937, pp. 118-119; LANDGRAF, *Dogmengeschichte* III/2, pp. 60-61.

(*pessima consuetudo*) in certain rural areas in his diocese: With no priest available, the father of a newborn would baptize the child in the name of the Holy Trinity (*Baptizatur talis in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti*) without pronouncing the words "I baptize you...". Pontius worried whether these children's baptism was valid.

Two persons whose opinions had been sought gave two opposing answers to the question. Maurice de Sully was strictly against the validity:

To your question we shortly answer the following. The form in which the baptism has to be administered and received is passed on to us by the authority of Holy Scripture and the Holy Fathers. This formula reads as follows: "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit". These words possess such vivacity and power that nothing in them can be changed or innovated. If these words are not pronounced in full by whatever person and in whatever language, we believe that there is no baptism. As far as we could understand from your report, [...] the words "I baptize you" were not pronounced when making immersion, only "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit". Therefore no baptism has taken place, and the boy has to be baptized, because he has in no way received the sacrament of baptism.²⁵

Compared with the letter of Maurice de Sully, the opinion of Etienne de Tournai is more nuanced; he tries to support his position with arguments from Scripture and the Fathers. In addition, he repeatedly stresses that he considers it not to be his task to pronounce definitive decisions on this matter: he only expresses an "opinion", not an "assertion". However, contrary to Maurice de Sully, Etienne definitively speaks in favor of the validity of the baptism that was administered without the words "I baptize you". The abbot of Saint-Euverte tries to arrive at a solution to the problem with the help of terminology that was formed in the early scholastic theology of sacraments.²⁶ The invocation of the Trinity belongs to the "substance" (*de substantia*) of baptism. In contract, the words "I baptize you" are pronounced

25. *Lettres d'Etienne de Tournai*, ed. by J. DESILVE, Valenciennes-Paris 1893, p. 20.

26. On the early scholastic developments in this field, see generally D. VAN DEN EYNDE, "The Theory of Composition of the Sacraments in Early Scholasticism (1125-1249)", in: *Franziskanische Studien* 11 (1951), pp. 1-20, 117-144, and 12 (1952), pp. 1-26; LANDGRAF, *Dogmengeschichte*, III/1, pp. 158-168; H.-F. DONDAINE, "Substantia sacramenti", in: *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 29 (1949), pp. 328-330.

only "for the solemnity" (*ad sollemnitatem*) of the rite. The omission of the latter words does not make the baptism invalid, as long as the substance of the baptismal form is not distorted. At the same time Etienne stresses the dignity and the importance of the baptismal formula in its entirety, including the words "I baptize you". These words were introduced by the Mother Church, so it is necessary to hold them in great esteem. The priests who omit these words out of neglect or inexperience have to be punished. Nevertheless, persons who were baptized with the words "In the name of the Father" etc. only do not have to be re-baptized.²⁷

It is not clear whether Gregory IX knew this correspondence. However, the *Liber extra*, the collection of decretals promulgated by the pope in 1234, contains a text concerning the baptismal formula that is indicated as the decretal of Pope Alexander III (1159-81) — that is, the very pope in whose pontificate the episode with the bishop of Clermont took place. The decretal denies the validity of the baptism administered without the words "I baptize you":

If somebody immerses the child in water thrice "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen", and does not say: "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen", the child has not been baptized.²⁸

This decretal was already known in the first decades of the thirteenth century, as we can judge through its incorporation into the second *Compilatio antiqua* composed about 1210-12.²⁹ Although the authenticity of the text seemed dubious to some medieval authors, such influential works like the *Summa decretorum* of Huguccio (completed around 1188-90)³⁰ and the *Summa aurea* of William of Auxerre (about 1222-29)³¹ supported the solution expressed in the decretal. In general, however, the first half of the thirteenth century is marked by hesitation and doubt concerning this question. For instance, such

27. *Lettres d'Etienne de Tournai*, ed. DESILVE, pp. 22-24.

28. X 3.42.1, *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. by A. FRIEDBERG, vol. 2, Leipzig 1881, col. 644.

29. 2 Comp. 5.19.1, *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, ed. by A. FRIEDBERG, Leipzig 1882, p. 103.

30. LANDGRAF, *Dogmengeschichte*, III/2, p. 75.

31. WILLIAM OF AUXERRE, *Summa aurea* IV, tract. 5, c. 3, q. 1, ed. by J. RIBAILLER, vol. 4, Grottaferrata 1985, pp. 98-99.

authors as Praepositinus of Cremona (about 1206-10)³² and Alexander of Hales (1220-36)³³ did not consider the words "*Ego te baptizo*" as part of the *substantia sacramenti*. Taking all this into consideration, Albert's words about the uncertain stance of Gregory IX in this matter (*Papa in hoc dubius fuit*) become quite understandable.

Two different ways of interpretation were possible with respect to Alexander's III decretal. The first one did not put the Greek formula into question, but the other way did. In Artur Michael Landgraf's classical study, these two interpretations are not distinguished. Landgraf interprets the Latin controversy exclusively as a dispute about the question "Whether the words *baptizo te* belong to the form of baptism".³⁴ One of the most important arguments in favor of *baptizo te* as an integral part of the baptismal form was the need to name clearly the very action of baptizing. Most authors who spoke in favor of the decretal of Alexander III understood it exactly in this way. We can see this clearly in Huguccio, who stresses that, when the rite is being accomplished, it has to be clear that it is exactly baptism that is being performed, and not, e.g., a washing. The word *baptizo* is therefore necessary to qualify the symbolic rite as a sacrament and in so doing to bestow sacramental power on it.³⁵ Understood in this sense, the Greek and the Latin formulae are in full concordance with each other, because the act of baptizing is unmistakably expressed in both.

While the first way of interpreting Alexander's decretal accentuated the necessity to use the verb "baptize", the other way insisted on a literal, absolute fulfillment of the formula. If one comes to the conclusion that all grammatical and lexical peculiarities of the formula belong to its substance, this consequently leads to a denial of the Greek formula's validity.

Scholastic authors clearly saw the difference between these interpretations. Thus, William of Meliton, who wrote about fifteen years after the episode of 1231/1232, divides the problem into two questions: (1) whether the verb *baptizo* belongs to the substance of the form; and

32. PRAEPOSITINUS, *De sacramentis et de novissimis* (*Summae theologiae Pars quarta*), ed. by D.E. PILARCHYK, Roma 1964, p. 25.

33. ALEXANDER OF HALES, *Quaestiones disputatae 'Antequam esset frater'*, q. 51, disp. 6, membr. 3, ed. Quaracchi 1960, p. 957.

34. LANDGRAF, *Dogmengeschichte*, III/2, p. 47.

35. LANDGRAF, *Dogmengeschichte*, III/2, p. 75.

(2) whether the pronoun *ego* belongs to the form of baptism. The answer to the first question is affirmative, because the expression of the intent to baptize is necessary for the accomplishment of the baptism.³⁶ In contrast, the pronouns *ego* and *te* are not absolutely necessary, although their usage is commanded by the Church and therefore necessary for the minister, i.e., if the minister omits these words, he commits a sin, although the baptism remains valid.³⁷ Those who declared the Greek baptism invalid in 1231-32 would not have agreed with William, because they apparently regarded the literal following of the Latin formula to be necessary for the validity of the baptism.

In the sacramentological treatises of systematic scholastic works of the thirteenth century the Greek baptismal formula is discussed as an example of one of the deviations from normative sacramental usage. The authors who wrote after the episode of 1231-32 usually did not rank the words *Ego te baptizo* among substantial elements of baptism. Nevertheless, they were of different opinions as to whether the Greek formula is permissible. We have just seen that William of Meliton did not consider the pronoun *ego* absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of baptism. Still, he had serious objections to the Greek formula, because it is not identical to the formula of the Roman Church:

The Greek formula is not recognized [*non recipitur*] by the Church [...] That is why, as it is said, those who have been baptized with the Greek formula practically have to be re-baptized.³⁸

The defenders of the Greek formula object that it was instituted by the Holy Fathers at the ancient Church councils. William replies:

With the argument that the Greek formula was instituted by the Saints, I fully agree. However, the things that were instituted by a human decision can be also revoked by human decision. The Roman Church, which is the Head of all Churches, or rather, the very Church herself (*immo ipsa Ecclesia*), revoked the previous formula by instituting another one. That is why the Greek formula cannot be permitted.³⁹

36. WILLIAM OF MELITON, *Quaestiones de sacramentis*, tract. 2, pars 4, q. 21, n. 2d, ed. by C. PIANA, Quaracchi-Firenze 1961, p. 315.

37. WILLIAM OF MELITON, *Quaestiones de sacramentis*, tract. 2, pars 4, q. 21, n. 3, ed. PIANA, pp. 317-318.

38. WILLIAM OF MELITON, *Quaestiones de sacramentis*, tract. 2, pars 4, q. 19, n. 5, ed. PIANA, p. 310.

39. WILLIAM OF MELITON, *Quaestiones de sacramentis*, tract. 2, pars 4, q. 22, n. 6, ed. PIANA, p. 310.

Even some twenty years after the conflict of 1231-32, in his commentary on the *Sentences* (1253-56), Thomas Aquinas is well aware that there are different opinions concerning this problem:

Whether the Greeks change something that belongs to the substance of the form — and therefore it is necessary to re-baptize them — is not decided, and although some people affirm this, others hold it in doubt.⁴⁰

Thomas himself thinks that the words *Ego te baptizo* do not belong to the substance of baptism. In the *Tertia pars* of the *Summa theologiae* he interprets the decretal of Alexander III in a sense that the baptismal formula has to name only the very act of baptizing:

If the very action of baptizing is not expressed — be it in our way or in the way the Greeks do it — the sacrament is not valid.⁴¹

The Greek formula originated, according to Thomas Aquinas, in the intention to avoid the danger expressed in I Cor. 1:12, i.e., that the effect of the baptism is attributed not to Christ, but to the minister. The Greek formula was introduced by the primitive Church in order to exclude this danger. Although the Latins use the formula in the first person singular, this grammatical form does not belong to the substance; it merely helps express more distinctly and clearly the very intention of the minister.

In Richard of Menneville, whose commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences* dates to ca. 1294-98, all doubts seem to have been put to rest. The Greek baptism is undoubtedly valid, because not a single substantial element is absent in it:

The part of the formula "I baptize you" contains something that belongs to the essence of the form, i.e., the naming of the act of baptizing and the naming of the person who is being baptized. That is why, if any of these elements is omitted, the baptism is no longer valid. The naming of the minister, however, seems not to belong to the essence of the form — as this form was handed down to us by Christ in the institution of the sacrament of baptism — because the minister is not the source of

40. THOMAS AQUINAS, *In IV Sententiarum*, d. 3, q. 1, a. 2b ad 1, *Opera ut sunt in Indici thomistico*, ed. by R. BUSA, vol. 1, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt 1980, p. 432.

41. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae* III, q. 66, art. 5 ad 2, ed. Torino 1922, vol. 5, p. 32.

the validity of the baptism. Greeks, for instance, do not name the person of the minister; nevertheless they truly baptize.⁴²

At the same time Richard stresses that the Latin form is "safer" (*tutior*), because it is in use in the Roman Church, and Christ Himself prayed that Her faith would not cease.

One more argument in favor of the Latin formula is found in John Duns Scotus. The Greeks call the person who is being baptized "the slave of God". "The slave of God" is not being baptized, however, since the person first becomes "the slave of God" after baptism. Therefore the Latin formula is better and more correct.⁴³

In order to understand better the arguments *pro et contra* in a controversy such as this one, it is worthwhile to read attentively the related passage from the commentary on the *Sentences* by Peter of Tarentaise (later Innocent V), dating to 1259-64. Let us cite him in full:

In the verbal form of baptism there are two parts (*particulae*): one part — the invocation of the Holy Trinity — sanctifies the element; the other part — the expression of the very act of baptizing — determines the intention. The first part originates in divine institution, and it is the same in all Churches and at all times. The second one has ecclesiastical tradition as its source, and it is not absolutely identical in all Churches and at all times. There are two aspects in this second part of the form: first, the naming of the act itself and of the person for whom this act is intended. This aspect is again common in all [Churches], because it seems to reflect the original tradition that is rooted in the apostolic baptismal usage. The second aspect is the particular way in which the act of baptizing is expressed. This second aspect is different among Greeks and Latins. However, baptism is one, and those who have been baptized with the Greek form are not being [re-]baptized in the Latin Church. Thus, it is necessary to conclude that that which belongs to the substance of the form is one [in all Churches and at all times], and that which is not one does not belong to the substance of

42. RICHARD OF MÈNNEVILLE (MEDIÀVILLA), *Super IV Sententiarum*, d. 3, a. 2, q. 2 ad 1, ed. Brescia 1591, vol. 4, p. 37: "In illa autem parte formae quae est *Ego baptizo te*, sunt aliqua pertinentia ad essentiam formae, scilicet expressio actus baptizandi, et personae baptizatae, eo quod ad illam terminatur baptizandi actus. Unde si aliquod praedictorum subtrahatur, non remanet virtus baptismi. Expressio autem ministri non videtur esse de essentia formae quam Christus tradidit in baptismi institutione, quia a ministro baptismus non habet virtutem. Unde Graeci personam ministri non exprimunt, et tamen vere baptizant".

43. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, *Reportata parisiensia* IV, d. 3, q. 2; parallel in: *In IV librum Sententiarum*, ed. by L. WADDING/L. VIVÈS, vol. 16, Paris 1894, p. 288.

the form. That is why the part that sanctifies the element belongs to the substance. The second part in its aspect, which pertains to the expression of the act, also belongs to the substance. As far as the particular way of expression is concerned — and this differs [in different Churches] — it does not belong to the substance, but is being performed according to the institution of a [particular local] Church. The Church institution can oblige the minister, but this cannot change the sacrament substantially. A particular way of expression is necessary for the minister's performance, but not obligatory for the validity of the sacrament.⁴⁴

Two things deserve attention in this text. First, according to Peter the practicing of the same rite in different Churches points to the fact that this rite is rooted in apostolic tradition. Those ritual forms that are identical in contemporary practice can claim apostolic origin for themselves. Second, Peter of Tarantaise formulates this principle: "That which is not identical [in different local Churches] does not belong to the substance of the form". Peter reverses the argument of a Maurice de Sully or of Gregory IX in his "hard" stance, who decided upon the validity of a sacrament by analyzing the sacramental sign and distinguishing between its "substance" and its "accidents". If they proffered a verdict on the Greek baptism they did so by arguing from the correctness/incorrectness of the sacramental form to Church membership. Peter proceeds in a reverse direction, arguing from the ecclesial reality to the sacrament: If we recognize this particular ecclesial body as the true Church, we are necessarily and theologically

44. PETER OF TARENTEISE, *In IV Sententiarum*, d. 3, q. 2, a. 1, ed. Toulouse 1651, vol. 4, pp. 32-33: "...in forma verborum baptismi duae particulae continentur: una pertinens ad sanctificationem elementi, scilicet invocatio Trinitatis: et altera pertinens ad determinationem intentionis, scilicet expressio actus baptizandi. Prima habetur ex institutione divina, et est eadem apud omnes Ecclesias, et secundum omne tempus: secunda habetur ex traditione ecclesiastica, nec est omnino eadem apud omnes Ecclesias, nec secundum omne tempus, nam circa illam duo concurrunt: unum expressio ipsius actus, et personae in quam transit actus, et hoc iterum commune est apud omnes, unde videtur descendisse a prima traditione et consuetudine baptizandi Apostolica: alterum modus exprimendi; hic diversus est apud Graecos et Latinos. Cum ergo baptisma sit unum, nec baptizarentur in Ecclesia Latinorum baptizati secundum formam Graecorum, oportet quod illud quod est de substantia formae sit unum, et quod non est unum, non est de substantia formae: unde pars illa formae quae pertinet ad sanctificationem elementi, de substantia est: altera vero pars quantum ad expressionem actus, iterum de substantia est; quantum vero ad modum expressionis qui varius est, non est de substantia, sed accidit ex statuto Ecclesiae. Quia tamen statutum Ecclesiae potest obligare ministrum, sed non potest mutare substantialiter sacramentum, ideo etiam ille modus de necessitate facientis est, sed non rei factae".

compelled to recognize the validity of its sacraments, never mind how different their sacramental ritual might seem from our own. That which is different in different Churches cannot belong to the *substantia sacramenti*. With this important contribution to the controversy on the baptismal formula, Latin theology comes away from the "ritualistic" standpoint of the prohibition of 1231 and reaches a broader ecclesiological vision, which places the recognition of a body of Christians as a Church before differences in "pure ritual".

The baptismal formula of the Eastern Church received doctrinally binding recognition at the Council of Florence in 1439. The decree on the union with the Armenians confirms that the fathers of the Council

...do not deny that the true baptism is being accomplished by the words "Let this slave of Christ be baptized in the name of the Father etc." The principal cause from which the baptism receives its efficacy is the Holy Trinity, and the minister is its instrumental cause. The minister performs the sacrament externally, and if the act that is being performed by the minister is expressed by the invocation of the Holy Trinity, the sacrament is valid.⁴⁵

On hardly any other point did the problem of the borders of the Church community and the opposition between "us" and "them" manifest itself with such intensity as in the problem of the recognition or non-recognition of baptism. The controversy over the baptismal formula is a perfect example of this. The history of the controversy allows at least two significant insights into the intellectual history of the relations between Greeks and Latins after 1204. First, it shows that tolerance in the ritual sphere was not a given from either side. The validity of sacraments of the partner Church was here and there put into question by Latins as well as by Byzantines — contrary to the widespread traditional estimation in historical literature. Second, it demonstrates that there was a significant difference between Byzantine and Latin attitudes. The Byzantines were inclined to argue from "ritual correctness" to the sacraments' validity and Church membership. If the rite is not correct (e.g., azymes in the Eucharist, single immersion or formula in the first person singular in baptism), the sacrament is distorted, and those who practice it are no longer full

45. *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. ALBERIGO, pp. 542-543.

members of the true Church of Christ. That is why cases of re-baptism were historically more frequent on the Byzantine side. In some cases Latins were tempted to follow the same logic: the initial prohibition of the Greek baptismal formula by Gregory IX is a good example. However, these cases were rather rare and short-lived, as later decisions of Gregory himself show. In general, Latin theology was led primarily by ecclesiological insights and therefore was more inclined to tolerate “deviating” rituals if the unity of the Church was preserved — naturally, in Roman sense. Peter of Tarentaise’s discussion of the Greek baptismal formula is in this sense especially revealing. Such a stance did not prevent Latins from making sharp judgments against the Greeks, but these judgments were motivated by other factors and used other, primarily ecclesiological, methods of argumentation.

In conclusion it is worthwhile mentioning that the controversy over the baptismal formula had significant implications at the beginning of the fifteenth century for Ruthenians living in the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who were at that time repeatedly re-baptized *sub conditione* because of the Byzantine formula. The re-baptism cases were so numerous that Pope Alexander VI in 1501 felt himself obliged to issue a bull prohibiting re-baptisms and confirming the recognition of the Greek formula promulgated by the Council of Florence.⁴⁶ The controversy over the re-baptism of Ruthenians lasted throughout the sixteenth century and produced interesting examples of argumentation “pro” and “contra”.⁴⁷ Rooted in medieval discussions between Greeks and Latins after 1204, the Ruthenian controversy is, however, a different story, which pertains rather to the Early Modern history of Slavic regions.

46. ALEXANDER VI, *Bulla ‘Altitudo divini concilii’ of 23 August 1501*, in: *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia (1073–1953)*, ed. by A. WELYKYJ, vol. 1: 1075–1700, Roma 1953, pp. 186–188.

47. On this history, see A.M. AMMANN, “Zur Geschichte der Geltung der Florentiner Konzilsentscheidungen in Polen-Litauen. Der Streit über die Gültigkeit der Griechen-taufe”, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 8 (1942) I–II, pp. 299–316; J. SAWICKI, “Die ‘Rebaptizatio Ruthenorum’ im Lichte der polnischen Synodalgeseztgebung im XV. und XVI. Jh.”, in: *Geschichte der Ost- und Westkirche in ihren wechselseitigen Beziehungen. Acta Congressus historiae Slavicae Salisburgensis in memoriam SS. Cyrilli et Methodii anno 1963 celebrati*, Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 142–146; E. PRZEKOP, “Die ‘Rebaptizatio Ruthenorum’ auf dem Gebiet Polens vor der Union von Brest (1956)”, in: *Ostkirchliche Studien* 29 (1980), pp. 273–282; I.J. MAKSIMOVA, “Narodnaja religioznost’ rutenov v pol’skoj istoriografii XV — pervoj poloviny XVI v.”, in: *Religioznyj faktor i problemy nacional’noj identičnosti v Rosii i Evrope novogo i novejšego vremeni*, Moskva 2008, pp. 222–235.

THE QUARREL OVER UNLEAVENED BREAD IN WESTERN THEOLOGY, 1234-1439

Chris SCHABEL*

In the spring of 1231 in Nicosia, a short walk from where the conference on which this volume is based was held, twelve Greek monks were publicly and rather brutally executed by the secular authorities of the Frankish Kingdom of Cyprus, most likely on the instructions of Jean d'Ibelin, regent for his young nephew, King Henry I Lusignan. They were acting according to the suggestion of a Dominican "inquisitor" named Master Andrew. Three or four years earlier, in the company of an associate named William, Andrew had left Nicosia to make a visitation of the Greek monastery of Kantara in the Karpass Peninsula in the northeast of the island. There Andrew engaged the monks in a friendly theological discussion, but when he was unhappy about one of their responses, he ordered the monks to appear before the Latin Archbishop Eustorge of Nicosia. The monks remained obstinate in their stance, so the archbishop tossed thirteen of them into prison and subjected them to torture and hardship for three years, with one of them dying as a result. With the exhortations of Patriarch Germanos II, who was residing in exile in Nicaea and is known to have urged others to struggle "to the death" over the issue, the monks refused to change their opinion. Finally, Pope Gregory IX told Archbishop Eustorge to treat the monks as heretics, and while the archbishop was himself in exile in Acre, Friar Andrew began the procedure that led to the monks' martyrdom.¹

* I thank the City Pride Reading Group for their comments on this paper.

1. For the latest editions of the main sources for the event, see T. PAPADOPOULLOS, "Μαρτύριον Κυπρίων", in: *Τόμος αναμνηστικός ἐπὶ τῇ 50ετηρίδι τοῦ περιοδικοῦ "Ἀπόστολος Βασιλάδης" (1918-1968)*, Nicosia 1975, pp. 307-338, text on pp. 320-337; *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, ed. N. COUREAS, and C. SCHABEL, Nicosia 1997, no. 69; A.D. BEIHAMMER and C. SCHABEL, "Two Small Texts on the Wider Context of the Martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara in Cyprus, 1231", in: E. MOTOS GUIRAO and M. MORFAKIDIS (eds.), *Polyptychon. Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis*, Granada 2008, pp. 69-81. For Germanos' exhortations to struggle to the death, see the letter edited in A. DONDAINE, "Contra Graecos". Premiers écrits polémiques des

The issue concerned the type of bread suitable for the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In the later Middle Ages, in the eyes of Westerners, there were four main points that divided the Church of the Greeks from Rome: the proper position of the pope, the procession of the Holy Spirit, the postmortem fate of sinful souls ultimately destined to Paradise, and the communal bread of the sacrifice of the altar. Three of these points were already contentious in the eleventh century, but the existence of Purgatory only joined the three “classic” issues in the mid-thirteenth century, notably in the anonymous Dominican treatise *Contra Graecos* of 1252 and in the 1254 letter of Pope Innocent IV to his legate on Cyprus Cardinal Eudes of Châteauroux, himself a prominent theologian from the University of Paris;² it never drew the same attention from Latin theologians as did the others. Papal primacy — or rather monarchy — eventually became the main focus of debate, but it is not always clear that the Latins viewed “Greek disobedience” as a theological issue at all. Thus in 1234 the Franciscan and Dominican friars whom Pope Gregory sent to Nicaea and Nymphaeum to talk with Patriarch Germanos and his subordinates — as a direct result of the Cyprus executions of 1231³ — wanted to discuss the *Filioque* and leavened and unleavened bread.⁴ For a long time after the events of 1054, the Eucharist issue was actually the most prominent for the Greeks, whose lists of Latin errors could reach three figures,⁵ and even though the *Filioque* eventually

dominicains d'Orient”, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 21 (1951), pp. 320-446, at pp. 428-430. With Alexander Beihammer and Martin Hinterberger, I am working on a book on the episode within its general context.

2. *Contra Graecos*, in PG, vol. CXL, cols. 487-574; Innocent's letter of 6 March 1254: *Bullarium Cyprium I. Papal Letters Concerning Cyprus 1195-1261*, ed. C. SCHABEL, Nicosia 2010, no. e-84; see also J. LE GOFF, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. GOLDBAMMER, Chicago 1984, pp. 283-284.

3. This is clear from the correspondence between Germanos II and Gregory IX, *Acta Honorii papae III (1216-1227) et Gregorii papae IX (1227-1241)*, ed. A.L. TAUTU, Vatican City 1950, nos. 179-179a, and the texts that put the event in the wider perspective, BEIHAMMER-SCHABEL, “Two Small Texts” (above n. 1).

4. For a Latin record of the proceedings, see G. GOLUBOVICH, “Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum seu Relatio Apocrisariorum Gregorii IX de gestis Nicaeae in Bithynia et Nymphaeae in Lydia, 1234”, in: *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 12 (1919), pp. 418-470.

5. On Byzantine views of Latin errors in general, see T.M. KOLBABA, “Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious ‘Errors’: Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350”, in: A.E. LAIOU and R.P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington, DC, 2001, pp. 117-143, and also EADEM, *The Byzantine Lists. Errors of the Latins*, Urbana-Chicago 2000.

became the main point of theological dispute, the Latins never executed any Greeks for denying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.

Despite the issue's obvious historical significance in the Middle Ages, however, which was certainly recognized in the Early Modern period,⁶ most modern scholars have paid little attention to the details of the medieval dispute. In recent decades a few studies have been devoted to the Byzantine theological position, focusing on 1054, and to the problem's continuing prominence in Greek theology afterwards. There is certainly a lot of room for elaboration, but at least there is a solid foundation. For the Latins, in contrast, scholars have only begun analyzing the debate down to the Fourth Crusade, while for the later period we have almost nothing.⁷ As a result, even leading Byzantinists and medievalists are confused about what exactly the Latin position — or positions — was. Ironically, the Byzantinists probably have a clearer idea, but this is based on a small amount of source material and in any case they are less interested in investigating Western opinions *per se*.

6. See the list of texts in G. AVVAKUMOV, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Mittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche*, Berlin 2002, p. 31 and nn. 7-8. Examples are L. WADDING's commentary in the edition of JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, *In quantum librum Sententiarum* (Opera Omnia VIII), Lyons 1639, reprint Hildesheim 1968, pp. 678a-681b, 682a-684a, and J. MABILLON's extensive and learned *Dissertatio de pane eucharistico, azymo, ac fermentato* of 1673, published in PL, vol. CXLIII, cols. 1225-1278.

7. The most important study is now AVVAKUMOV, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens*, section A, "Der Azymenstreit" (above n. 6), pp. 29-159, and also section E, "Die Reflexion der Lateiner", *passim*; IDEM, "Der Azymenstreit Konflikte und Polemiken um eine Frage des Ritus", in: P. BRUNS and G. GRESSER (eds.), *Vom Schisma zu den Kreuzzügen: 1054-1204*, Paderborn 2005, pp. 9-26. For the Greek perspective on the theological issue in 1054, see also J.H. ERICKSON, "Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054", in: *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 14 (1970), pp. 155-176, and M.H. SMITH III, *And Taking Break... Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054*, Paris 1978. Their opinions are in stark contrast to that of J. MEYENDORFF, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York 1974, who writes of the Greeks' reasoning: "The weakness of these arguments requires no demonstration". For the Schism, see recently A. BAYER, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054*, Cologne 2002, T. KOLBABA, "The Legacy of Humbert and Cerularius: The Tradition of the 'Schism of 1054' in Byzantine Texts and Manuscripts of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", in: C. DENDRINOS et al. (eds.), *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, Aldershot 2003, pp. 47-61, and E. CHRYSOS, "1054: Schism?", in: *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente*, vol. I, Spoleto 2004, pp. 547-567. The article of R. MAYNE, "East and West in 1054", in: *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 11.2 (1954), pp. 133-148, can still be read with profit.

I have been gathering published and unpublished material from the Latin side, including polemical works, papal letters, consiliar decrees, biblical commentaries, calendrical treatises, canon law material, and hagiographical texts.⁸ While substantial, these genres are still limited compared to the potential material in university theological writings. In the present study, therefore, I will concentrate mostly on Western university materials from the theology faculties in the period between the Council of Nicaea-Nymphaeum and the Council of Florence. Two preliminary observations: first, bachelors and masters of theology in the West simply did not care much about disagreements with the Greeks. For example, of more than six thousand quodlibetal questions in theology dated from the 1230s to the 1330s, in which audience members could ask the disputants virtually any question they wanted, I have found only two that deal with the material of the Eucharist, neither of them concerning leavened and unleavened bread.⁹ University scholastics did not even spend much effort on the *Filioque* issue; although perhaps nine out of ten theologians devoted several pages to “the Greek question” in their comprehensive theological works, this is still at most only about 1% of the material, often much less. Even fewer theologians dealt with Eucharistic bread — maybe four out of five — and often for less than a page. Nevertheless, Peter Lombard treated the Sacrament of the Eucharist in distinctions 8-13 of book IV of the *Sentences*, which, along with the Bible, was the textbook for Western theology in the period in question. Thus, since we have perhaps a thousand commentaries from this era on the four books of Lombard’s *Sentences*, a number approaching two hundred on book IV to which we can attach names, the potential source material is

8. Some of these genres will be employed below, but according to J. BRUNDAGE, “The Decretalists and the Greek Church of South Italy”, in: *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall’VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno Storico Interecclesiale, Bari, 30 aprile- 4 maggio 1969*, Padua 1973, pp. 1075-1081, at p. 1081, canon lawyers did not concern themselves with the issue of unleavened bread. A letter of Pope Honorius III to the bishop of Brescia in northern Italy, deposing a priest for among other things celebrating with unleavened bread, made its way into the *Decretalia Gregorii IX*, lib. III, tit. XLI, De celebratione missae, c. 14; *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 2, ed. A. FRIEDBERG, Leipzig 1881, col. 643, but this applied to Latins.

9. See the lists in P. GLORIEUX, *La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320*, 2 vols., Kain 1925 and Paris 1935, with updates and the state of the research in C. SCHABEL (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., Leiden-Boston 2006-07.

rather abundant.¹⁰ The vast majority of these texts are unpublished, however, so I have restricted myself to an inspection of about fifty of the most important commentaries on book IV, often in manuscript, more than forty of which contain pertinent discussion, usually in distinction 11 or 12.¹¹

The second preliminary observation is that these texts were meant for internal consumption and where they exist they are in their natural doctrinal context, discussions of the Eucharist amidst general material on the sacraments, and the same goes for the *Filioque* treatments in distinction 11 of book I, embedded in the section on the Holy Spirit within the extensive coverage of trinitarian theology. In a polemical work the author chooses his topic, has an agenda, and writes to defeat the other side or to help his own kind in debate. In addition, polemical works were usually not written by the leading intellectuals of Western Christendom, although Thomas Aquinas is an exception. Hagiographical texts and papal letters present their own problems, of course, and consiliar decrees are too brief. So if one wants to know

10. For Peter Lombard and the *Sentences*, see M.L. COLISH, *Peter Lombard*, 2. vols., Leiden 1994, and Ph.W. ROSEMAN, *Peter Lombard*, Oxford 2004. For *Sentences* commentaries, see G.R. EVANS (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, Leiden 2002, and vol. II, ed. P.W. ROSEMAN, Leiden 2009.

11. In the notes that follow, to save space I will only cite the Latin for texts that have never been printed. In addition to anonymous works I have inspected the commentaries on book IV of the *Sentences* by the Franciscans Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, William de la Mare, Matthew of Aquasparta, Richard of Menneville, William of Ware, John Duns Scotus, John of Bassol, Hugh of Novocastro, Peter Auriol, Landulph Caracciolo, William of Ockham, Francis of Marchia, Francis of Meyronnes, Walter Chatton, Gerard Odonis, William Rubio, John Rodington, Adam Wodeham, Peter of Aquila, and Peter of Candia; the Dominicans Hugh of St Cher, Hannibaldus of Hannibaldi, William of Peter Godinus, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Tarentaise, Hervaeus Natalis, Durand of St Pourçain, and Peter of Palude; the Augustinians Henry Friemar, Thomas of Strasbourg, and John Hiltalinger of Basel; the Carmelites John Baconthorpe, Paul of Perugia, Michael Aiguani, and Arnold of Seehusen; the Cistercians Humbert of Prouilly and John of Mirecourt; the Benedictine Richard of Bromwich; and the seculars Richard Fitzralph, Pierre d'Ailly, Conrad of Soltau, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, Peter Reicher de Pirckenwart, and Thomas Ebendorfer of Hasselbach. Via P.J.J.M. BAKKER, *La raison et le miracle: les doctrines eucharistiques (c. 1250–c. 1400)*, Nijmegen 1999, I had access to several other commentaries from the later fourteenth century. For a few other authors cited below, I used other pertinent theological texts. For lists of other types of texts, mostly down to about the time of the Second Council of Lyons, see AVVAKUMOV, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens* (above n. 6), pp. 91–103 (43 Greek writings) and pp. 118–124 (49 Latin works, although only six *Sentences* commentaries, the same number used by MABILLON, *Dissertatio* [above n. 6], c. 5, cols. 1243D–1244A).

what the top authorities, the brightest minds, have to say, without fear of being overheard by the enemy, in closed quarters far from the front, it is to *Sentences* commentaries that we must turn.¹²

The goal of this paper, then, is to pose and attempt to answer some questions about the internal Latin discussion on the bread of the Eucharist. What were the authorities cited and the arguments employed? Did all Latins have the same attitude toward the Greeks? In the case of the *Filioque*, Western theologians eventually split into two broad groups, one of hardliners often associated with the Dominican Order, the other more sympathetic to the Greek position, following the general Franciscan line.¹³ Is this also the case with unleavened bread?

THE BACKGROUND

"This is my body"

"And whilst they were at [the Last] Supper, Jesus took bread and blessed and broke and gave to his disciples and said: 'Take ye and eat. This is my body'". So goes the Douai translation of the Vulgate Gospel according to Matthew, a passage paralleled in Mark and Luke, the latter adding: "Do this for a commemoration of me". By the eleventh century the Greeks were using ordinary leavened bread — *enzymus* or *fermentatus* — in the Sacrament of the Altar, while the Latins were employing unleavened bread — *azymus*. Both groups insisted that they were following Christ's instructions when He said, "Do this in remembrance of me", to use the more familiar New International Version.

12. I have made this point in C. SCHABEL, "Attitudes towards the Greeks and the History of the *Filioque* Dispute in 14th-Century Oxford", in P. PIATTI (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade Revisited. Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'ottavo centenario della IV Crociata 1204-2004. Andros (Grecia) 27-30 maggio 2004*, Vatican City 2008, pp. 320-335.

13. For the *Filioque* discussion vis-à-vis the Dominicans and Franciscans, see SCHABEL, "Attitudes towards the Greeks", and R.L. FRIEDMAN, *Intellectual Traditions in the Medieval University: The Use of Philosophical Psychology in Trinitarian Theology among the Franciscans and Dominicans, 1250-1350*, Leiden 2011. On the mendicants and the Greeks, see also D.J. GEANAKOPOLOS, "Bonaventura, the Two Mendicant Orders and the Greeks at the Council of Lyon", in: idem, *Constantinople and the West: Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissance and the Byzantine and Roman Churches*, Madison 1989, no. III, pp. 183-211 (= *Studies in Church History* 13 [1976]), and C. DELACROIX-BESNIER, *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté grecque aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Rome 1997.

What happened during the first millenium of the Christian era with respect to the type of bread used is unclear, although interesting explanations were developed later, as we shall see.

The first murmurings against the Latin "azymites" may have been heard in the first half of the eleventh century, but the true explosion occurred in the famous dispute between Patriarch Michael Keroularios and Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, which culminated in what used to be called the Schism of 1054. As Tia Kolbaba suggests, "Ironically, success had caused these fierce fights".¹⁴ With the expansion of the reinvigorated Byzantine Empire in the late ninth, tenth, and early eleventh centuries, the Greeks came up against groups of Christians that had been separated from what the Byzantines considered "orthodoxy" for centuries. In particular, in Byzantine eyes, Armenians were stained with the monophysite heresy, which Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos and Keroularios tried to eliminate starting in the 1040s. Perhaps because the Armenians used unleavened bread, the Byzantines developed an argument linking azymes to the monophysites: it was without soul. Moreover, there were now more Jews in the empire, and Greek theologians decided that the use of azymes was also "Judaizing", reflecting the Jewish Passover. Thus the use of azymes came to be seen — especially by the lower levels of the clergy — as a symbol of heresy in itself. Separated from the original context, it may have been partly guilt by association that Keroularios attacked the Latins.¹⁵

The Greek debates with the Latin "azymites" from 1054 to the University era focused on Old and New Testament passages regarding Passover and the Last Supper and on the symbolic superiority of leavened or unleavened bread. The Greeks claimed that the word "bread", "artos" in Greek, stood for normal leavened bread, while the Latins retorted that "bread", "panis", was a generic word for all bread. The Greeks asserted that unleavened bread symbolized death, while leaven represented life, but the Latins replied with scriptural passages suggesting that leaven symbolized wickedness. Moreover, the Latins insisted that the Last Supper occurred during the time of the azymes,

14. KOLBABA, "Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors'" (above n. 5), p. 122.

15. See KOLBABA, "Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors'" (above n. 5), pp. 122-125.

when the Jews were restricted to eating unleavened bread. The trouble here was that the four evangelists seem to have said different things: Matthew, Mark, and Luke appeared to relate that the Last Supper took place when unleavened bread was in use, as the Latins claimed, while John was read as supporting the opposite, as the Greeks held. But regardless of the timing, the Greeks could assert that Christ established a new rite and a new law, and that the Latins were Judaizing by sticking to the old law. The Latins replied that Christ came to fulfill the law, not to destroy it. This, then, was the issue.

I'm OK, You're OK

The first and most important thing one discovers in the sources is that there is a distinct lack of parallel between the Greek and Latin positions as presented in the Western texts. The Greeks maintain that the Latins *cannot* perform the sacrament with unleavened bread, that is, the Body of Christ simply cannot be made with unleavened bread. The Latins, on the other hand, *universally* accept the validity of the Greek sacrament using leavened bread. This is rarely understood today, and at best one usually finds that the Latins allowed this "occasionally". For Western theologians, then, the primary reason for the existence of the question is the Greeks' denial of the validity of the Latin rite: Latins do not commune; they do not partake in the Body of Christ; they do not receive the life-giving Grace of the Corpus Christi. When they eat, the wafer is not "my body". For many Greeks, the Latin "azymites" are even "heretics", a strong word in the mind of a Latin.¹⁶

Lest one think that it is merely the enlightened professors of theology who had this position among the Latins, it needs to be emphasized that this was also the view "on the ground", so to speak. Friar Andrew never questioned the validity of the Greek rite, but was angered that the Greeks denied that of the Latins and persisted to their deaths in labelling the Westerners heretics. Likewise, according to the *Life of St Luke, Bishop of Isola Capo Rizzuto*, when the Greek bishop and holy man had a disputation with some Latins in Norman Italy around 1100, after presenting the Greek position supporting

16. As MABILLON notes, *Dissertatio* (above n. 6), c. 2, cols 1235B-1237B, while the Latin acceptance of the Greek rite was universal, some "Graeci prudentiores ac moderatores" did not insist that the Latin rite was heretical.

leavened bread, Luke added, "But you Latins, interpreting the Scriptures like the Pharisees, celebrate with unleavened bread in the Jewish manner", accusing them of this "and many other heresies". At this the Latins put him in a hut and set fire to it on all sides, but with God's help Luke miraculously survived.¹⁷ It was not the Greeks' practice, but their accusation of Latin heresy, that mattered.¹⁸

Papal letters bear this out. Pope Leo IX's letter — probably authored by Humbert and never sent — of 1053 to Archbishop Leo of Ohrid begins by complaining that "you, Leo of Ohrid, are said to have damned the Apostolic and Latin Church especially because it dares to commemorate the Lord's passion with unleavened bread". The letter goes on to request that the Greeks cease calling the Latins "azymites" and reopen the Latin churches and monasteries in Constantinople: "See how the Roman Church is so much more discreet, moderate, and clement to you in this respect", since it has left the Greek churches and monasteries in and around Rome in peace.¹⁹ At the beginning of 1054 Leo wrote letters to Michael Keroularios and Constantine Monomachos, accusing them of anathematizing the participation in a sacrament performed with unleavened bread.²⁰ Pope Gregory VII expressed similar sentiments in 1080 when he wrote to the bishop of Synnada in Asia Minor, relating that the latter sacrificed in unleavened bread, a practice that the Greeks considered quasi heretical. "Recommending their leavened bread, they do not cease to bombard us obstinately with quick words of censure", "while when we defend our unleavened bread with invincible reason, we neither censure nor reprove their leavened bread".²¹

17. *Vita di S. Luca, vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, ed. and Italian trans. G. SCHIRÒ, Palermo 1954, pp. 106-109. Luke did die later of unclear causes. For this episode, see also Martin Hinterberger's paper in this volume.

18. We have another interesting example from Southern Italy in 1334. According to a Greek note in Vat. Barber. gr. 475, ff. 130v-131r, on 8 May of that year, Archbishop Peter of Reggio (di Calabria) received a letter from "our most holy Pope John XXII's vicar, Count Raymond of Campania", ordering that "no bishop, priest, archimandrite, or abbot" should practice any Greek rite, "except for their not sacrificing with unleavened bread"; P. SCHREINER, "Notizie sulla storia della Chiesa greca in Italia in manoscritti greci", in: *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo* (above n. 8), pp. 883-908, at p. 897, no. 33.

19. *Acta Romanorum Pontificum a s. Clemente I (an. c. 90) ad Coelestinum III (†1198)*, Vatican City 1943, no. 370.

20. *Acta Romanorum Pontificum a Clemente I ad Coelestinum III* (above n. 19), nos. 371-372.

21. *Acta Romanorum Pontificum a Clemente I ad Coelestinum III* (above n. 19), no. 380.

The popes expressed little interest in the matter unless provoked. In the twelfth century there seem to be no traces at all, and while papal policy insisted that the Latins themselves employ unleavened bread, in the thirteenth century all the focus appears to have been on the Cyprus incident and its aftermath. In 1231 Pope Gregory IX's letter ordering that the monks of Kantara be treated as heretics noted that they "publicly protested that the Sacrament of the Eucharist does not exist on our altar, and that the Body of Christ should not be made of unleavened bread but rather of leavened bread".²² When Gregory wrote to Patriarch Germanos II in 1233, he showed his preference for unleavened bread but made a point that both leavened and unleavened were permissible.²³ In 1234 Gregory's delegation of Franciscans and Dominicans went to Germanos and the Emperor John Vatatzes to discuss the *Filioque* and azymes, and indirectly papal primacy, but the Greeks did all that they could to avoid the issue of unleavened bread.²⁴ At Nicaea it was passed over completely, despite the Latins' insistence, and it was only after great effort that the Latins were able to get the discussion going after the council moved to Nymphaeum. The question had nothing to do with the Greek practice: "Can we make the body of Christ with unleavened bread or not?" they repeated twice. Eventually, the Greeks responded: "we answer that this is impossible". A long discussion ensued, in which the Latins combatted the Greek arguments and concluded that, if any side were wrong, it was the Greeks', in which case "you cannot prepare it with leavened bread. *And nevertheless we do not say this*". When asked exactly what

22. *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, ed. COUREAS-SCHABEL, no. 69, translated in *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196-1373*, ed. and trans. C. SCHABEL, Nicosia 2001, no. X.12.

23. *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* (above n. 3), ed. TAUTU, no. 193.

24. Inexplicably, J. MEYENDORFF, "Theology in the Thirteenth Century: Methodological Contrasts", in J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES (ed.), *KAΘΗΜΕΤΕΡΙΑ. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for Her 80th Birthday*, Camberley, Sussex, 1988, pp. 395-407, at p. 401, writes that the issue was discussed "at the insistence of the Greeks"! One could argue that the Greek reluctance was due to their wish to avoid the repetition elsewhere of the Cyprus episode, but it is more likely that the Greeks were less sure of their position on this issue, especially considering that the Latins tolerated the Greek rite. On the issue at Nymphaeum, see also G. AVVAKUMOV, "Die Mendikanten und der Unionsversuch von 1234. Eine wichtige Episode in den Verständigungsbemühungen zwischen Rom und der griechischen Kirche", in: T. PRÜGL and M. SCHLOSSER (eds.), *Kirchenbild und Spiritualität. Dominikanische Beiträge zur Ekklesiologie und zum kirchlichen Leben im Mittelalter*, Paderborn et alibi 2007, pp. 129-142, at pp. 137-141.

they wanted, the Latins replied: "Concerning the body of Christ we say thus: that it is necessary for you to believe firmly, and preach to others, *that the body of Christ can be prepared with unleavened just as with leavened bread*, and all the books that your people have written against the faith should be condemned and burnt". Eventually the emperor offered to accept the use of unleavened bread in exchange for the removal of the *Filioque* from the Latins' creed, an offer that was of course rejected. The council finally concluded as follows:

[Latins]: "Again, you believe and say that the body of Christ cannot be prepared with unleavened bread; but this is heretical; therefore you are heretics. Because we find you heretics and excommunicates, we leave you as heretics and excommunicates". And having said these things we left the council, with them shouting after us: "Rather you are the heretics".²⁵

Not a happy ending. Afterwards the Greeks no longer struggled to the death, and the Latins avoided executing them, but the problem continued and Pope Gregory had elevated the Greek denial of the validity of the Latin rite — and accusation of Latin heresy — to a heresy itself. In 1238 Gregory wrote to the patriarch of Antioch and bishop of Tortosa and two years later he addressed another letter to Archbishop Eustorge of Nicosia, demanding that the Greeks swear the oath of obedience to Rome and abjure the "heresy... whereby they falsely claim that the Latins are heretics because they celebrate Mass with unleavened bread".²⁶

Many of the Greeks of Cyprus chose exile rather than submission, and many years later, after the bulk had returned, around 1280 Archbishop Ranulph of Nicosia was at pains to persuade the Greeks that "it does not matter whether they perform it with leavened or unleavened bread... as long as they believe that in both ways it is the true body of Christ". Since some local Greeks continued to call the Latins heretics, however, Ranulph later reiterated that this accusation itself was heresy.²⁷ A decade later Bishop Berard of Limassol made a visitation of the Greek Bishop Matthew in his cathedral in Lefkara, asking Matthew and

25. GOLUBOVICH, "Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum" (above n. 4), pp. 429-430, 444, 449-451, 453, 460, 462-464.

26. *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX* (above n. 3), nos. 230 and 262; *Synodicum Nicosiense* (above n. 22), no. X.13.

27. *Synodicum Nicosiense* (above n. 22), nos. B.6a and 18g.

his priests for their opinion about the use of unleavened bread, but they refused to say anything at all about the Latin rite.²⁸

In his book on the controversy of 1054, Mahlon Smith suggests the possibility that “the Byzantines were on the defensive from the first”.²⁹ This seems highly unlikely, given that the Latins had no reason to attack a rite that they considered valid, even if not based on Christ’s model. The profession of faith of Michael Palaiologos from the Second Council of Lyons, which had been in the works for several years, merely states that “the Roman Church performs the Sacrament of the Eucharist from unleavened bread, holding and teaching that in this sacrament the bread is truly transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, of our Lord Jesus Christ”.³⁰ Nothing is said about the Greek rite, which was not in doubt.

Accordingly, Western theologians never invalidated the Greek rite and often specifically approved it. Cardinal Humbert himself, before launching into a defense of the superiority of azymes, was careful to preface his remarks by saying, “therefore, saving, as is right, the reverence of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in leavened and unleavened bread, let us investigate...”.³¹ Fifty years later Anselm of Canterbury was even more clear that leavened bread was acceptable.³²

28. *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI (1276-1304)*, ed. F.M. DELORME and A.L. TAUTU, Vatican City 1954, nos. 119-120; *Synodicum Nicosiense* (above n. 22), nos. X.31-32.

29. SMITH, *And Taking Bread...* (above n. 7), p. 157. While admitting (pp. 27-28) that westerners considered the eastern position valid, Smith nevertheless sees *both* sides as adopting an “uncompromising attitude towards each other” (p. 33; cf. p. 156).

30. H. DENZINGER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, edd. 24-25, Barcelona 1948, no. 465.

31. HUMBERT OF SILVA CANDIDA, *Adversus Graecorum calumnias*, c. 29, in PL, vol. CXLIII (cols 929-974), col. 948B.

32. For example, around the same time, ALGER OF LIÈGE wrote in his *De sacramentis* II, c. 10 (PL, vol. CLXXX, cols. 827-830) that the Greeks “detest” the sacrifices of the Latins. Alger reports that the controversy had reached the point where the Latins had begun terming the Greeks “fermentarians”, although many Catholics were aware that “it is not against the Christian faith whether unleavened or leavened is sacrificed”. They are both bread, and although Christ used unleavened, He did not prohibit leavened. It is well known that RUPERT OF DEUTZ was not exactly a Philhellene, and this is also apparent in his attacks on the Greeks in his *De divinis officiis* II, c. 22 (PL, vol. CLXX, cols. 48-51), even in his chapter on unleavened bread. Nevertheless, he stopped short of declaring that one could not perform the sacrament with leavened bread. In a sermon from closer to mid-century, PIERRE DE CELLE still complained that “the Greeks call us azymites”, and he spent a great deal of time extolling unleavened bread in his *Liber de panibus*,

In short, all Western scholars writing in the century and a half prior to the Fourth Crusade maintained that Christ used unleavened bread and that the Roman practice was therefore the most fitting way to perform the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but none of them denied that the Greek rite was valid, some were explicit that the Greek rite did bring about the body of Christ, and a few even stated that this was acceptable.

The only apparent exception in fact proves this rule: in 1149-50 Anselm of Havelberg composed his *Antikeimenon*, a long treatise including what is purported to be a record of a real discussion he had in Constantinople in 1136.³³ In the dialogue it is Anselm who attacks and his debating partner, Archbishop Nicetas of Nicomedia, who asserts that both leavened and unleavened are valid, in the end leading Anselm to respond by saying that he likes that idea. Aristeides Papadakis has written that "Nicetas' perceptive defense of the Orthodox case is one of the most eloquent ever made by a Byzantine churchman".³⁴ Ironically, however, Anselm's work turns out to be a fictionalized account of the debate, incorporating material from his other works and designed to promote peace between Greeks and Latins by portraying the Greeks in a positive light for the pope and other Westerners.³⁵ This explains why, all of a sudden, the typical Latin arguments end up in the mouth of Archbishop Nicetas.

c. 4 (PL, vol. CCII, cols. 943-951), contrasting it with leavened, without however mentioning the Greeks or attacking their rite. Somewhat later BALDWIN OF CANTERBURY approached the subject in his *De sacramento altaris* (PL, vol. CCIV, cols. 651-652), defending the use of unleavened bread as that following Christ's model, but not damning the Greek practice. SICARD OF CREMONA's *Summa de officiis ecclesiasticis*, c. 6 (PL, vol. CCXIII, cols. 118-119), "because of the Greeks' rudeness", also contains a discussion "whether this bread should be unleavened or leavened", maintaining the clear suitability of the Roman rite.

33. ANSELM OF HAVELBERG, *Dialogus*, in PL, vol. CLXXXVIII, cols. 1139-1248, book III on azymes on cols. 1209-1248.

34. A. PAPADAKIS, in collaboration with J. MEYENDORFF, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, Crestwood, NY 1994, p. 156 (and pp. 156-163 in general).

35. See J.T. LEES, *Anselm of Havelberg. Deeds into Words in the Twelfth Century*, Leiden 1998, pp. 11-122 on Anselm's life and 164-281 on the *Antikeimenon*, esp. 256-271. See also idem, "Confronting the Otherness of the Greeks: Anselm of Havelberg and the Division between Greeks and Latins", in: *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 68 (1992), pp. 224-240, correcting, for example, G.R. EVANS, "Anselm of Canterbury and Anselm of Havelberg: the Controversy with the Greeks", in: *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 53 (1977), pp. 158-175.

Anselm of Canterbury and Pope Innocent III

Aside from the Bible itself, the main authorities Western university theologians cited in their arguments against the Greeks on the issue of eucharistic bread were Anselm of Canterbury and Pope Innocent III. Although Anselm died in 1109, he did not rise to become a Father of the Latin Church until the thirteenth century. Innocent's words carried great weight from the start.

A couple of years before his death, Anselm of Canterbury wrote his *Epistola de sacrificio azimi et fermentati* to Bishop Walram of Naumberg, who had asked for Anselm's advice to debate the Greeks.³⁶ Anselm begins by stating that "many judicious Catholics" accept the Greek practice, because the Gospels do not state explicitly whether the bread at the Last Supper was leavened or unleavened, and the two types do not differ in substance. Yet it is better, according to Anselm, to use unleavened bread, "not only because to do so is much more suitable, pure, and exact, but also because the Lord did this. Hence it is not to be passed over in silence that when the Greeks anathematize the 'azymites' — for this is what they call us — they are anathematizing Christ".³⁷ To the accusation that the Latins Judaize, Anselm therefore replies that the charge is also directed at Christ, which would be an error, because Christ's intent was not to obey the Jewish law. Likewise, the Latins do not employ unleavened bread in order to follow the Old Law, but to imitate Christ. Since, therefore, the Latins use unleavened bread for this reason, and not because of symbolism, the Greeks cannot judge them on this basis.

If, however, the Greeks insist that the eucharistic bread must have symbolic significance, then Anselm replies with the standard Latin arguments for the symbolic superiority of unleavened bread, referring especially to the "leaven of malice and wickedness" of I Corinthians 5.8. As a result, Anselm sees only two options: "either we [Latins] alone act rightly and they [Greeks] act wrongly, or else if they act

36. ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, *The Sacrifice of Unleavened and Leavened Bread*, in *Complete Philosophical and Theological Treatises of Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. J. HOPKINS and H. RICHARDSON, Minneapolis 2000, pp. 515-522, translated from F.S. SCHMITT's critical edition in *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, Edinburgh 1946, pp. 223-232.

37. ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, *The Sacrifice of Unleavened and Leavened Bread* (above n. 36), c. 2, trans. HOPKINS-RICHARDSON, p. 516.

rightly we act more rightly and more correctly".³⁸ This being the case, Anselm concludes his discussion as follows:

Therefore, let the fermentarians defend their position with rational considerations as strong as those with which the azymites corroborate theirs, or else let them cast away their own leaven and become azymites. Or if they cannot do the former and are unwilling to do the latter, let them at least not reproach the azymites.³⁹

The circumstances of the composition of Anselm's letter and its overall conclusion, therefore, focus on one thing: the Greeks' accusation that the Latins err in using unleavened bread. The Greek practice is acceptable, for Anselm, but if the Greeks claim that the Latin practice is erroneous and if they wish to debate the issue, they will lose, so it is better for them to keep quiet.

In the 1190s, while still Cardinal Loratio, the future pope penned his treatise *De sacro altaris mysterio*, in which a chapter is devoted to whether Christ used unleavened or leavened bread.⁴⁰ Innocent III is certain, based on the timing, that Christ "without doubt consecrated unleavened bread into His body". He adds that symbolically unleavened is better, "but the Greeks, stubborn in their error, make it with leavened bread", maintaining that it was not yet the time of the azymes. Innocent explains that "Pascha" can be taken in five ways, as the day, the festival (*sollemnitas*), the lamb, the time, and azymes. When "Pascha" is correctly understood in the passages employed by the Greeks, they do not show that Christ anticipated the time of the azymes. Many theologians would utilize this proof of Greek "equivocation". After defending against the Greeks' charge of Judaizing and their claims that leavened bread is symbolically superior, Innocent concludes his discussion with a general attack on the Eastern Church:

This alone suffices for the Latins against the Greeks: because the corruption of heresies fermented the Church of Constantinople, so that it produced not only heretics, but even heresiarchs. But no storm of

38. ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, *The Sacrifice of Unleavened and Leavened Bread* (above n. 36), c. 5, trans. HOPKINS-RICHARDSON, p. 519.

39. ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, *The Sacrifice of Unleavened and Leavened Bread* (above n. 36), c. 6, trans. HOPKINS-RICHARDSON, p. 522.

40. INNOCENT III, *De sacro altaris mysterio libri sex* IV, c. 4 (PL, vol. CCXVII, cols. 854-858).

heretical perversity was able to shake the Roman Church, founded on the rock of apostolic faith with stable solidity. Rather it always observed with the faith entire what it took from the apostles... It received this rite from the blessed apostles Peter and Paul... which until now it has observed in inviolable worship. But after the Greeks tore the seamless tunic of the Lord, in order to interpose a scandal of perpetual division, they rashly changed the rite of the sacrifice. Leo IX refuted them concerning various heresies in a letter sent to the emperor of Constantinople. They were calling the Latins, among other things, "azymites", when more truly they should be known as "fermentarians".⁴¹

While not calling the Greek practice heretical, the canon lawyer outdid his theologian predecessors in anti-Greek rhetoric. It seems he mellowed upon becoming pope, and in his revised treatise he asked whether those who sacrifice with leavened bread actually sacrifice: "Above it was shown sufficiently that Christ consecrated unleavened bread, when He established the sacrament. Yet many people still sacrifice with leavened bread, but the Roman Church is in communion with these true Catholics".⁴² What about Innocent's theologian successors?

THE UNIVERSITY DEBATE

By the University era most of the weapons in the arsenal of Latin *authoritates* to be deployed against the Greeks on the issue of unleavened bread had been forged. The Old and New Testament passages on the Hebrew calendar, Passover rituals, and the Last Supper had been collected in order to prove that Christ broke bread with his disciples during the time when azymes were prescribed. Quotations that suggested that the *Cena* happened before this were reconciled with the

41. INNOCENT III, *De sacro altaris mysterio* (above n. 40) IV, c. 4, cols. 857-858.

42. INNOCENT III, *De sacro altaris mysterio* (above n. 40) IV, c. 33, col. 878. For a discussion of Innocent's changing attitude, see A.J. ANDREA, "Innocent III and the Byzantine Rite, 1198-1216", in: A. LAIOU (ed.), *Urbs Capta. The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences*, Paris 2005, pp. 111-122, esp. 114-115 and 119-120. Cf. J. GILL, "Innocent III and the Greeks: Aggressor or Apostle?", in: D. BAKER (ed.), *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, Edinburgh 1973, pp. 95-108. ANDREA, p. 114, also points to the contemporary chronicle of GUNTHER OF PAIRIS, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. ORTH, Hildesheim and Zürich 1994, p. 129, ll. 56-58, who remarks that in their denial of the *Filioque* and their way of sacrificing the Greeks "a fide catholica dissidebant".

others on the basis of the future Pope Innocent III's explanation that *Pascha* could be taken in several ways — he mentioned five, but later commentators listed up to seven. In this way, the Greeks were thought to be deceived because of equivocation. To the Greek assertion that *artos* — *panis* in Latin — meant only leavened bread, the Latins again replied by gathering scriptural references where *artos* was used ambiguously for both leavened and unleavened bread. Hearing of the Greek charges of Judaizing, the Latins usually answered that Christ came to fulfill the law, not to destroy it, adding that they did not employ unleavened bread in order to obey anyway, but to follow Christ's example. Finally, in response to Greek claims of the superior symbolism of leavened bread, the Latins collected biblical passages in support of the purity and sincerity of unleavened bread.

Listing which university bachelors and masters of theology cited which biblical passages, then, will not reveal anything new. There does not seem to be a marked pattern anywhere according to religious order or chronology. Rather the main criterion seems merely to be the amount of space each theologian devoted to the issue, ranging from nothing at all to over ten printed pages.

The question asked did vary. The most popular was simply whether the proper bread of the Eucharist was unleavened or leavened, or whether the sacrament should be performed with unleavened or leavened bread. There were several alternatives, however, each extant in a number of texts: Did Christ use unleavened or leavened? Must we perform it with unleavened bread? Can it be done with leavened bread? Or even, should it be in unleavened, leavened, or either way? The phrasing of the question dictated the structure of the reply, without affecting its essence, and no clear patterns can be discerned.

You Can But You May Not

Between the Fourth Crusade and the execution of the Kantara monks the main Western treatments might be characterized as slightly more hostile to the Greeks, following Innocent III's more negative attitude. Innocent's impact on Guy d'Orchelles' *Tractatus de sacramentis*, probably from just after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, is evident. Guy links the Greek rite with their "error" and asserts that their frequent deviation from the Roman Church should not inspire

confidence in their beliefs. Yet he stops short of saying that the Greeks do not make the body of Christ. In the 1220s, William of Auxerre expresses a similar opinion in his *Summa aurea*, and in the early *Sentences* commentaries of his contemporaries Hugh of St Cher and Alexander of Hales, who entered the new Dominican and Franciscan Orders respectively, we also find a negative attitude toward the Greek rite, but without an outright condemnation.⁴³

Pope Gregory IX was both more belligerent and more tolerant than Innocent, simultaneously accepting the complete validity of the Greek rite while actively condemning the heresy of the Greek accusations against the Latins. At the same time, Gueric of Saint-Quentin, one of the first Dominican masters of theology at the University of Paris, both explained the situation succinctly and reflected his pope's attitude in his *Quaestio de controversia Graecorum et Latinorum*, concerning unleavened bread:

As for what is asked, whether it is allowed to prepare [the sacrament] with leavened and unleavened bread, we say that it is allowed, nor are the Greeks to be scolded because they prepare it with leavened bread, but because they exclude the possibility that it can be prepared with unleavened bread. For that is the *heresy*; to say that what is allowed is not allowed.⁴⁴

In the 1240s, the Oxford Dominican Richard Fichacre was still calling the Greek practice itself erroneous,⁴⁵ and the Franciscan William

43. GUY D'ORCHELLES, *Tractatus de sacramentis ex eius Summa de sacramentis et officiis Ecclesiae*, c. 5, ed. D. and O. VAN DEN EYNDE, St Bonaventure, NY 1953, pp. 59, ll. 20-21, and 62, ll. 10-12; WILLIAM OF AUXERRE, *Summa aurea* IV, c. 8, ed. J. RIBAILLIER, Paris-Grottaferrata 1985, pp. 185-193, esp. p. 192, ll. 199-201; HUGH OF ST CHER, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 13, MS Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA 2 109, ff. 17vb-18va; ALEXANDER OF HALES, *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* IV, dd. 10-11, ed. Quaracchi 1957, esp. p. 190, ll. 21-22.

44. GUERRIC OF SAINT-QUENTIN, *Quaestio de controversia Graecorum et Latinorum*, MS Praha, Národní knihovna České Republiky, IV.D.13 (ff. 117vb-118rb), f. 118ra: "Quod queritur, utrum de fermentato et azimo liceat conficere, dicimus quod licet, nec reprobantur Greci quia de fermentato conficiunt, sed quia excludunt posse conficere de azimo. In hoc enim heresis est, cum licitum dicatur illicitum." I thank Ayelet Evenezra for alerting me to this text and sending me a digital reproduction. On Gueric, see J.-P. TORRELL's introduction to *Gueric of Saint-Quentin, Quaestiones de quolibet*, ed. W.H. PRINCEP with J. BLACK, Toronto 2002.

45. RICHARD FICHACRE, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 8, q. 3, ed. J. GOERING, forthcoming: "Hinc ergo sufficienter patet quod errant Graeci conficiendo de fermentato". I thank Professor Goering for kindly sending me his unpublished edition.

of Meliton was in agreement with Gueric of Saint-Quentin that the Greeks not only err in damning the Latin usage, but "they are justly judged to be heretics" for this charge. Meliton's opinion was copied verbatim into the *Summa Alexandrina*.⁴⁶

In general, however, the era of Pope Innocent IV (1243-54), in conjunction with the rising influence of Anselm of Canterbury, seems to have brought a further thaw. Afterwards virtually every theologian who spent any time on the issue made a point of saying that one can and in fact does bring about the body of Christ with both unleavened and leavened bread, "otherwise the Greeks would not consecrate it, the opposite of which is conceded", in the Augustinian John Hiltalinger's words (Paris, 1360s).⁴⁷ The secular theologian Richard Fitzralph used the argument that "the Church of the Greeks is considered faithful" to show that the use of leavened bread was valid (Oxford, ca. 1330).⁴⁸ For many a mere citation of Anselm's opinion was sufficient to demonstrate that both types of bread could be used.

This is granted despite the fact that about half of the theologians mention explicitly that the Greeks deny that the Latin rite is at all efficacious. The Greek claim enraged some in the later thirteenth century, like the Dominican Albert the Great, who characterized their assertions as "stupid" and stated that "the Greeks don't know what they are saying, just as on many other matters". Thomas Aquinas agrees, calling "stupid" the "error", although he attributes it to "some" Greeks, not all.⁴⁹ The Franciscan Richard of Menneville referred to it as "an error against the Christian faith".⁵⁰ Yet only a few, such as Pierre d'Ailly, writing in the 1370s, called this heresy.⁵¹

46. WILLIAM OF MELITON, *Quaestiones de sacramentis* IV, pars III, q. 9, ed. G. GAL, Quaracchi 1961, vol. II, pp. 544-556, at p. 554, ll. 25-33. Cf. early modern editions of the *Summa Alexandrina*.

47. JOHN HILTALINGER OF BASEL, *In primum librum Sententiarum*, qq. de eucharistia, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26711, f. 338rb: "Tertio, quia aut talis panis de necessitate debet esse azimus vel etiam potest esse fermentatus... non primum, quia tunc Greci non consecrarent, cuius oppositum conceditur".

48. RICHARD FITZRALPH, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, q. 29, a. 1, MS Oxford, Oriel College Library, 15, f. 110rb: "Adhuc Ecclesia Grecorum utitur fermentato solo... sed Ecclesia Grecorum reputatur fidelis".

49. ALBERT THE GREAT, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 12, c. a. 8 (Opera Omnia 29), Paris 1894, p. 307a; THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra gentiles* IV, c. 69, n. 4.

50. RICHARD OF MENNEVILLE, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 2, q. 3, ed. Brescia 1591, p. 140b.

51. PIERRE D'AILLY, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, q. 5, a. 1, ed. s.n., f. 250ra.

Nevertheless, many scholastics attacked the Greek rite itself, maintaining a sort of “you can but you may not” attitude. For Albert the Great, it has to be done with unleavened bread, otherwise it is sinful and contrary to what is fitting and lawful: “Thus when consecrating, the Greeks sin against the law and with respect to what is fitting”.⁵² Another way to put it is that, although the use of unleavened bread is not necessary for the consecrated sacrament, it is necessary for the one consecrating it. After the collapse of the union reached at Lyons II, most Latin theologians would adopt one of these two ways of expressing their disapproval.⁵³

Within this general consensus, however, there are some deviations and even some new developments, which will be the focus of the remainder of this paper. The most interesting item to note is that the split between the Franciscan and Dominican schools that is so evident in the context of the *Filioque* is also visible, although more vaguely, in the debate over unleavened bread. It should be stated that the execution of the Greek monks in Cyprus in 1231 was the responsibility of the Dominican Master Andrew, perhaps a theologian, while the Bishop Berard of Limassol who interrogated the Greek Bishop Matthew of Lefkara around 1290, eventually seeking his capture and imprisonment, was also a Dominican — luckily for Matthew the Latin archbishop of Nicosia, John of Ancona, was a Franciscan and did not carry out Berard’s wishes.⁵⁴

Perhaps the Dominican Albert the Great and the Franciscan Bonaventure are good representatives of their respective orders in the

52. ALBERT THE GREAT, *In quartum librum Sententiarum* (above n. 49), d. 12, c. a. 8, p. 307a.

53. For example, the Franciscans Richard of Menneville, Landulph Caracciolo, and John of Rodignon called the Greek practice a sin, but John Duns Scotus and John of Bassol added “perhaps”. Following Scotus, Peter of Aquila emphasized the necessity of the minister, and the Dominican Durand of St Pourçain referred to the necessity of the precept. A good overall representative is the Augustinian Henry of Friemar, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 6, q. 2, MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3970, f. 19vb: “Septima difficultas, utrum sacerdos in necessitate de pane fermentato conficiatur verum corpus Christi. Dico <quod> de iure non debet fieri, tamen faciendo factum est, quia Ecclesia Romana admittit et Graeci conficiunt in pane fermentato, et isti vere conficiunt sicut nos. Dico tamen quod fatius [*faciens?] peccat mortaliter et facit contra statutum Ecclesiae”.

54. *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI* (above n. 28), nos. 119-120; *Synodicum Nicosiense* (above n. 22), nos. 31-32.

period before the Second Council of Lyons. While Albert stressed the Greeks' sinning, Bonaventure confined himself to stating that the Latin rite is more "fitting" than the Greek rite.⁵⁵ These differences may not seem very sharp, but a striking deviation from the norm comes from a future minister general of the Franciscan Order and cardinal, Matthew of Aquasparta, whose discussion will otherwise serve as an example of Western concerns.⁵⁶

Matthew of Aquasparta

A couple of years before the Second Council of Lyons, in his *Sentences* commentary Matthew asked whether Christ employed unleavened or leavened bread. Matthew begins his lengthy response in accordance with normal scholastic practice, first presenting the position that he will eventually reject, in this case that Christ used leavened bread. Matthew gives thirteen arguments in all, the first nine based on the timing of the Last Supper supported by scripture, although Augustine and the Persian astronomer Alfraganus are cited as well. The final four arguments, however, are those of the Greeks themselves, Matthew says, citing Anselm as his source: Judaizing, the Old Law, the Greek text says "artos", and leavened bread is symbolically superior.⁵⁷

Like Matthew of Aquasparta, most other theologians who spent much time on the issue dwelled on the evangelists for a while, often noting that the synoptic Gospels seem to disagree with John's. Only about a third discussed the symbolism of the bread, and even fewer mentioned that there was a question about whether plain "panis" or "artos" could mean unleavened bread. As John Erickson has suggested,⁵⁸ by this time the Latins had successfully diverted the Greeks

55. BONAVENTURE, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, pars 2, a. 2, q. 1 (Opera Omnia IV), Quaracchi 1889, p. 262b; ALBERT THE GREAT, *De sacramentis* V, pars 1, q. 2, a. 3, ed. A. OHLMEYER (Opera Omnia 26), Münster 1958, p. 56b, ll. 71-75; IDEM, *In quartum librum Sententiarum* (above n. 49), d. 12, c. a. 8, p. 307a; IDEM, *De eucharistia* IV, c. 1 (Opera Omnia 38), Paris 1899, p. 442b.

56. What follows is based on the introduction and critical edition of Matthew's text in C. SCHABEL, F.S. PEDERSEN, and R.L. FRIEDMAN, "Matthew of Aquasparta, OFM, and the Greeks", in a forthcoming Festschrift.

57. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §§3-19.

58. ERICKSON, "Leavened and Unleavened" (above n. 7), pp. 173-175.

away from the theological arguments about what the type of bread represented and toward a focus on the timing of the *Cena*.

As was traditional, Matthew then gives a couple of arguments in favor of his own opinion: it happened during the time of azymes, the Lord came to fulfill the law, not to destroy it, and unleavened bread is pure, sincere, and true.⁵⁹ Only now does the *responsio* really begin:

Therefore it is asked (1) whether Christ prepared it with unleavened bread, (2) whence came the discord of Latins and Greeks, since both Greeks and Latins were taught the rite of preparing it by the apostles, (3) who does better, and (4) whether each prepares it — for the Greeks claim that the Latins do not prepare it, while some Latins maintain that the Greeks do not rightly prepare it.⁶⁰

Matthew argues that the body of Christ can be made with both unleavened and leavened bread, since as Anselm says these variants are mere accidents that do not affect the species of the bread. “But what is more fitting and, on the part of the one preparing it, necessary, such that the one doing the contrary sins in preparing it, there is a controversy about this between the Greeks and the Latins”.⁶¹ After giving an interesting historical explanation of the difference in rites, which I will discuss in detail below, Matthew argues that the Latins much more fittingly employ unleavened bread, although the body of Christ can be made with leavened bread. His arguments expand on the earlier ones, (1) that according to the synoptic Gospels Christ broke unleavened bread, (2) that unleavened bread is symbolically superior, and (3) that the rite of the Roman Church is much better than that of the Greek and Constantinopolitan Church, because while Rome remained pure, as Innocent III wrote before assuming the papacy, Constantinople was plagued with heresy and even produced heresiarchs.⁶²

Normally, we expect to find the thirteen Greek arguments refuted at this point. Instead Matthew raises a new doubt: “But supposing in

59. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quantum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §§20-22.

60. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quantum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §23.

61. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quantum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §24.

62. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quantum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §§25-28.

accordance with the common view of the Latins that Christ performed it with unleavened bread, which rite the Holy Roman Church still observes, there is a doubt about whether Christ anticipated the time of Passover, or the day of azymes".⁶³ The Greeks say He did and thus used leavened bread, while the Latins follow "the unbreakable testimony of the evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke" in asserting that He employed unleavened bread, and so He did not precede Passover.⁶⁴ Now comes the big surprise:

But without prejudice to a better view, asserting nothing rashly in this question, we say along with the Greeks that Christ anticipated the time of Passover. Yet we say and assert with the Latins that Christ prepared it with unleavened bread. That Christ anticipated the time of Passover was proven above by very explicit passages and very valid arguments. But that He prepared it with unleavened bread was similarly proven in many ways. The anticipation of the time does nothing for the Greeks, however, nor does the *expectatio* that they assert do anything for the Latins.⁶⁵

In a twist of the argument of some Greek commentators,⁶⁶ Matthew of Aquasparta accepts John's statement that the Last Supper happened before the time of azymes, but asserts with Matthew, Mark, and Luke that Christ used unleavened bread, because He ate a paschal meal. Rather than refute the first nine opening arguments supporting the Greek position, Matthew embraces them:

Thus I say with the Greeks that Christ anticipated the time of Passover, but nevertheless I say with the Latins and assert without any doubt that Christ prepared it with unleavened bread. Seeing this, the response to the arguments adduced for both sides is clear: those that prove that He prepared it with unleavened bread are to be granted, and so are those that prove that Christ anticipated the time of Passover.⁶⁷

63. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §29.

64. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §§30-31.

65. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §§32-33.

66. ERICKSON, "Leavened and Unleavened" (above n. 7), p. 174.

67. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §38.

Hence only the last four of the Greek arguments are refuted in the conclusion to the discussion.⁶⁸

Matthew repeats at the end that he is making no rash assertions here, however, knowing full well that his remarks not only go against his own camp but considerably weaken one of the main buttresses supporting the Latin rite.⁶⁹ Matthew survived to have an illustrious career in his order and the Church, but his *Sentences* commentary is extant in only one manuscript, an extremely difficult autograph. It is quite possible that no one read his discussion on the bread of the Eucharist until I began working on this paper.

I have found no one who seems to be aware of Matthew's position, but there is one theologian who came to a similar conclusion, although in a very brief discussion: Gerald Odonis. Odonis lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris over a half century after Matthew of Aquasparta, and like Matthew, Odonis was a Franciscan who soon after his lectures would become minister general of his order — and later Latin patriarch of Antioch. Odonis' treatment (the complete text is in the footnote) begins thus:

The eighth conclusion is that [it should be prepared] only with unleavened bread. The reason is that Christ prepared it with unleavened bread, because when Christ prepared it, leavened was not supposed to be found, according to the precept of the law among the Jews, because on the first day of azymes He sent His disciples to the city to ready the Passover for Him. And I hold this conclusion, that He prepared it with unleavened bread, *but not for that reason*.⁷⁰

68. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §§39-44.

69. MATTHEW OF AQUASPARTA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 4, q. 1, ed. cit., §45.

70. GERALD ODONIS, OFM, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 12, q. 3 (M = Madrid, BN 4020; P = Paris, BnF, lat. 3068; T = Tarragona, Bibl. pública, 57) "Octava conclusio est quod solus panis azymus. Cuius ratio est quia Christus confecit in [cum T] azymo, quia quando Christus confecit non debebat [debat P] inveniri fermentum, secundum praeceptum legis apud Iudaeos, quia prima die azymorum misit discipulos ad civitatem ut sibi [si PT] pararent pascha. — Et ego teneo istam conclusionem, quod confecit in azymis, sed non propter dictam rationem, quia non erat interdictum quin inveniretur fermentum [fermentatum M] quando Christus confecit [om PT]. Probo, quia in lege, scilicet Exodi 12 et Deuteronomii 18, 'Erit vobis [nobis PT] celeberrima', etc. — Probo etiam quod Christus comedit pascha ante horam consuetam Iudaeorum, quia cum Iudaei manducarent luna 15, Christus manducavit ante, quia, sicut dicitur Iohannis 18, quando duxerunt [dixerunt PT] Iudaei Christum mane, scilicet diei Veneris, ad Pilatum, [Christi

Odonis goes on to argue, like Matthew, "that Christ anticipated the time of eating the paschal lamb", even using Innocent III's distinction of the various ways *Pascha* can be taken against the *Latins*, who equivocate. He concludes: "At that time, according to the law, they were not supposed to eat [the paschal meal], but Christ gave a dispensation".

Two famous Franciscan theologians, both future Parisian masters and minister generals of their order, one a cardinal and the other a patriarch, thus undermined the Latin position by rejecting the main argument used in support for centuries. To this extent, then, the Franciscans' willingness to approach the Greek position on the procession of the Holy Spirit with a relatively open mind, compared to the Dominicans at least, is reflected in their treatment of the bread of the Eucharist. Aside from Matthew and Odonis, however, all Western theologians were agreed that the Last Supper occurred when unleavened bread was in use, and, including them, all were of the opinion that Christ did employ unleavened bread.

add. T] ipsi non introierunt in praetorium ut non [mg M] contaminarentur, sed manducarent pascha. Ergo erant adhuc manducaturi [manducati PT]. Sed Christus manducavit sero diei praecedentis. – Item, patet Iohannis [om. PT] 19, dum adhuc Christus penderet in cruce die Veneris, quia eadem die et hora qua Adam fuit creatus, Christus fuit incarnatus et in cruce suspensus. Iudaei vero rogaverunt Pilatum ut frangerentur eorum crura et tollerentur [et tollerentur om. M] ut non remanerent [remaneret P; manerent T] in cruce corpora Sabbato. Erat enim magnus dies ille Sabbati.

Ex quibus omnibus colligitur quod Christus [quod Christus om. T] anticipavit horam comedendi agnum paschalem. Propter quod etiam dixit: 'Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare [mandicare P] vobiscum antequam patiar'. – Ideo sciendum quod pascha accipitur multipliciter: uno modo pro illo agno qui immolabatur; alio modo pro die in quo immolabatur, scilicet luna 14 ad vesperam; tertio modo pro die in qua manducabatur, scilicet luna 15, et ista erat celeberrima. Similiter azyma dicitur multipliciter: uno modo [om. M] agnus paschalis; alio modo ille panis [panes M] propositionis; tertio modo dies illa in qua expellebatur [expellabatur P] omne fermentum; quarto modo dies in qua manducabatur agnus; quinto modo pro illis septem diebus quibus azymus [azyma M] comedebatur [manducabatur PT].

Et per hoc patet quod ratio eorum non probat [probatur PT], quia Christus praevenit pascha, ut dictum est, scilicet die Iovis, quando luna incepit [recepit PT] esse 14. Et tunc secundum legem non debebant [debebat PT] comedere, sed Christus dispensavit, quia ex tunc non [om. M] potuisset cum [ex M] ipsis comedisse. Et sicut [sic PT] praevenit horam de [om. P] comedendo pascha, ita et de comedendo azyma. Quare teneo quod in azymo confecit.

Nona conclusio est quod sufficeret fermentatus panis, sicut patet per Anselmum in libro *De azymo et fermentato*, ubi dicit [om. P]: 'Non quia azymus [et fermentato... azymus om. per homoeot. T], sed quia triticeus panis est conveniens materia huius sacramenti'. Unde quidam [quidem PT] papa statuit quod in fermentato fieret [fieret in fermentato PT] aliquo tempore propter aliquos qui dicebant quod oporteret nos iudaizare".

TWO PSEUDO-AUTHORITIES

Gregory the Great

One of the interesting philological trails in the history of Latin discussions of azymes involved Pope Gregory I. The Dominican author of *Contra Graecos* presents the Greek arguments against unleavened bread and in support of leavened bread in less than a column, although he offers Greek objections in his solutions. The last of four Greek arguments concerns the symbolism of the type of bread, in answer to which the Dominican quotes from Gregory the Great:

Let the Greeks hear what Blessed Gregory the Dialogue responded, in Greek, when he was performing his legation in Greece, to those who were slandering the sacrament. He said: "It is certainly customary to put the question about how in the Church some offer leavened and others unleavened bread. We know that the Church is distributed in four orders, namely that of the Romans, the Alexandrians, the Jerusalemites, and the Antiochenes, which are commonly called 'churches'. And while they hold one Catholic faith, they use different mysteries of [divine] offices. Whence it happens that the Roman Church offers unleavened bread, because the Lord took up the flesh without any [sexual] union, as is written: 'The Word became flesh and lived among us' [Douai version]. Therefore the body of Christ is brought about with unleavened bread. The other churches mentioned above offer leavened bread, because the Word of the Father was clothed in flesh and is true God and true man, so that the leaven is mixed with the flour and the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ is brought about. But when we, both the Roman Church and the other abovesaid churches, take both leavened and unleavened bread for the ineffable faith, the one true body of our Savior is brought about". These are the words of Gregory, which are found in his *Vita* in Greek.⁷¹

Of the fifty authors of texts I have inspected, only three mention Gregory, one, Albert the Great, merely in passing as having silenced the "bishop of Constantinople" on the issue.⁷² Thomas Aquinas' use of the passage, however, is both interesting and significant. Aquinas was not yet familiar with *Contra Graecos* in his *Sentences* commentary,

71. *Contra Graecos*, PG vol. CXL, col. 524, corrected with the thirteenth-century manuscripts.

72. ALBERT THE GREAT, *De sacramentis* V, pars 1, q. 2, a. 3, ed. OHLMEYER (above n. 55), p. 56a, ll. 22-23: "Item, dicitur, quod Gregorius super hoc confutavit Esicium Constantinopolitanum episcopum".

but in his two main *Summae* and his *Contra errores Graecorum* he quoted from his anonymous Dominican colleague. But where the author of *Contra Graecos* wanted to defeat the Greek argument from symbolism, Aquinas used a portion of it to demonstrate that the Greeks' rite was acceptable:⁷³ "The Roman Church offers unleavened bread, because the Lord took up the flesh without any [sexual] union, but the other churches offer leavened bread, because the Word of the Father was clothed in flesh and is true God and true man, so that the leaven is mixed with the flour and the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ is brought about". In the *Summa theologiae* Aquinas went beyond this to argue that, "Hence, just as a priest in the Church of the Latins sins in celebrating with leavened bread, a Greek priest in the Church of the Greeks celebrating with unleavened bread would sin, quasi perverting the rite of his church"—this despite the fact that the use of unleavened bread is more reasonable. Also absent from his other discussions is his remark that "this custom of the Greeks has a reason, both because of its signification, which Gregory touches on, and in aversion to the heresy of the Nazarenes, who mixed the law with the Gospel".⁷⁴

Antoine Dondaine used five pages to trace the source of this passage in *Contra Graecos*:⁷⁵ it is found in Greek in a letter dated after 1177, without the attribution to a *Vita Gregorii*, and in Latin in a florilegium by Albino of Milan, dated 1185-89 but based on material gathered earlier, before 1177. All three probably depend on an earlier florilegium. Then there are slightly later versions in Greek and Latin by Nicholas of Cotrone and Buonaccorsi, stemming ultimately from *Contra Graecos* and Albino. Whatever the case, Dondaine rightly assumes the passage to be spurious, perhaps a late addition to a *Life of Gregory*.⁷⁶

Despite its great significance *prima facie*, the passage did not have much success in later Latin polemics, although it is quoted in full in

73. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Contra errores Graecorum*, pars 2, c. 39, ostensibly quoting Gregory.

74. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* III, q. 74, a. 4, responsio.

75. DONDAINE, "Contra Graecos" (above n. 1), pp. 357-362. See also J.M. HOECK and R.J. LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.*, Passau 1965, pp. 38-40, and AVVAKUMOV, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens* (above n. 6), pp. 332-334.

76. See also MABILLON, *Dissertatio* (above n. 6), c. 6: 1246D-1247A.

the anonymous *Libellus de fermento et azymo* written before the Council of Florence, most likely by a Dominican at the convent in Pera, who adds "Constantinopolitan" to the churches.⁷⁷ Aquinas made great use of it, but rather than attribute it to a vague *Vita Gregorii*, in all three instances he (and the anonymous author of the *Libellus*) cites Gregory's *Register*, as if to make it more secure. Strikingly, Western theologians did not follow Aquinas' lead in the *Summa theologiae*, even within his own Dominican Order. Perhaps they—quite rightly—did not believe a reference they could not find in the original. As for Aquinas' further conclusion that, therefore, Greeks actually sinned if they employed unleavened bread in their churches, around 1300 an anonymous Dominican did paraphrase this opinion in a cut-and-paste effort, without however citing Gregory.⁷⁸

Among the great Thomists of the fourteenth century, Hervaeus Natalis borrowed a different phrase, saying that if a Greek priest performs the sacrament with leavened bread according to his rite, "if he did this not with a perverse intent, but in aversion to a heresy, just as in aversion to the error of the Nazarenes it was at one time celebrated with leavened bread, then perhaps he would not sin"; clearly he disagreed with Aquinas' inference, and he did not quote Gregory.⁷⁹ Peter of Palude, future Latin patriarch of Jerusalem and no friend of the Greeks, went out of his way to reject Aquinas in his popular

77. ANONYMOUS, *Libellus de fermento et azymo*, c. 8, BAV, Vat. lat. 4260, ff. 54v-55r; BAV, Ottob. lat. 718, f. 9v. I am currently editing this text for publication. The two witnesses were produced in the fifteenth century and owned by Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, who spoke on this very issue at Florence: J. GILL, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge 1959, pp. 274-275. On the manuscripts, see DONDAINE, "Contra Graecos" (above n. 1), p. 325, and J.M. GARRASTACHU, "Los Manuscritos del Cardenal Torquemada en la Biblioteca Vaticana", in: *La Ciencia Tomista* 22/41 (1930), pp. 291-322, at pp. 302(230!)-03 (for Ottob. lat. 718). The latest authors cited, Jean de Murs and Rainierius de Piis (Vat. lat. 4260, ff. 47r and 49r), died before 1350, so the text could have been written at any time afterwards. The predominance of citations of Dominican authors suggests that the author was a Dominican, so in personal communication Claudine Delacroix-Besnier suggests that he worked at the Pera convent. Delacroix-Besnier's work has also revealed how important Gregory the Great was in general for the Dominicans in their dealings with the Greeks.

78. ANONYMOUS OP, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, BAV, Vat. lat. 985, not foliated: "Et peccaret sacerdos Grecus conficiens in azimo et Latinus conficiens in fermentato, quasi pervertentes Ecclesie sue ritum".

79. HERVAEUS NATALIS, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, q. 2, ed. Paris 1647, pp. 353b-354a.

commentary on book IV of the *Sentences*, ignoring Gregory and focusing on the Ebionites:

The sixth conclusion is that [the body of Christ] can be prepared with any bread made of wheat indifferently, both unleavened and leavened, just as with white and red wine, because they do not differ in species. The Latins prepare it with unleavened bread, just as Christ did, but the Greeks do it with leavened bread, calling us "azymites" who "judaize". But since the Church first prepared it with unleavened bread, it decreed against the error of the Ebionites that it should be prepared with leavened bread, so that the Church would not seem to join them in observing the law along with the Gospel. When the error ceased, the Church returned to the more fruitful custom. But Greece turned this dispensation into a common law, and from this schism they came to the heresy that Christ prepared it with leavened bread. Thus a Latin preparing it with leavened bread prepares it indeed, but he is seriously at fault according to *Extra*, in the last chapter, where he who has consecrated with leavened bread is deposed — although other reasons are given, each one was sufficient. On the contrary, some say that a Greek sins if he prepares it with unleavened bread, because when in Rome, do as the Romans. But because they are schismatics, no one — not even one of them — ought to adhere to them, and just as in the whole, so also in the part one can be opposed to them. No one is held to their statutes or customs, because every man is absolved from obedience to schismatics and heretics.⁸⁰

Ironically, the only other Western theologian that I have found employing Gregory is the Greek Franciscan Peter of Candia, the future Pope Alexander V.⁸¹ In his *Sentences* commentary from around 1380, the edition of which would require around 2000 pages, besides his discussion of unleavened bread, Peter of Candia devotes less than two pages to the Greeks, somewhat gently.⁸² His treatment of unleavened

80. PETER OF PALUDE, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, q. 1, a. 5, ed. Venice 1493, f. 45ra-b. For the canon law reference, which applied to Latins, see above, n. 8.

81. PETER OF CANDIA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, q. 1, a. 1, pars 3, ed. C. SCHABEL, published on-line: <http://www.ucy.ac.cy/isa/Candia/SentIV-1-1.htm>.

82. Explicit passages, from BAV, Vat. lat. 1081: Principium I (7ra): "Applicetur divina essentia in ratione obiecti potentiae intellectivae. Tunc intellectiva <potentia> ex tali applicatione participat divinam essentiam. Vel ergo per aliquem radium causatum ad ipsam potentiam, vel per ipsummet obiectum, aut per aliquem actum voluntarie causatum in tali potentia. Primum non est dicendum, quia sic divina essentia radiaret ut corpora faciunt, et esset error dicentium Deum videri in talibus theophasiis, id est deificis radiis, ut quidam doctores Graecorum fuerunt imaginati".—Book I, q. 2, a. 2 (29ra): "Decima <conclusio>: Spiritum a Filio concedunt omnes Graeci".—Principium IV (262rb):

bread is rather extensive, however, and it is perhaps not surprising that the first of his three conclusions on the subject is that "*de facto* the Sacrament of the Eucharist can be performed with leavened and unleavened bread indifferently".⁸³ After giving the argument that, as long as the bread is made from wheat, both unleavened and leavened are acceptable, Candia continues:

Furthermore, the Church was never in error; but in the primitive Church this sacrament was celebrated with leavened bread; but the Church would not have done this unless that sacrament was able to be prepared with leavened bread; therefore it can be prepared with leavened bread. The inference is clear and the minor premise is apparent through the histories in which it is said that in the time of Pope Leo this sacrament was celebrated with leavened bread, and it is now celebrated in this way in the Church of the Greeks, whose custom the Church does not damn. Q.E.D. That it is also celebrated with unleavened bread is apparent from the custom of the Latins, who prepare this sacrament with unleavened bread. Therefore this sacrament can be prepared with unleavened and leavened bread indifferently.⁸⁴

"Praeterea, positio Graecorum est a condicione defendibilis, licet sit erronea. Nunc autem ipsi dicunt quod Spiritus Sanctus non procedit nisi a solo Patre, et tamen dicunt Spiritum Sanctum procedi quomodo datum. Ergo adhuc, dato per impossibile quod Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, non minus libere procederet a Patre. Ergo quod procedat quomodo datus non habet formaliter sub ratione qua procedit a duobus, sed ab aliquo principio elicitivo formaliter, quod ponitur communiter voluntas. Si ergo inter ista principia elicitiva nulla esset formalis distinctio ex natura rei, sequitur, ut prius dicebam, quod non esset maior ratio quare Filius esset natus quam Spiritus Sanctus, et ergo oportet ponere inter principia elicitiva generationis spirationis aliquam distinctionem ex natura rei. Confirmatur: ex hoc arguimus quod in potentia activa non est nisi unus modus producendi, quia omnes effectus suos aequaliter produxit, sicut solem dicimus potentiam naturalem et voluntatem nostram liberam, quia una potentia semper naturaliter suum effectum producit, altera vero libere. Ergo ubi eidem productivo principio attribuimus principiatum productum mere naturaliter, aliud productum mere libere (qui sunt oppositi modi principiandi), sequitur quod ibi ex natura rei est distinctio aliqualis ex parte principiorum elicitivorum. Quare cum Pater producit naturaliter Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum libere, sequitur quod in eo praeintelligenda sunt principia elicitiva saltem formaliter distincta, et ita cum reverentia responsio Ockan quam imitatur non satisfacit quaesito. Quare illa ratio permanet in suo vigore".—IV, q. unica, a. 1 (268va): "Pro quo est advertendum quod forma in sacramento quo ad necessitatem potest considerari dupliciter, videlicet vel quo ad sacramentum vel quo ad ministrum. Si quo ad ministrum, sic est necessaria forma qua Romana Ecclesia utitur, quam si omitteret ministrans peccaret mortaliter, nisi esset ignorantia invincibilis quae posset quodammodo subito causari ex aliquo defectu cerebri propter fumositatem a stomacho indigesto frequenter ad cerebrum ascendentem. Et hoc si sit sacerdos Romanus, quod dico propter Graecos...".

83. PETER OF CANDIA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, q. 1, a. 1, pars. 3, ed cit., §4.

84. PETER OF CANDIA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, q. 1, a. 1, pars. 3, ed cit., §§6-7.

"This is confirmed", Candia says, in his next and final argument, by the passage from Gregory's *Register*, stolen from Aquinas, which Candia considers sufficient enough in itself, concluding, "Haec ille. Quare propositum".⁸⁵

Both Aquinas and Candia drew conclusions that went beyond what most university theologians were willing to grant, in the first place that Greeks must perform the sacrament with leavened bread to avoid sinning, in the second place that the primitive Church employed leavened bread. Perhaps it was for this reason, and not suspicions of the apocryphal nature of the passage, that other theologians ignored Pope Gregory the Great.

Leo the Great

The same cannot be said for what must be another apocryphal item, the reference to Pope Leo, absent in *Contra Graecos*.⁸⁶ Peter of Candia may indeed be showing sympathy to his "ethnos" when mentioning Leo, because this popular tradition was not used in the same way by Western theologians of "Frankish" extraction. The reader may be wondering about Aquinas' and Hervaeus Natalis' cryptic references to "Nazarenes", and about Palude's mention of the "Ebionites".

The Ebionites were an early Christian sect that insisted on following the Old Law, for example with respect to circumcision.⁸⁷ Our main sources are Irenaeus and Cyprus' own Epiphanius of Salamis, the latter having encountered some of them in the late 300s. Epiphanius actually discusses two similar groups, the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, and it is probable that Epiphanius somehow inspired the later tradition that we will discuss. Epiphanius does mention that the Ebionites used unleavened bread, but he does not go into further detail about their reasoning or their opinion about leavened bread.⁸⁸

85. PETER OF CANDIA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, q. 1, a. 1, pars. 3, ed cit., §8.

86. On the Leo tale, see also MABILLON, *Dissertatio* (above n. 6), esp. cc. 5: 1243C-1245B, and 10: 1271D-1273B; AVVAKUMOV, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens* (above n. 6), pp. 327-334.

87. See M. GOULDER, "A Poor Man's Christology", in: *New Testament Studies* 45 (1999), pp. 332-348.

88. EPIPHANIOS OF SALAMIS, *Adversus haereses* I, tom. II, heresy 30, in PG XLI, col. 432B, no. 16 (cols. 405-474 on the Ebionites).

Mahlon Smith could not find the tradition earlier than the *Summa* attributed to Alexander of Hales,⁸⁹ who died in 1245, but in fact book IV of the *Summa*, which includes the pertinent discussion, was written after his death, mostly by William of Meliton. Smith's passage is not even contained in the critical edition, nor are these groups mentioned in Meliton's own lengthy treatment in his *Questions on the Sacraments*.⁹⁰

In his *Dialogue on the Sacraments*, probably from before 1240, William of Auvergne (†1249) related that the sacrament

is celebrated with both [unleavened and leavened] according to the custom of various churches, for the Roman Church prepares it with unleavened bread, because it is believed that Christ made it with this bread, because it was the first day of azymes, but the Oriental Church, namely that of the Greeks, celebrates it with leavened bread in aversion to heresy of the Nazarenes, who mixed the Gospel with the law. Our Latin custom is more reasonable.⁹¹

As we have seen, Aquinas later used the same words in the *Summa theologiae*: "in aversion to the heresy of the Nazarenes, who mixed the law with the Gospel". A section of the *Summa* wrongly attributed to Alexander of Hales, which Smith quotes, has this to say:

When the error concerning the Torah (*legali*) observance was flourishing, the fathers of old determined that the Church should not make the preparation from unleavened but from leavened bread, until such time as that error should cease. Hence, the Church first made preparation from unleavened bread, secondly from leavened. Thirdly, when this cause had ceased, the Roman Church returned to the first rite and made

89. SMITH, *And Taking Bread...* (above n. 7), pp. 48-49, n. 52

90. See C.M. MULLEN, "Alexander of Hales", in: J.J.E. GRACIA and T.B. NOONE (eds.), *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2003, pp. 104-108, at p. 105. Cf. ALEXANDER OF HALES, *Summa theologica*, Quaracchi 1924-48, and WILLIAM OF MELITON, *Quaestiones de sacramentis* (above n. 46) IV, pars III, q. 9, ed. GÁL.

91. WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE, *Dialogus de sacramentis* (s.a.), f. 13r: "De sacramento eucharistie: P<etrus> 'Est ne ille panis de quo celebratur azimus vel fermentatus?' G<uillermus>: 'Ex utroque celebratur secundum consuetudinem diversarum ecclesiarum. Ecclesia enim Romana ex azimo confecit, quia ex tali pane creditur fecisse Christum, quia prima die azimorum Ecclesia vera Orientalis, scilicet Graecorum, celebrat ex fermento ad detestationem haeresis Nazarenorum, qui evangelia et legalia miscebant. Consuetudo nostra Latinorum rationabilior est'". On William, see N. LEWIS, "William of Auvergne", in: E.N. ZALTA (ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2008): <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/william-auvergne/> (accessed 13 February 2009).

preparation from unleavened bread. But the Greeks, high-and-mighty, as it were, did not want to return to the first rite. And on this account, they were compelled to defend themselves by saying that they had received this rite from the fathers. But since this was not enough, they added in the second place another reason: lest they should Judaize. Since this was not enough, if the Lord had made preparation with matzos (azymes), they dared to say that the Lord had made preparation with leavened bread. And since the evangelists say the opposite, they dared to say that the evangelists were wrong in reporting and that they were corrected by John.⁹²

Smith goes on to remark that "Aquinas makes it more precise by claiming that an unspecified 'Pope Leo' identified the Judaizers as the Ebionites", and that "[t]he source of this idea is also unknown", but in fact the Pseudo-Alexandrine *Summa* itself prefaces the previous quotation with the words "Pope Leo says". In the 1250s the Franciscan Bonaventure quotes the entire passage from Alexander's *Summa*, introducing it again with "Pope Leo says", and adding some words from Aristotle: "Look how 'an error, small in the beginning, is big in the end'".⁹³ Note that both Franciscans report that Pope Leo "says" these things, not that they happened in his time.

In his *Sentences* commentary, the Dominican Albert the Great seems to follow Alexander's *Summa*, but blames the Jews themselves.⁹⁴ He does the same in the pertinent section of his treatise *De sacramentis*, but here Albert modifies the tale, either based on a disputed question of Alexander from the 1220s or 1230s which states much the same thing, without mentioning Leo,⁹⁵ or on a source common to both authors:

It is written in the books of Pope Leo how Peter first sat on the throne of Antioch. A man by the name of Evodius succeeded him, when Peter

92. PSEUDO-ALEXANDER OF HALES, *Summa Theologica* IV, q. 32, translated in SMITH, *And Taking Bread...* (above n. 7), pp. 48-49, n. 52 (I have checked the Latin in an early modern edition).

93. BONAVENTURE, *In quartum librum Sententiarum* (above n. 55), d. 11, pars 2, a. 2, q. 1, p. 262a-b.

94. ALBERT THE GREAT, *In quartum librum Sententiarum* (above n. 49), d. 12, c, a. 8, p. 307a.

95. ALEXANDER OF HALES, *Quaestiones disputatae 'antequam esset frater'*, q. 51, ed. Quaracchi 1960, p. 909. Around 1290 Buonaccorsi of Bologna would recycle the Evodius story in *Contra Graecos*; see AVVAKUMOV, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens* (above n. 6), pp. 328-331 and n. 89.

had transferred himself to Rome. Celebrating Easter with unleavened bread, [Evodius] converted many of the Jews, but other Jews associated with them gave the body of the Lord to dogs as an affront to the sacrament. Consulting the Roman pontiff over this, [Evodius] received the response that he should celebrate with leavened bread for a time, and afterwards his successors, not knowing the reason for this arrangement, believed that the Lord had anticipated the Passover and handed it down in leavened bread. And so it is clear that He did so with unleavened bread.⁹⁶

In his *Sentences* commentary, Aquinas more or less repeats what is found in the Alexandrine *Summa*, including that Pope Leo “says” this. He adds, however, that this occurred when the “heresy of the Ebionites” was on the rise. Aquinas also interjects that, when the Greeks did not return with the Roman Church to the “pristine” way, “they added that it cannot be prepared except with leavened bread”.⁹⁷ Did Aquinas have another source, which allowed him to add the Ebionites reference, was he inspired by William of Auvergne’s mention of the Nazarenes, or did he just reason it out? However it happened, for some reason Aquinas abandoned this story in his three later works in preference for the Gregory the Great passage from *Contra Graecos*, except for the phrase about the “Nazarenes” from William of Auvergne, inserted in the *Summa theologiae*. Did Aquinas suspect that the Pope Leo tale was apocryphal and, ironically, replace it with yet another spurious passage?

As we have seen, later theologians did not follow Aquinas’ switch, probably in part because of the greater importance of the *Sentences* commentary compared to the other works in the early years of Thomism. Instead, they developed and confused the Pope Leo/Ebionites story. The Dominican Peter of Tarentaise, the future Pope Innocent V, probably writing after Aquinas’ *Sentences* commentary was composed and before the other works, is the first whom I have found making the error about the time of Pope Leo:

From the beginning the whole Church prepared it with unleavened bread. Later, in the time of Pope Leo, because of the Ebionite heretics who were saying that the law must be observed with the Gospel, and

96. ALBERT THE GREAT, *De sacramentis* V, pars 1, q. 2, a. 3, ed. OHLMAYER (above n. 55), p. 56a, ll. 24-35.

97. THOMAS AQUINAS, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, q. 2, a. 2, qc. 3 co.

that it should be prepared with unleavened bread because of the precept of the law, the Church established for a time that it was to be prepared with leavened bread. But when the cause had ceased, the Western Church returned to the old rite, but the Eastern Church observed the other rite.⁹⁸

The Franciscan Matthew of Aquasparta, writing before Lyons II, did not confuse his sources, but combined the Alexander/Bonaventure version with Aquinas' reference to the Ebionites in an original way, declaring that "Pope Leo reports" this. But after the council, Aquasparta's immensely influential confrere Richard of Menneville simply copied Peter of Tarentaise's passage, with small changes in word order. Then John Duns Scotus, who would go on to become the unofficial doctor of the Franciscan Order, merely built on Tarentaise's confused rendering.⁹⁹ It is indicative of the general lack of interest in the issue shown by Western university theologians that throughout the fourteenth century and almost up to the Council of Florence no one seems to have gone back to the "original" story as found in Alexander, Albert, and Aquinas, let alone question the veracity of the tale itself. But in an age-old tradition of historians, many of them enjoyed embellishing the story anyway, and it is interesting to trace its development from theologian to theologian.

The Carmelites at least cited their sources, even if they did not read all of them carefully. In the 1320s John Baconthorpe mentions Aquinas and Richard of Menneville, and around 1360 Michael of Aiguani adds Baconthorpe's own name.¹⁰⁰ Paul of Perugia, writing about 1345, is illustrative:

In the time of Pope Leo the Church established that it would be prepared with leavened bread. And the reason was, according to Thomas

98. PETER OF TARENTEISE (Pope Innocent V), *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, q. 2, a. 2, ed. Toulouse 1651, p. 124b.

99. RICHARD OF MENNEVILLE, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, a. 2, q. 3, ed. Brescia 1591, p. 141a; JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, *In quartum librum Sententiarum* (above n. 6), d. 11, q. 6, p. 682a. AVVAKUMOV, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens* (above n. 6), pp. 327-331, also follows this tale in the *Sentences* commentaries of Albert, Aquinas, Bonaventure, Tarentaise, Menneville, and Scotus. See also MABILLON, *Dissertatio* (above n. 6), c. 5: 1243D-1244A, employing the commentaries of Hales, Aquinas, Bonaventure, Menneville, Scotus, and Durand.

100. JOHN BACONTHORPE, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 8, q. 2, MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1530, ff. 43rb-vb; MICHAEL AIGUANI, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 10, a. 1, ed. Venice 1622, p. 376a.

[Aquinas] and Richard [of Menneville], because there were certain Ebionite heretics, and they were Jews and wanted to observe the Gospel to the letter. And because Christ prepared it with unleavened bread according to the Gospel, therefore they considered it against the Gospel to prepare it with leavened bread. And so in order to remove their error the Church ordered it to be celebrated with leavened bread for a time. Master Landulph [Caracciolo] introduces this heresy differently, saying that they were asserting that a Christian must Judaize and consequently celebrate Easter with unleavened bread like the Jews.¹⁰¹

Now Landulph Caracciolo, a Franciscan, was like many other Franciscans merely copying Scotus,¹⁰² who in turn was probably building on Richard of Menneville, who plagiarized Tarentaise, who relied on Aquinas! The Augustinian Thomas of Strasbourg's colorful version, from the 1330s, found its way directly and then indirectly into a number of *Sentences* commentaries over the next century or so.¹⁰³ Not

101. PAUL OF PERUGIA, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, q. 12 (dd. 11-13), MS Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell' Archiginnasio, lat. A. 941, f. 100ra: "...tempore Leonis papae statuit Ecclesia quod conficeretur in fermentato. Et ratio fuit, secundum Thomam et Richardum, quia fuerunt quidam haeretici Lebroñitae, et hii fuerunt Iudaei et ad litteram voluerunt observare evangelium, et quia Christus secundum evangelium confecit in azymo, ideo reputabant contra evangelium conficere in fermentato. Et ideo ad auferendum illorum errorem <Ecclesia> statuit celebrari in fermentato ad tempus. Magister Landulphus aliter introducunt illam haeresim, dicens quod illi dicebant quod Christianus debebat Iudaizare, et per consequens sicut Iudaei in azymo pascha celebrare".

102. LANDULPH CARACCILO, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, q. 4, MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1496. Cf. JOHN OF RODINGTON, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 13, a. 5, MS Assisi, Biblioteca del sacro convento, 106, f. 157vb.

103. For example, CONRAD OF SOLTAU, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, q. 9, MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4709, f. 98r; ARNOLD OF SEEHUSEN, O.Carm., *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, dd. 8 et sequentes, a. 1, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3546, f. 218ra-va; and NICHOLAS OF DINKELSBÜHL, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, pars 2, a. 1, MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4820, f. 207v. In many contexts, including this one (e.g., Thomas Ebendorfer and Peter Reicher), Dinkelsbühl's commentary of ca. 1400 was more or less duplicated by a number of Viennese theologians in the first half of the fifteenth century. Nicholas' work in turn borrowed much from the commentaries of Henry of Langenstein and Henry Totting of Oyta, Parisian theologians of the later fourteenth century who moved to Vienna to help establish the theology faculty there. Perhaps they, too, borrowed from Thomas of Strasbourg. Of course, Nicholas cites only Anselm, Bonaventure, and Aquinas here! On the Vienna group, whose works I have inspected on other issues, see M. SHANK, *'Unless You Believe You Shall Not Understand': Logic, University, and Society in Late Medieval Vienna*, Princeton 1988, and P.J.J.M. BAKKER and C. SCHABEL, 'Sentences Commentaries of the Later Fourteenth Century', in: EVANS (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard* (above n. 10), pp. 425-464, which also discusses Strasbourg's legacy.

content with the boring descriptions he had read, Strasbourg jazzed it up as follows:

As many great doctors relate, from the beginning of the establishment of this sacrament down to Pope Leo, the entire Church of God prepared it with unleavened bread. But in the time of Pope Leo, in order to extirpate the heresy of the Ebionites, who were stating that it was necessary for salvation that every human had to observe the ceremonial precepts of the law along with the observation of the Gospel, and consequently to consecrate with unleavened bread, the Church then ordered that it be prepared with leavened bread. Next, after the passing of some years, when the aforesaid heresy had been completely extirpated, the priests in Latin regions resumed the first way, namely consecrating with unleavened bread, because it is clearly deduced from the Gospel that Christ celebrated with unleavened bread, as was clear above. But the priests of Greece did not resume the first way, but have continued the consecration in leavened bread until the present time. Whence it is clear that these foolish Greeks, asserting that we do not consecrate since we use unleavened bread in consecrating, impute this madness to their fathers and their most holy doctors and all their priests who preceded Pope Leo.¹⁰⁴

In short, whoever tried to give an historical explanation after Lyons II failed to note that the scholastic sources for the later accounts — Auvergne, Alexander, Aquinas — did not attribute anything to the time of Pope Leo. Only the Dominican Durand of St Pourçain avoided mentioning Leo when plagiarizing Aquinas' *Sentences* commentary, but merely because he did not copy the words "Pope Leo says".¹⁰⁵

Did Durand have his own suspicions? Perhaps. We know so little about eucharistic bread in the early Church that the story of the Ebionites is not so far fetched. One thing is for certain, however: the temporary change to leavened bread did not occur in any Pope Leo's reign, since this is a misreading of Alexander, Aquinas, and Bonaventure. The best candidate for a Pope Leo as a reliable source for the early Church is Leo I, but there does not appear to be any trace of the story in Leo's writings. Alternatively, if the story is in fact from a Pope Leo and yet is mythological, then it could be from Leo IX, the

104. THOMAS OF STRASBOURG, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, q. 2, a. 1, ed. Venice 1564, not foliated.

105. DURAND OF ST POURÇAIN, *In quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 11, q. 4, ed. Venice 1571, f. 320vb.

pope when the whole controversy began in 1054. Still, it has not been found there either. Perhaps, then, it too arose in the period between 1054 and 1249, a mythological story with an apocryphal source.

In fact the story did not survive unchallenged down to the Council of Florence, although it was certainly popular at the time. In the anonymous *Libellus de fermento et azymo* from before the council, chapter 10 concludes as follows:

Furthermore it should be noted that Saint Thomas and Scotus and others say that it was established by the Church for a certain time that the consecration of the Holy Eucharist had to be done with leavened bread. This was because of the heresy of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, who were saying that the laws were to be observed along with the Gospel. When this heresy had ceased, the Roman Church took up the pristine way again, but the Greeks remained with leavened bread. This statement — saving the better judgment — seems quite feeble, for going through the decrees of the holy synods or of Roman pontiffs over and over, one does not find this at all. Supposing that it is the case, certainly we have an argument that it can be prepared with leavened bread. Thus those who bark assaults against the Greeks should cease, and the Latins should stop gnawing on the Greeks with iron teeth and not fight at all about these matters. And the Greeks should not despise the Latins. Let us seek what is for the peace of Jerusalem, so that love is preserved.¹⁰⁶

CONCLUSION: THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE

This was the voice of peace, but certainly there were other opinions, on both sides. Probably dating to 1432 or slightly later, a brief treatise *De erroribus Graecorum* begins thus:

106. ANONYMOUS, *Libellus de fermento et azymo* (above n. 77), c. 10, MS BAV, Vat. lat. 4260 f. 59v; MS BAV, Ottob. lat. 718, ff. 12v-13r: "Notandum preterea quod Sanctus Thomas et Scotus ac alii quidem dicunt quod ab Ecclesia pro aliquo tempore statutum fuit quod in fermentato pane Eucharistie sacre consecratio fieri deberet, et hoc propter heresim Hebionitarum et Nazarenorum, qui dicebant legalia cum evangelio esse servanda. Et illa heresi cessante, Romana Ecclesia pristinum modum reaccepit, Greci vero manserunt cum fermento. — Istud dictum, salvo iudicio meliori, debile valde videtur. Nam voluendo atque revoluendo decreta sacrarum synodorum aut Romanorum Pontificum, hoc minime reperitur. Posito ergo casu quod sit ita, procul dubio habemus argumentum quod in fermentato pane potest confici. Cessent igitur Grecurum impugnationes a latratibus et desistant eos camino dente rodere Latini Grecos nequaquam in hiis ludicent et Latinos Greci non contempnant. Rogemus que ad pacem sunt Iherusalem ut caritas observetur".

I, brother Jerome of Prague, hermit recluse of the Sacred Camaldolese Hermits, when I was returning from Jerusalem last year, came to Nicosia, the metropolis of Cyprus, and Famagusta and Paphos, Rhodes, and Crete, and other cities and islands where Greeks live, and I disputed with Greek monks and priests of the Greeks, along with the lord [bishop] of Rhodes [that is, the Greek Dominican Andreas Chrysoberges]. I defeated many Greeks in dispute, but I found all the Greeks so obstinate and stubborn in their heresy that they admitted publicly that they would rather take up the faith of the Trojans [i.e., Turks] than that of the Latins. The Greeks have four heretical articles, which Holy Pope Leo publicly condemned in the Council of Chalcedon, excommunicating all Greeks and publicly declaring them to be schismatics and heretics. Similarly, Holy Pope Innocent III excommunicated all Greeks at the Lateran Council and publicly declared them to be heretics and schismatics and solemnly condemned them.¹⁰⁷

After these wild exaggerations and falsehoods, revealing a great personal hatred as well as a confused understanding of such texts as *Contra Graecos*, Jerome begins to go through the four classic Greek errors, the ones that we all know, the second being that "the Greeks deny that the Catholics can consecrate the body of Christ in unleavened bread". These "heretics do not understand", he says.¹⁰⁸ Having explained the four, Jerome concludes that the Greeks had many more. The bishop of Rhodes, Chrysoberges, recently found a book that the Greeks had just written, containing twenty-eight heretical articles. Chrysoberges translated the book into Latin and intends to send it to the Council of Basel, Jerome reports, warning the Latins to beware of traditional Greek backsliding, just as they did after the Second Council of Lyons. For Jerome, who spoke against the Greeks at Basel, no real union can be expected unless the pope or a general council first captures the sacrilegious city of Constantinople, "that den of heretics", and turns it over to the Knights Hospitaller, with orders to eject the Greek clergy and replace them with Catholics. For Jerome, this was the only way to defeat Greek heresy.¹⁰⁹

107. JEROME OF PRAGUE, *De erroribus Graecorum*, in: *Annales Camaldulenses*, ed. J.-B. MITTARELLI and A. COSTADONI, Venice 1755-73, vol. 9, cols. 916-919, at 919. I am very grateful to William P. Hyland for kindly sending me a photocopy of this text. For Jerome and the Greeks more generally, see W.P. HYLAND, "John-Jerome of Prague (1368-1440) and the *Erroribus Graecorum*: Anatomy of a Polemic Against Greek Christians" in: *The Journal of Religious History* 21.3 (1997), pp. 249-267.

108. JEROME OF PRAGUE, *De erroribus Graecorum* (above n. 107), col. 917.

109. JEROME OF PRAGUE, *De erroribus Graecorum* (above n. 107), cols. 918-919.

Thus, not everyone on the eve of the Council of Florence was prepared to negotiate for the sake of union and reconciliation, or thought that negotiation would work. The agreement reached at Florence has been called a Latin compromise,¹¹⁰ but humorously, although not at all surprisingly, the formula is exactly the idiosyncratic view that Thomas Aquinas expressed in what had become by then his most famous work, the *Summa theologiae*,¹¹¹ based on an apocryphal quotation erroneously attributed to Pope Gregory I, which led Aquinas to be somewhat more conciliatory than usual. In truth the compromise was all on the side of the Greeks, except for those Latins who, angry at Greek accusations of Latin heresy, declared that Greek priests sinned in not following the Roman rite. The formula is as follows:

The body of Christ is truly prepared with unleavened or leavened wheat bread, and priests must prepare the body of the Lord with one of these, each one according to the custom of his Church, whether Western or Eastern.¹¹²

The common Latin position never really changed from 1054 to 1439, in part because there was little room for change, except to adopt the Greek rite, which was not going to happen. The Latins always accepted the validity of the Greek rite, while arguing that the Latin rite was more fitting, because it followed Christ's own example. In this way, Greek arguments from symbolism were rendered insignificant, although the Latins did respond to the Greek statements with their own symbolism. From start to finish, however, the Latins refused to tolerate the Greek claim that the Latin rite was invalid or heretical, and many Latins countered by asserting that these "false" charges were themselves heretical. Indeed, some went so far as to say that the Greek rite itself was erroneous or even sinful, although not invalid, an opinion that became more widespread following Greek "backsliding" after the collapse of Lyons II. Yet some Latins, mainly but not exclusively

110. For example, J. ZIZIOULAS, metropolitan of Pergamon, calls the decision at Florence "a surprising flash of [Latin?] 'pluralism' amid the rigid dogmatism of the final pronouncement": "Efforts toward the Union of the Churches after the Fourth Crusade", in: LAIOU (ed.), *Urbs Capta* (above n. 42), pp. 345-354, at p. 350; cf. SMITH, *And Taking Bread...*, p. 26.

111. But see AVVAKUMOV, "Die Mendikanten und der Unionsversuch von 1234" (above n. 24), 142.

112. DENZINGER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (above n. 30), no. 692.

Franciscans, were more gentle in their assessment of the Greeks, the Greek Franciscan and future pope Peter of Candia being an excellent example, while two future Franciscan minister generals actually accepted the Greek arguments about the timing of the Last Supper. In general, however, in the university era, Western theologians paid little attention, sometimes no attention, to this issue, and hence in the context of the bread of the Eucharist we often learn more about the “genealogical tree” of theologians — who was reading whom — than about their deep thoughts about the Greeks.

That the dogmatic union of the Council of Florence was doomed should perhaps have been obvious to those who understood the Greek population. Mark Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus, refused to sign the union decree and led the Byzantine opposition upon his return to Constantinople, having stopped in Venetian Modon along the way. He wrote letters to stir up the Greek population, opposing a pro-union decree and supporting materials that had been sent to various places, including Modon. Jerome of Prague’s colleague Andreas Chrysoberges, archbishop of Rhodes and future archbishop of Nicosia, had debated Mark at Florence. In the early 1440s, perhaps while visiting Cyprus, Chrysoberges was compelled by the charges in Mark’s letters to compose a *Dialogue against Mark, Pontiff of the Ephesians, who Damns the Rites and Sacrifices of the Roman Church, Composed by Friar Andreas, Archbishop of Rhodes, to the Citizens of Methoni*, that is, Modon. Even after Florence, the issue of unleavened bread topped Mark’s list of Latin errors.¹¹³

113. On Chrysoberges, see DELACROIX-BESNIER, *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté grecque aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (above n. 13), esp. pp. 173-178, 287-315, 368-381, and 391-403. See also GILL, *The Council of Florence* (above n. 77), pp. 144-153, for the debate between Mark and Chrysoberges, pp. 303, 351, and 353 for Modon and Mark’s letters, and pp. 336-337 for Chrysoberges’ first visit to Cyprus in the early 1440s, sent there by the pope to deal with Greek claims that the local Latin clerics were refusing to implement the Florentine decrees. I plan to publish Chrysoberges’ text in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, with the collaboration of Martin Hinterberger. ANDREAS CHRYSOBERGES, *Dialogus in Marcum, Ephesiorum pontificem, damnantem ritus et sacrificia Romane Ecclesie, habitus a fratre Andrea, archiepiscopo Colossensi, ad cives Methonenses*, is extant in MS BAV, Palat. Lat. 604. Near the conclusion, the dialogue is as follows (59r-v): “Ephesinus: Memini optime. Sed quid feci ut tali obiurgatione me postea dignum existimes? Andreas: Quia pollicitus es Constantinopolim petere ubi prefecto patriarcha sententie concilii assentires atque subscriberes. Tu autem, velut illius filius qui ab initio in veritate non stetit, recedens a sacro illo collegio, ad presidia Teuchrorum confugisti, similis illis et forte infidelitate eorum deterior, omnesque has regiones tuis chartulis perditissimis corrumpere

Thus Chrysoberges begins his dialogue with the same topic, running through the traditional Latin arguments claiming that Christ Himself used unleavened bread, that unleavened bread is symbolically superior and not a “dead” sacrifice, and that the Latins do not Judaize. Most importantly, he is upset that Mark attacks the Latins erroneously and unjustly, when the Latins and Chrysoberges himself maintain that the Greek use of leavened bread is perfectly valid.¹¹⁴ In support of this, Chrysoberges adduces “Leo, the most Holy Roman pontiff, whom even you call a ‘pillar of the faith’”. This proves that, before the Ebi-onite “madness of heretics” arose, “the entire Church of God” performed the sacrament with unleavened bread. The Greeks have made Leo’s specific dispensation general, but they should not therefore attack the Latins for making a dead offering, when in fact they have returned to the earlier observance.¹¹⁵ Apparently Chrysoberges ignored in which

studuisti, asserens Latinos mortuum sacrificium Deo offerre; quod umbre Mosayce legis assideant; quod Basilio magno et sapientissimo Maximo contradicant; quod fidem simul et naturam humanam corruerint; quod altare apud eos et pontificalis cathedra non habeatur; quod velut mulieribus similes virilem sibi dignitatem auferant; quod mulieres ad sacrorum administrationem admittant; quod sacra eorum nulla veneratione habita sunt; quod Florentinum Concilium inanem et nove fidei diffinitionem ediderit”.

114. ANDREAS CHRYSOBERGES, *Dyalogus*, Palat. Lat. 604, ff. 5v-6r: “<Andreas>: Fatearis itaque errorem tuum, Ephesine pater, et te iniuste Latinos accusasse agnoscas. Si autem victus propria voce hoc facere neglexeris coniectis in terram oculis eterno rubore perfunderis. Nec ego tibi hec obijecto ut panem tuum fermentarium reprobem et sacrificio Christiano penitus interdiciam. Nam cum fermentum et azimum solam quandam differentiam accidentis habeant, cum panis speciem mutare nequeant, si panem triticeum dederis, sive azimus aut fermentarius fuerit, dum relique alie partes sacrificii cum dignitate maneant, iure Deo hostiam immolabis. Sed cum Latini Christi institutionem, apostolorum observantiam, Pauli preceptionem, vetustissimum Ecclesie Catholice morem in testes fidelissimos habeat, tu quos defensores affers qui his nostris audeant comparari? Nisi forte velis a Judeis mutuum postulare quo tuam iniquitatem defendas. Consuetudinem autem tuorum Orientalium unde ortum acceperit iam inferiori disputatione Leo pontifex maximus declarabit. Si igitur Romana Ecclesia materna pietate modestissime ac sapientissime tuum fermentum receptat, cur tu oblitus ipsius pietate et calumniam infers?”.

115. ANDREAS CHRYSOBERGES, *Dyalogus*, Palat. Lat. 604, f. 6v: “<Andreas>: Sed hanc tuam ignaviam Leo, sanctissimus Romanus pontifex, quem tu etiam columnam fidei nominas, dilluit, affirmans ab initio sacerdotalis officii totam Dei Ecclesiam azimum optulisse. Sed cum Ebio omnia legalia simul cum evangelicis preceptis debere servari contenderet, statuerunt patres ab illo sacrificandi genere abstinere donec illa hereticorum rabies evanesceret, deinde in priorem observantiam redire. Quod et actum est, Grecis in usu fermentario perseverantibus. Cum itaque priori tempore tota Dei Ecclesia in azimo conficiens vivum sacrificium offerre consueverat, cur Romana Ecclesia vetustissimum institutum servans nunc mortuam oblationem Deo immolat? Quis adeo desipit ut hoc non intelligat? Ceterum, Ephesine, ignorare non habes ut que non per se, sed casu ac dispensatione admissa sunt, in generalem institutionem venire non habent”.

sense I know not the remarks of the anonymous author of the *Libellus*. Thus showing toleration toward Greek practices, Chrysoberges was nevertheless infuriated by the Greek charges against the Latins, and in stark contrast to Anselm of Havelberg's eirenic effort from three centuries earlier, the Greek Dominican concluded his entire dialogue by saying that, if Mark does not retract his lies, he will burn in Hell with the other heresiarchs.¹¹⁶

A few years earlier, after Jerome of Prague had left Chrysoberges' Rhodes and arrived in the capital of Cyprus, almost exactly two centuries after the execution of the monks of Kantara for their refusal to admit the validity of the Latin sacrament, he found that opinions had not changed, although modes of expression had. Jerome, who perhaps provoked the Greeks, given his attitude, remarks that they did attend Latin services on occasion, but they drew a line at respecting unleavened bread:

I saw with my eyes in Nicosia and in Rhodes that when a Catholic priest was lifting up [the host] during Mass, the Greeks that were present turned their backs and the obscene part of their bodies against the Sacrament of the Altar.¹¹⁷

116. ANDREAS CHRYSOBERGES, *Dyalogus*, Palat. Lat. 604, f. 59v: "<Andreas>: Agnosce igitur, Ephesine, tuos errores nephandissimos et te non solum sceleris tui peniteat, sed etiam publicis testimoniis te errasse fatearis ut simplitium hominum corda que tuis mendatiis corrupisti saluti sue restituas. Secus et si tu unus ad tot supplitia satis non sis, eterno tamen cum ceteris heresiarchis cruciaberis igne. Finis".

117. JEROME OF PRAGUE, *De erroribus Graecorum* (above n. 107), col. 917.

A NEGLECTED TOOL OF ORTHODOX PROPAGANDA?
THE IMAGE OF THE LATINS IN
BYZANTINE HAGIOGRAPHY

Martin HINTERBERGER

The investigation of how Latins are represented in Byzantine hagiography might be especially useful for the exploration of the Byzantines' attitude towards the Latins. One reason is that hagiography was a powerful tool of propaganda in the framework of ideological clashes. It was powerful because, more than other genres, hagiographical texts presented the exemplary life and conduct. Furthermore, these texts were firmly connected to the cult of saints, so that they reached a wide public by being read aloud at the saint's feast. Such an investigation will also help to contextualize better the so-called *Martyrion Kyprion*, a text describing the martyrdom of the thirteen Cypriot monks of Kantara in 1231, on which Chris Schabel, Alexander Beihammer and I have been trying to shed more light for some time now.

As I am still at the beginning of my research, my paper will have more the character of a work-in-progress. I have seen a substantial portion of the hagiographical texts of the Palaiologan period, but not all of them. For this reason whatever conclusion I reach must be considered preliminary.

By hagiography I mean, in a rather broad sense, texts dedicated to a person venerated as a saint and intended to support the cult of this saint, but I have concentrated on texts which can be characterized primarily as narrative (meaning that I have excluded *akolouthies* and hymns).¹

1. All known texts on Byzantine saints are catalogued in F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia hagiographica 8a), Brussels 1957, and IDEM, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* (Subsidia hagiographica 65), Brussels 1984 (= BHG). So far a thorough and general study on Byzantine hagiography has not been accomplished (Stephanos Efthymiadis has announced a comprehensive handbook on the subject in two volumes, which we hope will materialize soon). In addition to the rather short, but informative article by A. KAZHDAN and A.-M. TALBOT, "Hagiography", in: A. KAZHDAN (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991, pp. 897-898, for

My research has been carried out on the basis of a representative sample of texts written during the period 1100-1500, without being exhaustive, of course. I have focused on texts dedicated to saints who lived in the period under scrutiny, but I have also taken into consideration texts on older saints.²

Hagiography is strongly connected to, but not dependent on, the appearance of new saints. In contrast to the practices of the Latin Church, in Byzantium there existed no fixed procedure for the canonisation of saints.³ The veneration of a certain saint was always more or less a matter of general consent. There are very few cases where the patriarch interfered with the veneration of a particular saint outside of Constantinople. Nevertheless, the Church had the possibility and the means to support the cult of a saint, if it wished. It was, e.g., with the strong backing of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos that in 1368 Gregory Palamas was officially proclaimed a saint.⁴

A few words on the development of the genre may be appropriate. In comparison to the previous two centuries, in the Palaiologan period hagiography was a rather productive genre. There is an enormous number of new versions of old saint's lives (totalling 125 out of ca. 160 texts, i.e., 78%), the bulk of these texts having been written during the early part of our period, especially in the reign of Andronikos II (1282-1328).⁵ The majority of new saints' lives fit into

a general overview one may consult D.G. TSAMES, *Αγιολογία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας*, Thessalonica 1999, esp. pp. 19-53. Useful material on Byzantine saints and hagiography in general is also provided by the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database (<http://www.doaks.org/Hagio.html>).

2. E. MORINI, "Greci e latini dalle crociate alla francocrazia nelle fonti agiografiche bizantine", in: *Rivista di Bizantinistica* 3 (1993), pp. 183-225, is an insightful study that focuses more on Greek-Latin relationships surrounding the cult of saints than on the hagiographical texts themselves. The article, however, contains interesting observations on the *Martyrion Kyprian* as well as on the *Life of Sabas*, both of which I am going to discuss in detail in the present article. D. ABRAHAMSE, "Byzantine Views of the West in the Early Crusade Period: The Evidence of Hagiography", in: V.P. GROSS (ed.), *The Meetings of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, Kalamazoo, Mich. 1986, pp. 189-200, also provides interesting information gathered from 12th-century texts.

3. A.-M. TALBOT, "Canonization", in: KAZHDAN, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p. 372; R. MACRIDES, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period", in: S. HACKEL (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham 14th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, London 1981, pp. 67-87, esp. pp. 79-87.

4. MACRIDES, "Saints and Sainthood", p. 83.

5. A.-M. TALBOT, "Old Wine in New Bottles: The Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaeologan Period", in: S. ČURČIĆ and D. MOURIKI (eds.), *The Twilight of Byzantium*.

one of the following two categories: lives of heroes of the anti-unionist struggle and lives of heroes of the Hesychast movement. We may already record that in terms of numbers, anti-Latin hagiography, in the sense of hagiographical texts promoting saints who had struggled against the Latins, virtually does not exist. In most texts in which Latins do appear, they are merely mentioned and are not really the centre of attention.

The keywords I looked for in these hagiographical texts were primarily Λατῖνος and Ἰταλός.⁶ In Byzantine texts, the word Λατῖνος is used in two senses: firstly, Λατῖνος means the speaker of Latin or refers to the geographical provenance of a person, and could thus be translated as "Westerner". Secondly, Λατῖνος refers to the denomination, meaning an adherent to the Church of Rome, what we now call a Roman Catholic. In the texts I have examined so far, before the year 1200 the word Λατῖνος refers primarily to ethnic provenance or to linguistic identity, and in many cases it is specified which of the two is meant.⁷ It is only after ca. 1200 that the word primarily characterizes adherents to the Roman Catholic Church.⁸ Ἰταλός, on the other

Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire. Papers from the Colloquium Held at Princeton University 8–9 May 1989. Princeton, NJ 1991, pp. 15–26, esp. pp. 16–17. On the Lives of new saints see A.E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire", in: EADEM (ed.), *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of P. Charanis*, New Brunswick, NJ 1980, pp. 84–114.

6. On the general usage of Λατῖνος in Byzantine texts (with special focus on historiographical texts) see J. KODER, "Latinoi — The Image of the Other according to Greek Sources", in: C.A. MALTEZOU and P. SCHREINER (eds.), *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo). Atti del Colloquio Internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz O.P. Venezia, 1–2 dicembre 2000*, Venice 2002, pp. 25–39 (with further bibliography). See also A. KAZHDAN, "Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century", in: A.E. LAIOU and R.P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington, DC 2001, pp. 83–100, who discusses the terms Λατῖνος and Φράγγος and their origin. The term Φράγγος is of minor significance in hagiographical texts of the period under investigation here.

7. E.g., Λατῖνοι τὸ γένος in the Life of Nikon (shortly after 1042), ed. D.F. SULLIVAN, *The Life of Saint Nikon*, Brookline, MA 1987, 74, 1 (p. 250) where the text refers to two brothers from Aquileia, and τὴν γλῶτταν Λατῖνος in John Rhodios, Life of Christodoulos (ca. 1140), ed. K. BOINES, *Ἀκολουθία ἱερὰ τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χριστοδοῦλου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ*, Athens 1884, ch. 20 (p. 132, 10).

8. Nota bene, this is true only for the material I have used for the present investigation. In the texts used by KODER, "Latinoi", in most cases Λατῖνος points to ethnic provenance. This difference, at least in part, is due to the different subject that each genre, hagiography or historiography, focuses on. The term Φράγγος is only rarely used, mostly as a synonym

hand, primarily refers to Italian provenance, but also more generally to Western origin. Sometimes Ἰταλός is used as a synonym of Λατῖνος in its meaning "Roman Catholic".⁹ Whereas these two words may also be used in a neutral sense when exclusively referring to local provenance, the term ἀζυμίτης, "the user of unleavened bread", is clearly polemical. It is interesting to note that it was this very dogmatic difference, the usage of unleavened bread for Holy Communion, and not any other (papal primacy for instance) that led to the creation of an abusive term for the Latins.¹⁰

Naturally, Latins appear only in texts referring to saints who somehow made contact with Latins/Westerners. Before the age of the Crusades, this means primarily saints of Southern Italy and the neighbouring Peloponnese. After the intrusion of Westerners in former Byzantine areas, Latins are to be found generally in texts related to the Holy Land and the islands which are located on the way there (Patmos, Cyprus, etc.). After the capture of Constantinople in 1204 and the partition of the empire among the participants of the Crusade, Latins can appear in texts related to all former Byzantine regions.

In the period prior to 1150 Latins make only accidental appearances.¹¹ One exceptional case worth mentioning, though, is the Vita of St. Lucas, bishop of Capo Rizzuto in Calabria, who died in 1114.¹² According to the Life, which was written in 1119/20 and in fact is

of Ἰταλός; see, e.g., Life of Athanasios of Meteora, ed. D. SOPHIANOS, *Ὁ ὁσιος Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Μετεωρίτης. Βίος, ἀκολουθία, συναξάρια*, Meteora 1990, ch. 6, p. 133: τοῦ ἄστεως δὲ ἀλόντος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἑμμερα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ παῖς λαμβάνεται· ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Φράγγων ἐξάρχων... (both terms referring here to the Catalans of the Duchy of Athens). On the general use of Φράγγος see KODER, "Latinoi — The Image of the Other According to Greek Sources".

9. E.g., PHILOTHEOS OF SELYMBRIA, *Enkomion on Agathonikos* (BHG 43), ed. PG 154, cols. 1229-1240, esp. col. 1237C.

10. On the azyma-question and its special place in discussions between Byzantines and Latins, see C. SCHABEL's article in the present volume. For the rather rare occurrences of the word ἀζυμίτης and its abusive meaning see E. TRAPP (et alii), *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzistik*, vol. 1, Vienna 2001, *sub voce*, and E. KRIARAS, *Λεξικό τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας*, vol. 1, Thessalonica 1969, *sub voce*. There is only one rather late (17th c.) entrance for the word παπίστας, "follower of the pope", KRIARAS, *Λεξικό*, vol. 14, Thessalonica 1997, *sub voce*.

11. On hagiographical texts of the 12th century see generally P. MAGDALINO, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the 12th Century", in: HACKEL, *The Byzantine Saint*, pp. 51-66, esp. 52-54.

12. Ed. G. SCHIRO, *Vita di S. Luca vescovo di isola Capo Rizzuto*, Palermo 1954.

more a collection of miracles than a biography, Lucas had a violent encounter with Latins.¹³ He once had a discussion with Roman Catholics in his bishopric about the use of azyma and enzyma (unleavened and leavened bread). Lucas produced Scriptural evidence supporting the use of leavened bread for Holy Communion, and concluded his speech by telling the Latins that their practice was Jewish and that they committed innumerable other heretical deeds. These insulting words infuriated the Latins so much that they built a hut, forced Lucas into it and subsequently set the hut afire. It is reported that Lucas miraculously remained unhurt, but in the following episode of the Life he dies from an unspecified illness, raising suspicions that in fact he was burnt. Regardless of what really happened to Lucas, this story is especially intriguing, because it was the controversy about the azyma that led to the conflict and the (near) burning of Lucas.

Evidence is much more ample for the period after 1150. Some examples may be representative for the broad picture: Since the beginning of the twelfth century the miracle-working relics of Christodoulos of Patmos had been attracting not only Byzantines, but also Westerners who on their way to the Holy Land stopped at the famous monastery of St John the Theologian, so that in texts related to the founder of the monastery, Latins often play an important role.¹⁴

Enkomion on Christodoulos

The encomium of Christodoulos of Patmos composed by Theodosios Gudelis relates in great detail the posthumous miracles of the saint.¹⁵ All of these miracles have to do with the theft or violent removal of the saint's corpse as a whole or in part (and its miraculous restoration to

13. Vita of Lucas I. 325-349 (= ch. 11).

14. On Christodoulos and his monastery on Patmos, see e.g. A. KAZHDAN, "Christodoulos of Patmos", in: KAZHDAN, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, pp. 440-441, and T.E. GREGORY and N. PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, "Patmos", *ibid.*, pp. 1596-1597, as well as A. KIRBY, "Hosios Christodoulos: an Eleventh-century Byzantine Saint and his Monasteries", in: *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996), pp. 293-309. For the hagiographical texts dedicated to Christodoulos see esp. E.L. BRANUSE, *Τὰ ἀγιολογικά κείμενα τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου, ἱδρυτοῦ τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς*, Athens 1966, and EADEM, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου. Α' Αὐτοκρατορικά*, Athens 1980, pp. *8-20 and *68-72.

15. Ed. by BOINES, *Ἀκολουθία*, pp. 163-208. On the author see D. TSOUGARAKIS, *The Life of Leontios Patriarch of Jerusalem* (The Medieval Mediterranean 2), Leiden-New York-Cologne 1993, pp. 11-13.

the monastery). The perpetrators of these crimes are nearly exclusively Latins, who in the text are primarily referred to as “non-Byzantines” or “foreigners”, βάρβαροι.¹⁶ They are the men of King William II of Sicily (in 1186) or King Philipp Augustus of France himself (September 1191, after he abandoned the crusaders’ allied forces). The latter, after a failed attempt to purchase a part of Christodoulos’ body, induces one of his men to steal it. This man, while venerating Christodoulos, bites off part of the skin covering the saint’s hand (ch. 40).

In Gudelis’ text, the Latins clearly are depicted as evil and uncultivated, no more than bloodthirsty pirates, especially the men in the service of the king of Sicily.¹⁷ But nowhere are the existing dogmatic differences mentioned. Their main flaw is that they are not Byzantines, which does not mean that they are exclusively non-Greeks.¹⁸ Besides that, they are closely associated to rebels against the Byzantine emperor (such as Isaakios Komnenos in Cyprus). All in all, the image of the Latins is somehow contradictory, because on the one hand they also worship and venerate Christodoulos piously and in the end are forced to obey the saint’s wish to stay on his island (with all his fingers), but on the other hand they are also unquestionably bad, because they try to remove the saint from Patmos.¹⁹ This somehow undecided attitude vis-à-vis the Latins changes to explicit hostility in Theodosios’ other hagiographical work.

Life of Leontios

Theodosios Gudelis, who originated from a noble family in Constantinople and himself was a monk in the monastery of St John in Patmos, also wrote the *Life of Leontios* (1110/15-85), patriarch of Jerusalem and former abbot of Patmos.¹⁹ A little after 1176 Leontios was appointed patriarch of Jerusalem. Although his see was under Crusader rule and had a resident Latin prelate, Leontios decided actually

16. E.g. Theodosios Gudelis, *Enkomion* 181, 12. 15; 184, 4. 6; 187, 15; 188, 20. 22; 189, 1. 23; 193, 8. 23. 26. 30. 32; 199, 9, whereas *Λατῖνος* and its derivatives are only rarely used, e.g. 202, 5. 30; 203, 1.

17. E.g., *ibid.*, 202, 16.

18. The author mentions, e.g., Megareites, a pirate of Greek decent in the service of the king of Sicily; Theodosios Gudelis, *Enkomion* 177, 5-12.

19. On Leontios biography see TSOUGARAKIS, *The Life of Leontios*, pp. 1-7.

to visit Jerusalem. He reached Acre in the summer of 1177. The political and ecclesiastical officials of the Kingdom of Jerusalem of course refused to recognize Leontios' status. His short stay in the Holy Land is described in the *Life* (ch. 80-88) in some detail, offering the author the opportunity to refer to the conflict with the local Latins and especially to the Latin archbishop's attempt to kill Leontios, due to his extreme popularity (as during his presence it began to rain in the middle of a severe draught).

(The Latin archpriest, [= Amalric of Nesle, 1158-80]) overcome by unjust anger, conceived the murder against the one who did nothing unjust, though he [Amalric] was an archpriest of God and a disciple of the gentle and mild Jesus and had been taught not to let the sun go down upon his wrath, and who himself ought to teach everyone to do what he heard and did. And so at night he sent men armed with swords to the small house where the man of God stayed, in order to kill him.²⁰

Leontios was saved with the help of God, but this attack on his life and the continued refusal of the Latin authorities to permit him to celebrate mass officially in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre forced Leontios to leave Palestine (summer 1178), after a stay of about a year, and return to Constantinople. Before leaving, however, according to the *Life* (ch. 87), Leontios was invited by the ruler of Damascus (Saladin, since 1174) to come to his land and obviously to transfer his patriarchal seat there, which serves as another opportunity for the author to attack the "innately wicked" Latins by making an unfavourable comparison with the Muslims, because "they, the Latins, though calling themselves Christians, had behaved to him worse than those who were completely impious".²¹

The difference we observe in the two texts concerning the treatment of the Latins by the author may also be genre-related. In the *Encomium* the Latins were used for the saint's praise as well, so that they, being worshipers of the saint, could not be depicted as totally depraved.

It is interesting to note that in Gudelis' texts, and especially in the *Life of Leontios*, which surely was written after the events of the

20. THEODOSIOS GUEDELIS, *Life of Leontios*, p. 85, 23-28. I follow the translation of TSUGARAKIS, *The Life of Leontios*, p. 135; see also the commentary on p. 203.

21. THEODOROS GUEDELIS, *Life of Leontios*, p. 136, 40-41.

Fourth Crusade, there is no developed polemics against the Latins except the rather short passage on the attempt to kill Leontios.

BYZANTINE HAGIOGRAPHY AFTER 1204

As we have already mentioned, in the second half of the thirteenth century hagiographical propaganda focused on Latinophiles, not on Latins themselves. Characteristically, even in the first decades after the recapture of Constantinople (1261), hagiographic propaganda concentrated on the victims of Michael VIII's (1258-82) harsh oppression of anti-unionists.²² This goes so far that in the narratives the Church of Rome even assumes a positive role, namely as an ally in the struggle against iconoclasm, but also against the *Filioque*.²³

In later texts (of the first half of the fourteenth century) as well, when in the framework of a historical flashback the Latin occupation of Constantinople is referred to, there is hardly any expansion on the subject of the evil Latin to be found.²⁴ Occasionally we hear about the pillaging of churches by the Latins, and especially about the stealing of relics or the taking of hostages.²⁵ Even in the Life of John

22. MACRIDES, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period".

23. E.g., THEODORA RAOULAINA, *Life of Theodore and Theophanes Graptos* (BHG 1793), ch. 12-14, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, 'Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, vol. 4, Jerusalem 1897, pp. 185-223. See on this text TALBOT, "Old Wine", pp. 20-21, and F. RIZZO NERVO, "Teodora Raoulaina: Tra agiografia e politica", in: ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ. *Studi in onore di Rosario Anastasi*, vol. 1, Catania 1991, pp. 147-161. On the pope's rejection of the *Filioque*, as presented by Theodora, see also C. SODE, *Jerusalem – Konstantinopel – Rom. Die Viten des Michael Synkellos und der Brüder Theodoros und Theophanes Graptos*, Stuttgart 2001, esp. 199-200.

24. E.g., KONSTANTINOS AKROPOLITES, *Enkomion of Demetrios* (BHG 542), 61-62, ed. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, 'Ανάλεκτα, vol. 1, pp. 160-215 (and 492-493), esp. pp. 210-211, when lamenting the fall of Constantinople in 1204 the author restricts himself to speak of the "iron nation" and "the hand of the arrogant Italians". For an exception that proves the rule see NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS, *Life of Ioannes of Herakleia* (BHG 2188), ch. 8, ed. V. LAURENT, "La Vie de Jean, Métropolitte d'Héraclée de Pont", in: 'Αρχαῖον Πόντον 6 (1934), pp. 3-64, here 43, 17-44, 10.

25. Pillaging and theft of relics: Philotheos of Selymbria, *Enkomion on Agathonikos* (BHG 43), ed. PG 154, cols. 1229-1240, esp. col. 1237C; hostages taken in Nea Patra in 1319, Life of Athanasios of Meteora, ed. SOPHANOS, 'Ο ὁσιος Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Μετεωρίτης, p. 133, ch. 6; see also the commentary *ibid.* 40-42; cf. also E. TRAPP, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna 1976-1996 (= PLP), no. 359, as well as LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, "Saints and Society", p. 92, and D.M. NICOL, *Meteora. The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly*, London 1963, p. 88 (English paraphrase of the passage). Damages

Batatzis (BHG 933, written by George of Pelagonia in the middle of the fourteenth century), the energetic ruler who led Byzantium back to power and into a position from which after his death the Byzantines managed to recapture Constantinople, and whose principal enemies had been the Latins, the latter do not play any special role in the narrative. Instead of attacking the Latins, this text is in fact a libel directed against the ruling Byzantine elite of the author's time, which is unfavourably compared to the erstwhile saviour of the Byzantine State.²⁶

In texts that support the cause of the Hesychast movement, one recurrent topic is the Italian origin and allegedly concealed Roman Catholic inclinations of Barlaam the Calabrian, the vehement opponent of Gregory Palamas who, in Hesychast hagiography, is the foreigner scapegoat responsible for the internal strife inside the Orthodox Church.²⁷ Interestingly, this recurrent topic is not used for any kind of anti-Latin propaganda. Generally, the Lives of Hesychast saints focus on the saints' deeds on Mount Athos, although many of them came from, or undertook long journeys to, regions under Latin rule. Nevertheless, accidental, but interesting information is provided in the biography of one of the great Hesychast leaders.

Life of Sabas

Sabas Tziskas (1283-1349), better known as Sabas the Younger, who had taken monastic vows in the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi, set out to visit the Holy Land shortly after 1307.²⁸ On his way there he

afflicted to monasteries: Philotheos of Selymbria, *Life of Makarios* (BHG 1000), ch. 49, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Μανρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη, Ἀνέκδοτα ἑλληνικά*, Constantinople 1884, pp. 46-59, esp. p. 6.

26. Cf. MACRIDES, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period", esp. pp. 69-71. On the veneration of members of the previous Lascarid dynasty as saints as a feature of Palaiologan politics see now T. SHAWCROSS, "In the Name of the True Emperor", in: *Byzantinoslavica* 66 (2008), pp. 203-227, esp. pp. 214-224.

27. E.g. Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of Sabas* 72, 12-25, ed. D.G. TSAMES, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἁγιολογικά ἔργα. Α' Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἅγιοι*, Thessalonica 1985, pp. 159-326; Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of Isidoros*, 26, 4-9, ed. TSAMES, *ibid.*, pp. 327-424.

28. On his biographical data see PLP 27991. His *Life* (BHG 1606) was composed by Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (cf. previous note); see on this text also TSAMES, *Αγιολογία*, pp. 148-167.

decided to stop in Cyprus, where he had two violent encounters with local Latins. The first time he was nearly beaten to death by the servants of an 'Italian' nobleman because his behaviour was considered insulting.²⁹ The second time members of a 'Latin' convent took him for a thief and, beating him up, nearly killed him.³⁰ These episodes, of course, do have a strong anti-Latin spirit, and sometimes their language is abusive against Latins, but the above-mentioned incidents are described as violent experiences that had to be reckoned with, and Sabas consciously provoked them with his bizarre behaviour as a Holy Fool.³¹ The Italian nobleman is insulted because Sabas, due to his vows of silence, does not answer his question concerning his name. That Sabas' behaviour was provocative and socially most inappropriate is recognized also by the author of his vita, Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, who, trying to explain the saint's strangeness, relates that long afterwards Sabas had told him privately that at that time he was driven by a powerful desire for a martyr's death.³² In the vita of Sabas the Latins thus appear, on the one hand, as a means for Sabas to achieve the aim he had set out for himself, and on the other, as the tool of Satan. That the anti-Latin spirit which undoubtedly imbues these passages has to be seen in a broader context becomes clear from the fact that these are not the only violent encounters Sabas experienced on Cyprus. In the episode placed in the vita after the beating by the Italian nobleman's servants and before the near murder by the Catholic monks, Sabas is furiously insulted and stones are thrown at him by the Greek Orthodox inhabitants of the island.³³

GREEKS MARTYRS AT THE HAND OF LATINS

The material I have presented so far stems from texts that belong to the main currents of Palaiologan hagiography. Now I will turn to

29. Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of Sabas* 21.

30. Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of Sabas*, 24 (ll. 2-5: συναγωγῇ τινι προσβάλλει τῶν Ἰταλῶν, Ἰταλῶν οὐ τὸ γένος μόνον καὶ τὴν φωνήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν περὶ Θεοῦ δόξαν αὐτὴν ἄντικρυς φροντιστηρίου σχῆμα προβαλλομένων καὶ μετιόντων δῆθεν τὰ μοναχῶν).

31. For Sabas as a holy fool see S.A. IVANOV, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, translated by S. FRANKLIN, Oxford 2006, pp. 225-232.

32. Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of Sabas*, 24, 57-58 and esp. 63-64: πόθος μαρτυρικῶς (τὸ αἶμα) κενῶσαι. MORINI, "Greci e latini", p. 216, already pointed out this peculiar trait in the *Life of Sabas*.

33. Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of Sabas*, ch. 22.

three exceptional cases in which Greeks were put to death by Latins.³⁴ Although the official Greek Orthodox Church, at least in the beginning of the occupation of Byzantine territories by the Latins, vividly encouraged its flock to resist any attempt by the Latins to alter the traditional customs of the Orthodox Church, even at the peril of death,³⁵ the following cases seem to be the only instances of such uncompromising resistance. We will see, however, that even in these cases, what was at stake was not merely religious practices.

The Martyrdom of the Cypriot Monks

The so-called *Martyrion Kypriou* relates the story of thirteen monks of the Kantara monastery who were put to death by the Latins in 1231 in Nicosia.³⁶ According to the text the monks were involved in a discussion with the Dominican friar Andrew, in the course of which they condemned the use of unleavened bread by the Latins in the Sacrament of Holy Communion and even called the Latins heretics because of their use of azyma.³⁷ The monks are summoned to the

34. To my knowledge, these are the only martyrdoms of Greek Orthodox at the hand of Roman Catholics attested in our texts. According to Georgios Pachymeres, *History* XIII 16 (ed. A. FAILLER, *Georges Pachymères. Relations historiques*, vol. 4, Paris 1999, pp. 653-655), Patriarch Athanasios II of Alexandria was forced by Latin friars (whether Franciscans or Dominicans is not clear) to choose between embracing the Roman faith and being burnt as a heretic on Euboea in 1305, but after some negotiations he was eventually allowed to leave the island; cf. also PLP 413.

35. In a document issued between 1216 and 1224, Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Bulgaria exhorts the monks of Mount Athos not to waver in their resistance against Latin oppression and assures them explicitly that whoever defends the customs of the Orthodox Church with his body will be regarded as a martyr; Demetrios Chomatenos, *Ponemate diaphora*, ed. G. PRINZING, Berlin-New York 2002, 54, 68-74 (p. 200). In a letter sent in 1223 Patriarch Germanos II together with the Synod of the exiled Constantinopolitan Church encouraged the members of the Church of Cyprus to resist any pressure in dogmatic matters; cf. the recent discussion of this letter by A. BEIHAMMER, *Griechische Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 367*, Nicosia 2007, pp. 82-85.

36. On the event and its historical context see C. SCHABEL, "Religion", in: A. NICO-LAOU-KONNARI and C. SCHABEL (eds.), *Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374*, Leiden - Boston 2005 (The Medieval Mediterranean 58), pp. 157-218, here 196-198.

37. T. PAPADOPOULOS, "Μαρτύριον Κυπρίων", in: *Τόμος ἀναμνηστικός ἐπὶ τῇ 50ετηρίδᾳ τοῦ περιοδικοῦ 'Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας' (1918-1968)*, Nicosia 1975, pp. 307-338. See also A.D. BEIHAMMER and C. SCHABEL, "Two Small Texts on the Wider Context of the Martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara in Cyprus", in: E. MOTOS GUIRAO and M. MORFAKIDIS FILACTÓS (eds.), *POLYPTYCHON / ΠΟΛΥΠΤΥΧΟΝ. Homenaje a Ioannis Hassiotis. Αφιέρωμα στον Ιωάννη Χασιώτη*, Granada 2008, pp. 69-81.

capital Nicosia in order to be questioned by the Catholic archbishop. When they are brought before the latter, they confirm their belief, as they do again one year and three years later. After their third questioning they are entrusted to the king in order to be executed.

Formally, the so-called Martyrdom of the Cypriot Monks is not a *martyrion*, but a narrative, διήγησις,³⁸ which does, however, exhibit characteristic traits of the hagiographical genre *martyrion*.³⁹ Thus the discussion between the defendants and their judge looms large in the story.⁴⁰ The archbishop, and even more the Dominican Andrew, are presented as furious and angry and as beasts (θήρ), as is their pagan counterpart in traditional hagiography.⁴¹ The Latin officials are also called τύραννοι, which in medieval Greek evokes several associations, not only that they are cruel and brutal, but also that they exert their power illegally.⁴²

In the text the thirteen monks appear as representatives of their people, not only in a religious but also in a national sense. After the monks have been humiliated and insulted as heretics by the prison guards in front of the gathered people, all Ῥωμαῖοι (i.e., Greeks) pray to God:⁴³

38. According to the title, Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, ed. PAPADOPOULOS, p. 320,1: Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων τῶν διὰ πυρὸς τελειωθέντων παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κύπρῳ ἐν τῷ ς ψ λ θ' ἔτει. It is interesting to note that the text on the fictitious martyrion of the Athonite monks (ed. J. KODER, "Patres Athonenses Latinophilis occisi sub Michael VIII", in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 18 [1969], pp. 79-88, esp. p. 82) is also a narrative with a very similar title: Διήγησις περὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει ὑπὸ τῶν λατινοφρονούντων. See on this text A. RIGO, "La sui monaci Athoniti martirizzati dai latinofroni (BHG 2333) e le tradizioni Athonite successive: alcune osservazioni", in: *Studi Veneziani* n.s. 15 (1988), pp. 71-106.

39. On the generic characteristics of the martyrion see A. KAZHDAN, "Martyrion, Literary Genre", in: KAZHDAN, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p. 1309, and esp. H. DELEHAYE, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Subsidia Hagiographica 13), Brussels 1966 (2nd edition, revised and corrected).

40. Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, pp. 331, 20-332, 5; 333, 4-335, 4.

41. Θῆρες Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, pp. 326, 24 and 329, 24; 335, 5; ζέοντα τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ τῷ θυμῷ p. 325, 2-3; θυμοῦ ἀσκέτου πλησθεὶς p. 329, 10; 332, 6; τῷ θυμῷ νικώμενος p. 333, 4-5; τῷ θυμῷ ὑπερζέσας p. 335, 6; θυμοῦ γέμων p. 335, 7.

42. Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, p. 327, 8; p. 329, 27; cf. also p. 328, 26 (τυραννικῇ ἐξέτασις). Already in the Apostolic Canons the word characterizes a schismatic priest; see G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 1421 (τύραννος 2).

43. Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, p. 329, 18-30. In this text the term Ῥωμαῖος obviously means "Greek Orthodox" in opposition to Λατῖνος "Roman-Catholic", whereas Γραικός is only used in the direct speech of Andreas (p. 336, 14), obviously having a

O Lord, look at our injuries, and see our sorrow: these bloodthirsty beasts have lorded over us all, and they roar like lions. But watch over those chosen by you, these fathers of ours who on behalf of the truth surrendered themselves to die and to stand against our evil rulers and tyrants, and give them power and strength against their enemies, so that through them Your holy name may be glorified and the Orthodox faith may be openly proclaimed and Your humbled and enslaved flock may be exalted.

Furthermore, the brutal and humiliating manner of the monks' execution is called an insult to "our nation" and their martyr's death is presented as the Greeks' victory over the Latins.⁴⁴

According to the text, from the very beginning the saints were preparing for their martyrdom. Long before the encounter with the Dominican Andrew is mentioned for the first time, it is repeatedly stated that they are going to die.⁴⁵ When they appear before the archbishop for the first time, the thirteen monks sing Psalm 118, the martyr's psalm, and the gathered Greeks, in their prayer, also present the monks as determined to die, so that the stage for the martyrdom is already set.⁴⁶

Martyrdom of Alexios Kallergis

A wide chronological gap separates the story of the Cypriot monks from the next Greek text dedicated to the martyrdom of a member

humiliating and abusive connotation. The anonymous author also speaks of "our nation" in order to distinguish members of the Greek Orthodox Church from Roman Catholics; Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, p. 324, 27: εἰς τοὺς τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς γενεᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Λατίνους; p. 324, 30: Ἀνδρέαν ὀνόματι, τῷ γένει Λατίνον; p. 327, 28: τοὺς τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ὀρθοδόξους χριστιανούς (see also the following note). The word γένος, however, may also signify the local provenance, ibid. 328, 5: Κύπριοι μὲν τὸ γένος.

44. Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, p. 332, 23: πρὸς ὕβριν... τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους, p. 336, 24-25: ἡξίωσας ἡμᾶς κρείττους φανῆναι τῶν καταράτων τούτων Λατίνων, p. 336, 26-27: ἡμεῖς δὲ κρείττους φανέντες τῶν Λατίνων.

45. Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, p. 324, 9 and 20-23.

46. Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, pp. 330, 17-331, 17 (Psalm 118); p. 329, 22 (ἡρετίσματο ἀποθανεῖν) and 25-26 (οἵτινες... ἑαυτοὺς ἐξέδωκαν ἀποθανεῖν). — In the text the Latin crowd is presented as shouting at the monks and calling them dogs and heretics (πατερίνοι), Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers, p. 329, 15-16. Obviously, the word here has the general meaning "heretics", not the specific meaning "Kathars" (pace E. TRAPP [et alii], *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzistik*, 6. Faszikel, Vienna 2007, *sub voce*). On the usage of this word in Greek texts see also A. RIGO, Review of J. Hamilton's edition of Hugh Eteriano's *Contra Patarenos*, Leiden-Boston 2004, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006), pp. 662-668, esp. p. 666.

of the Orthodox Church. An anonymous, fragmentary text relates the deeds of Alexios Kallergis, a hero of the so-called Revolt of St Tito, the Cretans' rebellion against their Venetian overlords during 1363-67.⁴⁷ Alexios is depicted as a splendid and ruthless warrior who literally slaughters a huge number of Venetians or "strangers" in the Venetians' service.⁴⁸ In this case, the Greek hero fights against enemies whose ethnic or religious affiliation is never specified; they are simply called ἐχθροί or again θῆρες, "beasts".⁴⁹ Kallergis' martyrdom, which in the story is announced at an early stage, is depicted as the hero's greatest victory and at the same time is strongly evocative of Christ's death.⁵⁰ In comparatively long speeches he bids farewell to his fellow warriors and to his wife, and he delivers himself to the enemies in order to rescue his own people.⁵¹ Whereas in the previous parts of the text the author's attitude is full of cruel hostility against Kallergis's enemies (the Venetians) and the latter function merely as the negative antipode and as a means for exhibiting the hero's virtues (he defeats

47. G.K. PAPAZOGLOU, "«Ὁς τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου δέχεται στέφανον». Ὁ Ἀλέξιος Κελλέργης καὶ μὴ ἀγνωστὴ διήγηση τῶν Κρητικῶν ἐπαναστάσεων τοῦ 1365-1367", in: *Θησαυρισματα* 42 (2006), pp. 9-35 (edition of the text, pp. 27-34). In addition to Papazoglou's ample introduction, see for the wider historical context S. MCKEE, "The Revolt of St Tito in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: A Reassessment", in: *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (1995), pp. 173-204; cf. also T.E. DETORAKES, *Ἱστορία τῆς Κρήτης*, Irakleio 1990, esp. pp. 190-192, and S. XANTHOUDIDES, *Ἡ Ἑνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ἑνετῶν ἀγῶνες τῶν Κρητῶν* (Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie 34), Athens 1939, 99-110. Whereas this rebellion started as a revolt of both Latin and Greek inhabitants of Crete, who had developed a common Cretan identity without however either of the communities having been assimilated to the other completely, later on the insurrection obtained a stronger Greek character, when members of the Kallergis family took over the leadership and union with the Byzantine Empire was proclaimed as an aim; see MCKEE, "The Revolt of St Tito", especially pp. 185 and 202.

48. Story of Alexios Kallergis (ed. PAPAZOGLOU), 28, 6. 17 (ἀλλόφυλα ἔθνη, ἀλλόφυλος). The Venetians had hired Muslim mercenaries; *ibid.* 28, 8 (Ἀγαρηνοί); cf. also DETORAKIS, *Ἱστορία*, p. 91. Interestingly the author explicitly refers also to Hungarians, *ibid.* p. 29, 19-20 (τινες ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Οὐγκρῶν ἔθνους); 29, 27; 30, 7. The verb "to cut down, slaughter" is used twice (pp. 28, 17; 29, 26); the author also points out that the enemies' slaughtered bodies can still be seen at the place of the battle (p. 29, 26).

49. Story of Alexios Kallergis, pp. 29, 12; 30, 26. 30; 29, 12 (ἐχθροί); 29, 31; 30, 1 (θῆρες). The Greeks are called Πωμάιοι, *ibid.* 28, 7; 29, 25.

50. Story of Alexios Kallergis, p. 27, 24 (first announcement of the martyrdom), p. 30, 22-25 (transition to the martyrdom).

51. Story of Alexios Kallergis, p. 31, 5-24 and 33-34 (speech to his followers and friends), pp. 31, 34-32, 19 (to his wife), p. 32, 19-26 (to his children) and p. 32, 27-28 (to everybody present).

all his enemies and ridicules them even when they vastly outnumber his troops), in the final part a strange turn is to be observed. When Kallergis is finally delivered, his enemies are awestruck by his heroic looks and his virtues, so that they honour him and speak to him as a friend.⁵² The commander of the enemies, addressing Kallergis as a friend, even declares that he does not want to kill him, but that he is forced to do so by the law, otherwise he himself would have to face capital punishment. What he can do, though, is spare him any humiliation and simply behead him.⁵³ After his death (March 1367), Kallergis' body exhibits clear signs of his sainthood.⁵⁴

Martyrdom of Anthimos of Athens

Probably shortly after 1370 the future patriarch of Constantinople Neilos Kerameus (1379-88) wrote an encomium of his friend Anthimos, former metropolitan of Athens (BHG 2029).⁵⁵ At the request of the Greek Orthodox community of Crete, Anthimos was sent to the island during the above-mentioned Cretan rebellion against Venice in order to take over the leadership of the local Church.⁵⁶ The rebellion finally was suppressed and Anthimos put into prison, where he died in c. 1370. The encomium states that Anthimos died under uncertain conditions, but also makes clear that in all probability he was killed by the Venetians because they buried his body at an unknown place in order to hide the evidence of their crime.⁵⁷ Another reason for the secret burial of Anthimos's body was the fact that the Venetians feared that he would be venerated as a martyr.⁵⁸ The question whether Anthimos' death finally was murder or the result of his imprisonment and the inhumane treatment he had to face in prison, according to Neilos, is irrelevant to the unquestioned fact that he

52. Story of Alexios Kallergis, p. 33, 8-9: ὡς φίλος φίλῳ.

53. Story of Alexios Kallergis, p. 33, 14-21.

54. Story of Alexios Kallergis, p. 34, 1-11.

55. K.I. DYOBOUNIOTES, "Ο Ἀθηνῶν Ἀνθίμος καὶ πρόεδρος Κρήτης ὁ ὁμολογητής", in: *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρίας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 9 (1932), pp. 56-79 (edition of the text, pp. 56-79).

56. For Anthimos see PLP 993, for Neilos Kerameus see PLP 11648.

57. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, p. 76, 30: ἔδην δ' εἰ μὴ καὶ παρὰ Λατίνων βιαίτερον ἀνῆρέθη.

58. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, p. 77, 1-2.

should be regarded as a martyr, because, in any case, he died as an adamant confessor of the right faith.⁵⁹

On the whole, Anthimos is presented as a staunch and vehement opponent of the Latin Church. During his brief stay in Crete, as the leader of the local Orthodox Church he pursued a clear policy of absolute segregation from the Latins and strict opposition against any efforts toward contact between the two Churches. According to the encomium, when the Cretans had temporarily succeeded in throwing the Venetians out, Anthimos took pains to re-establish a purely Orthodox Church, without any concessions to the Latins.⁶⁰ When the rebellion finally failed and the Venetians tried to force the Cretans into a union with the Latin Church, it was Anthimos' advice that strengthened the Cretans' resistance and helped them to evade the pressure put on them by the Latins.⁶¹ It was this kind of activity on the part of Anthimos that the Latin bishop wanted to suppress by putting him in prison and leaving him there to die.

Whereas the text has the title *Speech on Our Holy Father Anthimos of Athens the Confessor*,⁶² it, too, exhibits typical traits of a classical martyrion, the most conspicuous traditional feature being again the confrontation with the impious and evil prosecutor: three times Anthimos is asked by his opponent, the Catholic archbishop of Crete, to recant his faith, which of course Anthimos is unwilling to do.⁶³ This bishop, whose name is not mentioned,⁶⁴ has all the characteristics of

59. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, p. 76, 34-35: τοῦτο πᾶσι γνωρίμων καὶ σαφές ὡς μαρτυρίου δρόμον ἀνύσας καὶ στερρώς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡγωνισμένος μαρτυρικῶ καὶ τέλει κατέλυσε τὴν ζωὴν.

60. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, p. 72, 14-16.

61. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, p. 75, 24-36.

62. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, p. 56: Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἀνθιμον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀθηνῶν, τὸν ὁμολογητὴν.

63. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, pp. 72, 39-73, 18; 74, 5-75, 3; 75, 37-76, 20.

64. Neilos only calls him "the one who was entrusted with the throne of Crete by the Latins" (ὁ τοίνυν παρὰ Λατίνους τὸν τῆς Κρήτης θρόνον πεπιστευμένος 72, 39-40). Since the chronology in the encomium, in accordance with the particular rules of this literary genre, is an insignificant issue and therefore remains unclear, it is also difficult to establish who this archbishop was. According to G. FEDALTO, *La chiesa latina in oriente, vol. II. Hierarchia Latina Orientis* (Studi Religiosi 3), Verona 1976, p. 106, Franciscus Quirini (Querini) was archbishop of Crete from 1364-1367 (December). After Quirini the see seems to have been vacant for more than a year before Antonius (de Nigris, Negri) became archbishop in January 1369. This means that in all probability Anthimos, who was arrested in about 1367 and spent three years in prison, was imprisoned under Franciscus but died under Antonius.

the pagan officer or emperor of old who conducts the legal procedure against the saint. Again as in the narrative on the Cypriot monks, by using the word *τύραννος*, Neilos explicitly states that in fact this bishop had no right to judge and to punish Anthimos.⁶⁵ In the same text Satan, too, is called *τύραννος*.⁶⁶ In both cases, thus, the word not only refers to the brutal and violent nature of the persons, but also expresses the illegal character of their power. Moreover, in the encomium the saint's opponent is clearly presented as Satan's representative, when Anthimos is compared to Job or when his being questioned three times is linked to Christ's being tried thrice by Satan in the desert.⁶⁷ As in the old martyria the evil judge gradually sheds off the civilized behaviour that at the beginning he pretended to have and at the end shows his real, brutal face. Whereas first he tries to convince Anthimos with flattering words to accept the Roman Catholic faith, promising him riches and power, in the end he does not even speak to him, but puts him again into prison with the clear intention of killing him.⁶⁸

As in the other texts, Anthimos's martyrdom is presented as the deserved and dignified end of a saintly life to which Anthimos had aspired since he was young. His perseverance against persecution and atrocities had been honed in his former struggle against the Antipalamites.⁶⁹ Already on his journey to Crete he knew that he was going to die, and he was happy about it. His desire to be a martyr was so strong that he would have preferred to die immediately when he arrived in Crete, but for the benefit of the local Orthodox flock he waited patiently.⁷⁰ At the end of the text, Anthimos is compared to the Old Testament's saints and especially to the martyrs of old.⁷¹

Martyrs of What?

Concerning martyrdom as it is described in these three texts, we observe that both Alexios Kallergis and Anthimos are sentenced to

65. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, pp. 76, 3. 17; cf. also 69, 14 (Latins in general) and 77, 26. 29; 78, 35 (comparison with tyrants of old). As in the previous cases the saint's opponent is also called "beast", *θύρ*, *ibid.*, pp. 74, 5.

66. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, pp. 69, 16 ("the invisible tyrant").

67. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, pp. 65, 15-31; 75, 39-76, 2.

68. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, pp. 73, 1-9; 76, 16-20.

69. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, pp. 64, 23-65, 6; 66, 14-67, 8.

70. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, pp. 69, 12-33.

71. NEILOS, *Encomium of Anthimos*, pp. 77, 26-78, 37, esp. p. 78, 35-37.

death primarily not as defenders of their faith, but as leaders of an insurgence against rulers who happen to be Latins. And also in the case of the Cypriot monks, although here too the religious cause is intertwined with a national one, the reason for their death is that they are not willing to recant their accusations that the Latins are heretics because of their usage of unleavened bread. Even in the Life of Sabas mentioned above, the saint is not attacked because he is a member of the Orthodox Church, but because he wants to be a Holy Fool. This means that in all cases the martyrs are put to death not because they practise their faith or because they are unwilling to violate the principles of this faith or to abandon them, as it is the case with the martyrs of old, but because they attack the political or spiritual authorities in charge. Moreover, in all cases, the future saints are presented as determined from the beginning to suffer death and as consciously challenging the authorities.

Whereas the *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers* has a clearly anti-Latin purpose, in the other two texts Latins play an essential role, but they are not the focus of the narrative. From the point of view of the internal logic of these texts, the Latins appear as a necessary element without which the saint would not reach the goal he had set out for himself. In Neilos' Encomium Anthimos' struggle against the Latin Church is even seen as a continuation of his struggle against the Antipalamites. These texts, thus, aim more at strengthening the Orthodox faith by showing the immense power it can develop than at condemning the Roman Catholic Church. In this sense I would suggest that even these cases do not constitute anti-Latin hagiography, but that their anti-Latin spirit is a by-product of the saints' praise.

The *Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers* is not only strongly anti-Latin, but it presents the martyrs as heroes of a 'national' struggle. We don't know exactly when and by whom this text was written, perhaps in the late 1250s, before the Byzantine recovery of Constantinople in 1261.⁷² Later on it was combined with letters of Patriarch Germanos II concerning ecclesiastical issues of Cyprus, obviously with

72. As C. SCHABEL, "Martyrs and Heretics, Intolerance of Intolerance: The Greek-Latin Azymo Dispute and the Execution of Thirteen Monks in Cyprus in 1231", in: IDEM, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus*, Aldershot 2010 (Variorum Reprints), study no. III, pp. 1-33, based on a thorough textual analysis, has convincingly argued.

the aim to provide documentation for the state of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus. Characteristically the two manuscripts (Parisinus graecus 1335 and Marcianus graecus 575) which preserve the Narrative also contain other texts related to the "Cypriot national cause" as well as to anti-Latin and anti-heretical polemics in general.⁷³

The anonymous *Story of Alexis Kallergis* is preserved in a manuscript written by and containing also works of Ioseph (or Ioannes) Philagres (ca. 1335-end of fourteenth century), a well-known anti-Latin propagandist, and in all probability the Story of Kallergis is also a work by the same Philagres, who—and this is rather interesting—had been functioning as Anthimos's representative (δικαίω) from the time of the latter's imprisonment until his death (i.e., 1367-95), when he was hiding in the inaccessible Cretan mountains.⁷⁴

Whereas these two texts combine a vehement anti-Catholic spirit with the call for national liberation and their manuscript tradition is clearly linked to anti-Latin propaganda, the *Encomium on Anthimos* is preserved among a collection of Patriarch Neilos' speeches⁷⁵ and seems to reflect a purely private act of devotion by the martyr's friend when the latter had not yet ascended the patriarchal throne. This leaves us with the impression that, after the events, none of the three cases of martyrdom was supported actively by the Church of Constantinople, although, besides the well-known fact that Patriarch Germanos II had encouraged the Cypriot monks,⁷⁶ initially the

73. For the contents of Par. gr. 1335 see H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. 2, Paris 1888, pp. 14-16; cf. also J.A. MUNITIZ, "The Manuscript Tradition", in: J.A. MUNITIZ, J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, E. HARVALIA-CROOK and C. DENDRINOS (eds.), *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and Related Texts*, Camberley, Surrey 1997, pp. lxxix-xcv, esp. pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii; for cod. Marc. 575 see E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti. Volumen II. Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 300-625*, Rome 1985, pp. 481-488.

74. PAPAIOGLOU, "«Ὁς τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου δέχεται στέφανον»", pp. 9-10 (with further bibliography). On Ioseph Philagres/Philagrios see also PLP 29730.

75. Codex Parisinus Coislinianus 243. See R. DEVRESSE, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. II Le Fonds Coislin*, Paris 1945, pp. 223-224. Cf. also H. HENNEPHOF, *Das Homiliar des Patriarchen Neilos und die Chrysostomische Tradition. Ein Beitrag zur Quellengeschichte der spätbyzantinischen Homiletik*, Leiden 1963, p. 7, and concerning the scribe E. GAMILLSCHEG and D. HARLFINGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 2. Teil, Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens. A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten*, Vienna 1989, No. 362, p. 139.

76. See SCHABEL, "Religion", p. 197, and above, footnote 35. It is also remarkable that the official Orthodox Church of Cyprus, in the years immediately following the

patriarchate had strongly supported the Cretan rebellion by sending Anthimos there as its representative and there is evidence that the patriarchate knew how to exploit the cult of martyrs for its foreign politics.⁷⁷ Did the head of the Orthodox Church not want to interfere in the internal affairs of those territories under Latin rule?

CONCLUSION

Some inconsistencies notwithstanding, unsurprisingly the overall image of the Latin in Byzantine hagiography is entirely negative. The texts tell us that Latins are violent and wicked, but without going into any details. Thus the negative picture remains dim and superficial.

What is most impressive in the few texts examined here in detail is the emphasis given by the author to the hero's desire to die and to the active provocation of his death; in the texts examined, the martyr does not appear as a victim, but as a person who, one is tempted to say, is in full control of his life — and death. Concerning this issue, I would like to stress that the violent encounters between Greeks and Latins described in the hagiographical texts I presented have to be investigated not only in their historical-political context, but also in the framework of each single text and its internal logic, as well as its genre-related characteristics. Furthermore, the connection of martyrion and struggle for national liberation as we found it in the

event, did not recognize the monks as martyrs. In a letter to Emperor Ioannes III Batatzes, issued between May 1231 and 1232, i.e., shortly after the monks' execution, Archbishop Neophytos of Cyprus refers to the martyrs simply as "our glorious brothers the monks, who have been killed"; ed. BEIHAMMER, *Griechische Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit*, pp. 180-182 (document 29), here p. 181, ll. 40-41. See on this issue also MORINI, "Greci e latini", p. 213.

77. Obviously in support of Moscovite politics, Patriarch Philotheos I Kokkinos (1353-54 and again 1364-76) canonized — one of the few cases where something like an official procedure of canonization seems to have taken place — three Lithuanians martyred in 1347 by their pagan compatriots. Later on (probably between 1390 and 1397) an encomium of the martyrs (BHG 2035) was composed by the patriarchal official Michael Balsamon, apparently again in order to support Moscovite ambitions against Lithuania. See on this issue J. MEYENDORFF, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia. A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century*, Crestwood, NY 1989, esp. pp. 187-188. On the event of the martyrdom itself see also D. BARONAS, "The Three martyrs of Vilnius: a fourteenth-century Martyrdom and Its Documentary Sources", in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 122 (2004), pp. 83-134.

Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers and the Story of Kallergis is rather remarkable.⁷⁸

As far as we can reconstruct the events, there was no wide-spread Byzantine anti-Latin propaganda via hagiographical texts during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Given the undisputed rivalry between the Orthodox Church and the Church of Rome, on the one hand, and the propagandistic potential of hagiography, on the other, the fact that there are so few texts to be found (most of them coming from the periphery) is a phenomenon that still awaits interpretation. One reason for this restraint might have been that the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate was engaged in internal conflicts between Latinophiles and their opponents and during the fourteenth century between Palamites and Antipalamites, with both conflicts overlapping each other.

78. See on the connection between Orthodoxy and the formation of a national Greek identity C.A. MALTEZOU, "Η διαμόρφωση της ελληνικής ταυτότητας στη λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα", in: *Byzance et l'hellénisme: L'identité grecque au Moyen Âge: Actes du Congrès International tenu à Trieste du 1er au 3 Octobre 1997* (Cahiers Pierre Belon 6), Paris 1999, pp. 103-119, esp. pp. 108-110.

LES PRÊCHEURS, DU DIALOGUE À LA POLÉMIQUE (XIII^e- XIV^e SIÈCLE)

Claudine DELACROIX-BESNIER

Du dialogue à la polémique, c'est-à-dire de la discussion orale à celle que l'on poursuit par écrit, il s'agit donc des discussions entre les frères prêcheurs des couvents de la capitale de l'empire d'Orient et leurs contemporains grecs, les « Grecs modernes » ainsi que les frères les nommaient. Nous savons en effet, par la polémique qu'ils écrivirent, que les frères discutaient aussi bien oralement que par écrit avec les Grecs de la capitale.

L'IMPLANTATION DOMINICAINE À CONSTANTINOPLE ET DE L'ŒUVRE POLÉMIQUE DES FRÈRES

Les sources indiquent qu'ils étaient présents dans la capitale et disposaient d'un couvent dès les années 1230.¹ André de Longjumeau, alors qu'il négociait en 1238 le transfert des reliques de la Passion avec l'empereur latin Baudouin II de Courtenay, y séjourna. Quatre ans plus tôt, les apocrisiaires du pape en route pour rencontrer l'empereur grec à Nicée y résidèrent également. Les dominicains s'installèrent donc à Constantinople quelques années seulement après l'approbation de leurs constitutions par le pape Honorius III.² La conjoncture était favorable puisque la capitale de l'empire grec avait été conquise par les Latins. La reconquête grecque de 1261 provoqua l'instabilité de cet établissement pendant près d'un demi siècle. Il fut fermé à cette date

1. Les quelques sources dont nous disposons ne permettent pas de reconstruire de façon certaine les débuts de la mission dominicaine à Constantinople. Le point le plus récent sur cette question se trouve dans T. VIOLANTE, *La provincia domenicana di Grecia*, Rome 1999, p. 71-72. Mais on peut se reporter aux études antérieures: R.J. LOENERTZ, « Les établissements dominicains de Péra-Constantinople. Origines et fondations », dans: *Echos d'Orient* 34 (1935), p. 332-349; B. PALAZZO, *L'Arap Djami ou église Saint-Paul à Galata*, Istanbul 1946.

2. VIOLANTE, *La provincia domenicana* (n. 1), p. 48-49.

et les frères se replièrent sur le couvent de Nègrepont en Eubée jusqu'en 1299. A ce moment le frère Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac les réinstalla à Constantinople, sans doute dans le quartier de l'agora, où il acquit une maison. Mais les couvents des frères mineurs et prêcheurs furent de nouveau fermés en 1307, par l'empereur Andronic II cette fois, et à la demande du patriarche Athanase I^{er} (1303-09) qui craignait les effets de leur prosélytisme.³ C'est alors que le même frère Guillaume Bernard décida de fonder un nouveau couvent. Il choisit un lieu plus sûr, le faubourg génois de Péra, mais suffisamment proche des élites et du pouvoir afin de conserver cette situation stratégique.

La tradition polémique dominicaine se développa dans ces différents lieux pendant un siècle, entre 1252 et 1358/59.⁴ Nous remarquons que ce corpus de textes, dont j'ai éliminé les rééditions comme celle de l'anonyme de 1252 par le frère Barthélemy de Constantinople en 1305, ou celle du *Thesaurus veritatis fidei* de Bonaccursius de Bologne par Andrea Doto en 1326,⁵ est généralement écrit en latin sauf lorsque les frères s'adressaient à des Grecs. Ils avaient une connaissance du grec plus ou moins approfondie et ceux qui semblent avoir le mieux possédé la langue étaient les frères natifs de la capitale, du moins le suppose-t-on, comme Barthélemy et Simon.⁶ Tous cependant maniaient assez correctement le grec pour discuter directement avec les Grecs, comme en témoignait le frère Philippe de Péra dans ses traités.⁷

J'insisterai davantage sur les apports du *De oboedientia Ecclesiae Romanae debita* de Philippe de Péra, texte encore inédit, objet de mes travaux ces dernières années.⁸ Ce texte fut rédigé alors que la polémi-

3. VIOLANTE, *La provincia domenicana* (n. 1), p. 151; PALAZZO, *L'Arap Djami* (n. 1), p. 66, se réfère à George PACHYMERE, Histoire XII 28, éd. A. FAILLER, *Georges Pachymères. Relations historiques*, t. iv, livres x-xii (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24/4), Paris 1999, pp. 585-589 (= PG 144, col. 590-594).

4. Voir en annexe.

5. Voir A. DONDAINE, «Contra Graecos, premiers écrits polémiques des Dominicains d'Orient», dans: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 21 (1951), p. 320-446.

6. M.H. CONGOURDEAU «Frère Simon le Constantinopolitain» et «Note sur les Dominicains de Constantinople», dans: *Revue des Etudes byzantines* 45 (1987), p. 165-174 et 175-181.

7. Voir ces différents témoignages dans T. KAEPEL, «Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Fr. Philippe Incontri de Péra O.P.», dans: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23 (1953), p. 163-183.

8. Ce texte est en cours d'édition et sera publié avec son commentaire.

que dominicaine atteignait une sorte de maturité avant l'engagement des frères grecs convertis, les frères Chrysobergès et Manuel Kalekas en particulier, qui, du reste, ne pouvaient plus séjourner dans la capitale.⁹ Manuel Kalekas fut notamment traduit devant le synode et dut se réfugier au couvent des Prêcheurs de Péra.¹⁰

Les questions abordées concernaient le schisme, ses causes et les modalités pour y mettre fin, les divergences de dogme et de rite entre les deux Eglises. Les polémistes de Constantinople pendant toute cette période considéraient comme essentielles la question de la procession de l'Esprit Saint, celle de l'usage des azymes, du purgatoire et de la primauté du pape. Ce choix des sujets de la polémique est un héritage du premier d'entre eux resté anonyme et auteur du *Contra Graecos* de 1252.¹¹

Nous examinerons donc principalement la question de la qualité des échanges entre les Grecs et les frères de même que celles qui en découlent: dans quelle mesure eurent-ils une influence sur les relations entre les deux Eglises? Ont-ils fait évoluer la question de l'Union?

DES DISCUSSIONS ORALES

Les traités du corpus permettent souvent de déduire que de telles discussions étaient entretenues entre les frères et les Grecs. Je citerai quelques uns de ces témoignages. Ceux du *De oboedientia* étant les plus probants en ce qu'ils illustrent de façon vivante ces échanges verbaux parfois rudes.

Lorsque dans l'anonyme de 1252, l'auteur conseille à ses lecteurs de ne pas utiliser l'épitomé de l'œuvre de Jean Chrysostome par Théophylacte de Bulgarie parce que le sens du texte en est faussé, il précise

9. T. GANCHOU, «Démétrios Kydônès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397-1401), de nouveaux documents», dans: *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)*, C. MALTEZOU et P. SCHREINER (dir.), Venise 2002, p. 435-493. Voir également la riche et toujours nécessaire étude de la production littéraire des Grecs favorables à l'union: G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Studi e Testi 56), Rome 1931.

10. C. DELACROIX-BESNIER, *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Rome 1997, p. 441-442.

11. Voir l'étude exhaustive de ce texte dans DONDAINE «Contra Graecos» (n. 5).

qu'il faut aller chercher le texte authentique dans les bibliothèques des monastères grecs.¹² Un témoignage du même genre se trouve dans la lettre de frère Simon au moine Sophonias. Lors d'une discussion qu'ils avaient eue, ce dernier lui avait cité un extrait de la lettre de Basile de Césarée à Grégoire de Nysse d'après un florilège. Simon de Constantinople en retrouva, écrit-il, le texte complet dans un manuscrit très ancien du monastère de Kyr Mélétiós en Attique. Il résidait alors en Eubée. On sait que par la suite ce moine grec entretint des relations suivies avec les frères de Constantinople et de Péra.¹³ C'est dans cette tradition que s'inscrit Philippe de Péra. Ce dernier mentionne dans le *De oboedientia* les entretiens qu'il nourrit avec l'archevêque de Durazzo.¹⁴ Il s'agit sans doute du métropolite grec installé dans la capitale de l'empire après la conquête angevine de l'Albanie. Il poursuivit donc ses recherches et demanda alors l'aide du mésazon de l'empereur Jean V Paléologue, Démétrios Kydonès.

Il mentionne cette collaboration dans chacun de ses traités mais c'est dans le *Libellus*, présentation de son projet éditorial, qu'il est le plus précis puisqu'il donne son nom: *Demetrio Chidonij, nobili genere, cive Thessalonicensi qui conversus fuit...* L'auteur indique également que cette collaboration date de l'année passée, c'est-à-dire 1356.¹⁵ D'après les diverses mentions, il apparaît que Démétrios effectua des recherches dans les bibliothèques monastiques de la capitale, qu'il traduisit ces nouveaux documents en latin afin que Philippe de Péra

12. *Contra Graecos*, PG 140, col. 527-528: «Iste itaque Theophylactus, cum omnia fere scripta beati Joannis Chrysostomi suo ingenio abbreviasset, quidquid pro Latinorum Ecclesia facere videbatur, aut omnino tacuit, aut de suo superaddendo verum intellectum corrupuit. Inveniuntur tamen quaedam originalia Chrysostomi adhuc illaesa in armariis monasterium Graecorum».

13. CONGOURDEAU «Frère Simon le Constantinopolitain» (n. 6), esp. p. 169 et 170 (notes 20 et 26).

14. MS Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, conventi soppressi C. 7. 419, f. 73r: «Cum autem semel ivissem ad quemdam archiepiscopum Duracensem et quasdam auctoritates quas collegeram diversorum sanctorum eidem ostendissem respondit: omnia ista habeo et ad huc plus. Alias venietis ad me etiam ostendebam vobis. Cum autem alias ivissem ostendit mihi quemdam libellum sancti Cirilli in qua specialiter contra Theodoretum habuit quaestionem de processione spiritus sancti et iterum dixit in libro thesaurorum beati Cirilli multa invenietis...» Cette mention de l'ouvrage de Cyrille d'Alexandrie pose question car il a été démontré qu'il s'agit d'un faux, F.H. REUSCH (éd.), *Die Fälschungen in dem Traktat des Thomas von Aquin gegen die Griechen* (Abhandlungen der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wiss. III, cl XVIII, B. III), Munich 1889.

15. KAEPPPEL, «Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Fr. Philippe» (n. 7), esp. p. 164-165.

puisse en insérer des extraits dans ses traités. C'est ainsi que la documentation du couvent des Prêcheurs fut considérablement accrue au milieu du XIV^e siècle. L'un des apports les plus importants fut l'épitomé grec des actes du concile de Constantinople (869/70). Ce texte avait été mentionné une première fois par Joannès de Fontibus qui en avait détecté l'importance sans doute en discutant avec un interlocuteur grec.¹⁶ Ce document fut découvert dans la bibliothèque du monastère de Saint-Jean de Pétra par Démétrios Kydonès qui le traduisit en latin.¹⁷ Cette traduction se trouve à la fin du manuscrit de Florence avec toute une série d'annexes utilisées partiellement par Philippe de Péra.¹⁸ On peut retrouver d'autres éléments originaux dans la documentation du *De oboedientia*, comme des extraits des actes des conciles d'Ephèse,¹⁹ de Chalcédoine²⁰ et de Constantinople III.²¹ La citation des actes grecs est introduite par les mots suivants: *...ut habetur in actis concilii calcedonensis, que feci transferri de greco in latinum....*²²

L'étude des citations de Philippe de Péra montre que les polémistes de Péra utilisaient une traduction latine des actes grecs mais que celle-ci est différente de celles qui furent réalisées à Rome après les conciles. Certains des documents cités ne furent même pas traduits et n'existent que dans leur version grecque comme le lettre du patriarche de Constantinople Jean VI (712-15) au pape Constantin I^{er} (708-15).²³ Cette traduction avait, sauf pour les actes de Chalcédoine, été utilisée par l'auteur anonyme du *Contra Graecos* de 1252.²⁴ Philippe de Péra

16. R.J. LOENERTZ (éd.), «Ioannis de Fontibus O.P. epistula ad abbatem et conventum», dans: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 30 (1960), p. 163-195, esp. c. 41-42; p. 185.

17. KAEPPELI, «Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Fr. Philippe» (n. 7), p. 167.

18. MS Firenze, BNC C. 7. 419, f. 138-173, voir en annexe Constantinople IV.

19. Traduction latine, originale et anonyme des Actes grecs (seconde session d'Ephèse) MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 29v-30r, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (ACO), E. SCHWARTZ (éd.), I, vol. 1, 3, Berlin 1914, p. 60; la traduction latine du VI^e siècle par Rusticus se trouve dans le vol. 3, p. 93.

20. Autre traduction latine originale réalisée à partir des actes grecs (première session de Chalcédoine) MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 37v-38r, ACO, E. SCHWARTZ (éd.), II, vol. 1, 1, Berlin 1935-37, p. 65, ACO II, vol. 1, 2, p. 81.

21. MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 65v-67r, ACO, R. RIEDINGER (éd.), *Serries secunda*, II, Berlin 1990-95, p. 200-207 pour la huitième session, p. 871-877, 888-890, 901-908 pour le correspondance entre Rome et Constantinople.

22. MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 37v.

23. ACO, RIEDINGER (éd.), *Serries secunda*, II (n. 21), p. 901-908.

24. *Contra Graecos*, PG 140.

en a cité des extraits plus longs. Il est cependant difficile de préciser si c'est lui qui l'a complétée ou s'il s'est contenté de faire traduire les extraits des actes de Chalcédoine dont il avait besoin. Pour lui, comme pour ses prédécesseurs depuis 1252, seul le document grec pouvait convaincre ses interlocuteurs et l'aide de Démétrios lui fut précieuse.

D'autres éléments de cette documentation proviennent sans doute de cette collaboration ou de discussions avec d'autres Grecs, ainsi des fragments de chroniques grecques difficiles à identifier aujourd'hui. Le plus intéressant concerne des extraits de la vie du patriarche Ignace. Philippe de Péra met en effet sous le nom de Nikéas de Paphlagonie ce que nous connaissons comme un extrait de la chronique de Syméon Magister:²⁵ ... *ut narrat quidam Niceta philosophus et hystoriographus natione grecus genere Peflago qui dilligenter predicti Fotii hystoriam scripsit...*²⁶

L'auteur indique par ailleurs que le patriarche Photios fut relégué dans le monastère de Kosmidion alors que la tradition historiographique place cette relégation dans celui de Sképè. Grégoire III Mammès, le patriarche unioniste du XV^e siècle (1445-51) indique également le Kosmidion d'après une vie d'Ignace, lue au monastère de la Peribleptos.²⁷ Ce texte aujourd'hui disparu était sans doute l'une des sources de Philippe de Péra. Je terminerai ces remarques sur ce point en soulignant que la biographie d'Ignace par Niketas de Paphlagonie appartient à ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le dossier anti-photien depuis l'ouvrage de Francis Dvornik²⁸ mais que ce texte ne figure pas dans les annexes traduites par Démétrios Kydonès telles qu'on les trouve aujourd'hui dans le manuscrit de Florence.²⁹ Philippe de Péra a en effet très peu tiré partie de la documentation de ce dossier, rassemblé au début du X^e siècle, qui lui semblait sans doute suspect.

Le but des discussions était donc, pour notre auteur, surtout d'enrichir la documentation sur laquelle il comptait appuyer son argumentation en faveur du retour des Grecs dans l'obédience de Rome. Mais

25. PG 109, col. 729-732.

26. MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 73v.

27. GREGOIRE MAMMES, *Apologie contre Marc d'Ephèse*, PG 160, col. 90C-D.

28. F. DVORNIK, *The Photian Schism, History and Legend*, Cambridge 1948. Traduction en français *Le schisme de Photius* (Unam Sanctam 19), Paris 1950.

29. Annexe Constantinople IV.

elles allaient au-delà comme le texte le montre également, abordant les divergences doctrinales. Philippe de Péra les a interrogés sur l'orthodoxie du *Filioque* bien évidemment. Certains, écrit-il, pensent que la doctrine romaine sur la procession du Saint Esprit est orthodoxe mais ils ne la professent qu'en secret car ils ont peur du peuple.

Les discussions avec les « Grecs modernes » extérieurs au cercle des latinophiles n'étaient pas toujours très sereines. Une indication très intéressante fut soulignée par le père Kaeppli: les relations s'étaient considérablement pacifiées pendant la dizaine d'années qui précéda la rédaction du traité, soit depuis 1347, début du règne de Jean VI Cantacuzène.³⁰ Il est assez difficile d'expliquer que l'auteur évoque alors des contacts presque familiers avec les moines grecs alors que cette date correspond à la condamnation de Nicéphore Grégoras, Grégoire Akindynos et du patriarche Jean XIV Kalékas, en pleine polémique contre le nouvel hésychasme de Grégoire Palamas. Mais elles demeurèrent toutefois tendues ainsi que l'auteur l'indique lui-même en racontant la procession du patriarche de Constantinople dans la ville.³¹ Philippe de Péra se trouvait parmi la foule des assistants et

30. *De obedientia*, citation de KAEPPOLI, « Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Fr. Philippe » (n. 7), MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 84r-v: « Hoc etiam in modernis temporibus experimento probavi in eisdem. Nam antequam tractarem cum eis, ipsorum episcopi, calogeri et sacerdotes ac etiam populus ita fugiebant nostros sicut excommunicatos aut hereticos, et magna briga erat etiam quod permitterent nos intrare solum ad videndum monasteria eorum vel ecclesias. Si autem accideret quod aliquis nostrum sitiret, vix inveniebatur qui daret ei aquam; sed cum bibisset, frangebant aut proiciebant vas, et raro inveniebatur qui nobiscum in aliquo communicarent. Cum autem cepissem cum eis familiariter tractare, circumeundo monasteria eorum, stando cum eis familiariter, disputando cum eis, respondendo dictis eorum, infra X annos ita domesticavi eos, quod modo in nullo nos vitant, ymo familiariter comedunt et bibunt nobiscum et nos cum eis ».

31. *De obedientia*, MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 63v-64r: « Et ipsi Greci qui gloriantur de profunda humilitate, quibus non est concessum uti isto vocabulo universalitatis, indebite utuntur sicut sepe eosdem deprehendi quod superbe et indebite utuntur hoc nomine universalitatis. Unde semel in quadam processione satis deprehendi ipsos Grecos ex isto nomine. Nam cum fieret processio generalia in Constantinopolim et patriarcha adesset inductus [64r] paramentis sacris, sanctas extra monasterium proclamavit orationes suas; demum exutis paramentis et reindutus vestibus suis intravit septa monasterii. Cum autem intra monasterium esset aula pulcra et magna, finxi me nescire et interrogavi circumstantes quare patriarcha non indutus intravit in aulam istam ut diceret orationes sed hoc fecit infra domos interlucare; responderunt statim omnes quod hoc monasterium non pertinet ad eum sed est patriarchatus Alexandrini. Sic etiam alia monasteria que pertinent ad alios patriarchatus que monasteria non subsunt isti nec posset in talibus monasteriis nec celebrare nec etiam cum paramentum septa monasterii intrare. Quos irridens, dixi bene estis ceci et parve considerationis cum patriarcham vestram universalem totius mundi

interrogea les Grecs au milieu desquels il se trouvait sur la raison pour laquelle le patriarche, qui pourtant se réclamait d'un pouvoir universel sur l'Eglise, n'avait pas le droit d'entrer pour y prier dans le monastère appartenant au patriarche d'Alexandrie. Cette question se heurta évidemment à une certaine incompréhension sans doute teintée d'hostilité.

L'INFLUENCE DU DIALOGUE AVEC LES GRECS SUR LA POLÉMIQUE DOMINICAINE

En dehors du fait que la documentation grecque du couvent des Prêcheurs ne cessa de s'enrichir pendant ce siècle d'écriture polémique (1252-1359), les discussions avec les Grecs ont-elles eu une influence sur cette littérature dominicaine? J'envisagerai successivement deux points plus particulièrement: la méthode de collection des documents, les thèmes du débat.

De la documentation du couvent

De la documentation du couvent, je dirai rapidement que l'anonyme s'est appuyé sur les premières recherches effectuées au XII^e siècle par Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan dont il a augmenté le corpus. Ces deux frères, originaires de Pise, étaient en relations étroites avec l'entourage de l'empereur Manuel I^{er} à partir de 1166, au plus tard. Si Hugues ne semble pas disposer d'un office public, son frère, Léon, exerçait la charge d'interprète à la cour. L'empereur avait alors renoué le dialogue avec Rome³² et ces deux Pisans jouèrent un rôle important comme conseillers en matière de théologie.³³ Hugues Ethérien aurait

nominatis et intra civitatem suam propriam juxta sedem suam sunt monasteria que in nullo pertinent ad eum, quod audientes obmutuerunt».

32. P. MAGDALINO analyse les raisons de l'ouverture à l'ouest de la politique de Manuel Comnène: «The Phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos» dans: J.D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON (éd.), *Byzantium and the West c.850-c.1200*, Amsterdam 1988, reprint dans: IDEM, *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium*, Aldershot 1991.

33. A. DONDAINE, «Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan», dans: *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littérature du Moyen Âge* 19 (1952, paru en 1953), p. 67-134; IDEM, «Hugues Ethérien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166», dans: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958), p. 473-483.

ainsi été l'inventeur du recueil contenant l'abrégé grec des actes de Constantinople IV et du dossier antiphotien, préfacé de la Vie d'Ignace par Niketas de Paphlagonie.³⁴ Il écrivit en effet qu'il passait ses journées à la recherche de textes dans les bibliothèques de la capitale. Il existe donc une filiation étroite entre les œuvres des deux Italiens employés à la cour impériale au XII^e siècle et la polémique dominicaine.

Les frères de Péra-Constantinople ont ensuite beaucoup utilisé le *Libellus de Fide* de Nicolas de Cotrone,³⁵ florilège de citations patristiques grecques réalisé entre les deux conciles de Lyon, dont ils ont peiné à se dégager depuis l'expertise qu'en avait faite Thomas d'Aquin pour le concile de Lyon II (1274). Mais on peut souligner des apports sans cesse nouveaux et originaux comme, par exemple, un extrait de la Vie de saint Etienne le Jeune dans le *Contra Graecos* anonyme de 1252³⁶ et chez Bonaccursius³⁷ ou un florilège des lettres de Théodore Stoudite cité dans un traité attribué à Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac³⁸ ou encore la lettre de Basile de Césarée à Grégoire de Nysse découverte par Simon de Constantinople.³⁹ J'ai déjà indiqué l'enrichissement dû à la collaboration entre Philippe de Péra et Démétrios Kydonès. L'enquête systématique que j'ai menée sur ce point dans le *Contra Graecos* anonyme et le *De oboedientia* de Philippe de Péra montre que les discussions avec les Grecs ont permis aux Prêcheurs de collationner un corpus de textes grecs important et de plus en plus varié. Ils ont en effet mis à contribution aussi des textes liturgiques.

34. Il s'agit d'une interprétation du texte de la lettre qu'adressa Hugues Ethérien au patriarche d'Antioche à qui il envoyait son traité sur la procession du Saint Esprit (éd. PL 202, col. 230), DVORNIK, *Le schisme de Photius* (n. 28), p. 470-473.

35. NICOLAS DE COTRONE, *Libellus de processione Spiritus Sancti, Zweiter Teil: De primatu Romanae Ecclesiae*, éd. REUSCH, *Die Fälschungen* (n. 14), p. 681-689; *Libellus de Fide*, dans: *Sancti Thomae de Aquino, Opera omnia*, édition léonine, t. XL, *Opuscula*, Rome 1969, p. A 144-148. A. DONDAINE, «Nicolas de Cotrone et les sources du Contra Errores Graecorum de Saint Thomas», dans: *Divus Thomas* (Fr.) 28 (1950), p. 313-340.

36. *Contra Graecos* PG 140, col. 538C.

37. BONACCURSIUS DE BOLOGNE, *Thesaurus de veritate fidei*, éd. REUSCH, *Die Fälschungen* (n. 14), c. 12, p. 694. F. STEGMÜLLER (éd.), «Bonaccursius contra Graecos. Ein Beitrag zur Kontroverstheologie des XIII. Jahrhunderts», dans: *Vitae et veritati, Festgabe für Karl Adam*, Dusseldorf 1956, p. 57-82.

38. *Anonymus Tractatus contra errores orientalium et Graecorum*, éd. F. STEGMÜLLER, «Ein lateinischer Kontroverstraktat gegen die Griechen», dans: *Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift* (1954), p. 123-150, esp. p. 138. L'auteur cite les lettres 12 et 13 du second livre.

39. Cette découverte est mentionnée par Simon dans sa lettre à Sophonias, comme vu plus haut.

Des divergences de rite

Les Prêcheurs ne discutaient que peu des différences de rite, sauf l'anonyme de 1252 qui rédigea le premier traité. Philippe de Péra exprime certainement ce qu'ils en pensaient le plus souvent au milieu du XIV^e siècle. Il n'évoque qu'à deux reprises les listes d'erreurs que les Grecs reprochaient aux Latins.

La mention de chacune des listes d'erreurs correspond à la fin du récit des deux schismes, celui de Photios et celui de Michel Keroularios. Elles sont assez semblables.

La liste de l'époque de Photios selon Philippe de Péra:

Idem Fotius in multis aliis informavit Grecos contra Latinos scilicet de consecratione azimi cum ipsi in fermentato consacrent dicentes nos judaizare. Item de Jeunio sabbati, dicentes facere contra canones apostolorum de quibus canonibus multa finxit ipse. Item de rasura barbe pro qua rasura non verentur sancto Anacleto pape qui sancto Clemente successit multa nephanda imponere. Item de aliquibus comestionibus que prohibentur in lege immane sacrilegium nobis imponentes de comestione duorum dierum immediate post quinquagesimum et multa alia fatua et frivola ex quibus nos sic abhominantur.⁴⁰

Celle de l'époque de Michel Keroularios:

ut complaceret imperatori quilibet scientulus scripsit contra ecclesiam Romanam quedam fatua et frivola et omnes consuetudines quas ecclesia Romana habebat et ipsi non habebant posunt sub heresi, videlicet que heresis est celebrare in azimo, comedere carnes feria secunda et tertia post secundam; heresis sic radere barbam sic genuflectare orare cum ipsi non orant nisi stando vel faciendo venias, comedere quedam prohibita in lege est heresis et sic multa talia que omnia cottidie faciebant.⁴¹

L'auteur n'en donne que quelques exemples estimant ces choses vaines et frivoles. Il s'agit de l'usage des azymes, de la tonsure des prêtres, du jeûne du samedi alors que les Latins ne jeûnent pas pendant les deux jours qui suivent la quinquagésime. Pour Michel Keroularios, il ajoute la génuflexion et indique que les Grecs disaient alors que les erreurs des Latins étaient au nombre de 99: ... *exiit inter populares fama quod Latini habent novaginta novem hereses*⁴²...

40. MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 84v.

41. MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 86r.

42. MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 85r.

Tout en affirmant qu'il pensait que ces questions étaient de peu d'importance, il s'ingénie néanmoins tout au long du texte à prouver que les Latins avaient raison car le pape avait institué ces rites, décrétales à l'appui. Ainsi la bénédiction par l'eau mêlée au sel qui faisait rire les Grecs fut instituée par le pape Alexandre (105-115 c.):⁴³ *Tenuit pontificatum Alexander papa annis vii mensibus v diebus iii. Hic constituit aquae aspersionis cum sale benedici et in habitaculis hominum aspersioni ut infra patebit in decretis eiusdem.*

La tonsure et l'interdiction faite aux prêtres de porter la barbe ou la gènesflexion, sont justifiées la lettre du pape Anicet (155-166 c.):⁴⁴

Prohibete per universas regiones vestrarum ecclesiarum ne clerici iuxta apostolicam comam nutriant. Sed desuper capud in modum spere radant, quia sicut discreti debent esse in conversatione, ita et in tonsura et in omni habitu discreti debent apparere. Hec vobis, fratres, ut petitis custodienda mittimus et custodire precipimus, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur.

Philippe de Péra donne parfois un témoignage très vivant et original de la pratique religieuse des Grecs, ainsi qu'il a pu l'observer. Lorsqu'il évoque la gènesflexion, il oppose le rite grec qu'il décrit comme cité plus haut: ... *ipsi non orant nisi stando vel faciendo venias*... Il précise également celui de l'eucharistie:

Hoc pro tanto posui in loco isto non quod multum faciat ad propositum principale ostendendum sed quod Greci corpus cum sanguine mixtum cum cocleari proprio tribuunt, quia vere nos idem non facimus, nos vituperant, deridant et execrantur. Ideo hoc volui interserire, ut cognoscant non solum quod non fuit consuetudo Ecclesie a principio hoc facere, sed etiam qui hoc faciunt, irrationabiliter faciunt recteque inde proditoris tipum tenent qui bucellam intinctam receperunt, cum idem ipsi recipiant.⁴⁵

43. MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 7r.

44. Décrétale du pape Anicet citée au f. 8v.

45. *De oboedientia*, MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419f. 21r-v: «Idem Julius papa omnibus episcopis per Egiptum: "Cum omne peccatum atque crimen oblatis deo sacrificiis deleatur, quid decetero pro delictorum expiatione domino dabitur, quando in ipsa sacrificii obligatione erratur» et cetera et post aliqua «illud autem quod pro complemento communionis intinctam tradunt eucharistiam populis nec hoc ex evangelio testimonium receperunt quia apostolis corpus suum et sanguinem communicavit. Seorsum enim panis et seorsum calicis communicatio memoratur. Nam intinctum panem aliis Christum prebuisse non legimus, excepto illi tantum discipulo, quem intincta bucella magistri proditorem ostenderet, non que sacramenti hujus institutionem signaret". – Hoc pro tanto posui in loco isto non quod multum faciat ad propositum principale ostendendum sed quod Greci corpus cum

Ce qui signifie: bien que cela n'apporte pas beaucoup à mon principal sujet j'indique ici que les Grecs distribuent le corps mêlé au sang avec leur propre cuiller. Parce que nous ne le faisons pas, ils nous critiquent, se moquent de nous et nous maudissent. J'insère cela (il s'agit d'une citation qui précède, extraite d'une décrétale du pape Jules aux évêques d'Egypte sur ce sujet) ici afin qu'ils sachent que non seulement le faire ne fut pas la tradition de l'Eglise depuis le début, mais aussi que ceux qui le font, le font sans raison et justement ceux qui reçoivent la bouchée de pain imbibée tiennent l'image du Révélateur alors qu'ils reçoivent le Révélateur lui-même. Il convient de faire deux remarques: la première, d'ordre historique: les témoignages formels de la cuiller eucharistique sont rares d'où l'intérêt de ce texte.⁴⁶ La seconde se situe sur le plan de la discussion doctrinale: l'auteur distingue la bouchée imbibée qui est, selon lui, l'image (ou prototype) du Christ de l'hostie consacrée qui est le Christ lui-même.

Comme toujours dans le texte les divergences de rite sont traitées a minima parce que ce n'est pas le sujet de l'auteur et qu'elles sont pour lui des questions subsidiaires. Philippe s'appuie toujours sur des décrétales qu'il considère comme des autorités puisqu'elles furent intégrées au décret de Gratien. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'il témoigne du caractère sensible de ces divergences dans les relations au quotidien avec les Grecs même s'il distingue l'élite, ouverte à ses arguments, du peuple qui persiste dans son aveuglement.

Du schisme

Le *De oboedientia* est un texte difficile à classer. On hésite entre historiographie et ecclésiologie. En effet Philippe de Péra estimait que les causes du schisme n'avaient pas été suffisamment éclaircies et il s'est donné pour tâche de le faire. Reprenant l'histoire de l'Eglise depuis son origine, il souligne les différentes étapes du schisme grec

sanguine mixtum cum cocleari proprio tribuunt, quia vere nos idem non facimus, nos vituperant, deridant et execrantur. Ideo hoc volui interserire, ut cognoscant non solum quod non fuit consuetudo Ecclesie a principio hoc facere, sed etiam qui hoc faciunt, irrationabiliter faciunt recteque inde proditoris tipum tenent qui bucellam intinctam recipit, cum idem ipsi [21v] recipiant».

46. R.F. TAFT, «Byzantine Communion Spoons: A Review of the Evidence», dans: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996), p. 209-238.

et expose ainsi sa conception de l'organisation de l'Eglise, une conception très grégorienne. Comme il argumente pour prouver que les Grecs ont tort d'accuser les Latins de commettre des erreurs de rite, il s'attache à montrer que le pape a toujours disposé du pouvoir suprême dans l'Eglise et en a toujours usé pour le bien des chrétiens, gardien de l'orthodoxie et instance d'appel pour régler les conflits. Mais le pape savait rester humble et revendiquait même l'humilité de son état depuis Grégoire le Grand qui condamna la superbe de Jean le Jeûneur:

Hic vero quod adversarii possent objicere in hoc quod beatus Gregorius reprehendit Eulogium Alexandrinum qui scribebat eidem papa universali et rogat eum quod ulterius talia sibi non scribat, quia, ut dictum est supra, Johannes Constantinopolitanus assumpsit semper nomen universalis et in tantum horruit id nomen in eo qui non poterat vocari de jure quod etiam ipse, qui erat de jure et vere, refugit tale nomen.⁴⁷

Il semble maintenant intéressant de souligner son analyse des causes du schisme et de montrer comment elle s'insère dans l'œuvre des frères de Constantinople. Je m'étais intéressée à ce texte parce qu'il mettait l'accent sur le schisme de Photios au IX^e siècle alors que la date officielle du schisme grec dans l'historiographie française du XX^e siècle était 1054, rupture opérée sous le patriarcat de Michel Keroularios.⁴⁸ Je me suis donc efforcée de comprendre pourquoi les Prêcheurs mettaient l'accent sur la responsabilité de Photios. L'auteur du *De oboedientia* expose l'affaire photienne sur une vingtaine de folios alors que le schisme du XI^e siècle est expédié sur un folio et demi.

Là encore, Philippe de Péra s'insère dans la tradition polémique du couvent, héritage de l'anonyme de 1252, lui-même héritier de l'œuvre des deux Pisans, Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan sous le règne de Manuel I^{er} Comnène. L'examen de cette question serait trop long. Je me contenterai donc de quelques remarques.

La première est d'ordre historique: ces deux schismes correspondent à des périodes de montée en puissance du pouvoir pontifical et de structuration de l'administration romaine. La première phase, alors que l'empire carolingien est en plein affaiblissement, correspond à la

47. MS Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419, f. 63r.

48. L'étude de l'évolution de l'historiographie du schisme grec dans l'édition française sera publiée l'an prochain.

rédaction de la plus célèbre collection de décrétales, celle du Pseudo Isidore (entre 847 et 852/57). Cette compilation fut réalisée hors du Latran, certes, mais apportée à Rome en 864.⁴⁹ La réception du Pseudo Isidore par l'administration pontificale lui permettait de poursuivre son objectif: renforcer le pouvoir du pape. La conjoncture de 1054 était comparable et la réforme grégorienne ne pouvait que générer un conflit avec Constantinople, comme l'a bien montré Aristeidès Papadakis.⁵⁰ Et, justement, la collection des «fausses décrétales» fut alors intégrée au Décret de Gratien par les canonistes du XII^e siècle. Philippe de Péra fait reposer son argumentation sur une centaine de citations de ces décrétales.

La seconde concerne la tradition du dossier anti-photien du début du X^e siècle, dénoncé par Francis Dvornik comme origine de la légende qui discrédita le patriarche Photios.⁵¹ Il est vrai que les frères, après l'anonyme de 1252 qui en fit le «premier inventeur du schisme» dénoncent sa responsabilité, le *Filioque* étant une erreur.⁵² Cependant, l'étude du *De oboedientia* montre que ce dossier fut utilisé avec un certain esprit critique et que l'auteur a éliminé les documents les plus polémiques dont il disposait cependant.⁵³ De plus, comme je l'ai dit, la Vie d'Ignace par Nikéas de Paphlagonie ne faisait pas partie de son dossier mais Philippe de Péra avait trouvé plus polémique encore chez Syméon Magister.

La troisième remarque est la suivante: la tradition dominicaine consiste en une amplification du corpus mais aussi en un élargissement de la question, les Prêcheurs remontant de plus en plus haut dans l'histoire. L'anonyme de 1252 cite une douzaine d'extraits des

49. *Decretales Pseudo-isidoriannae et Capitula Angilrammi*, éd., P. HINSCHIUS, Leipzig 1863, réimpr. 1963. J. GAUDEMET, «Décrétales (fausses)» dans: *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Moyen Âge*, A. VAUCHEZ (dir.), Cambridge/Paris/Rome 1997, p. 445; P. FOURNIER et G. LE BRAS, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident*, 2 vol., Paris 1931-32.

50. A. PAPADAKIS et J. MEYENDORFF, *L'Orient chrétien et l'essor de la papauté. L'Eglise de 1071 à 1453*, Paris 2001.

51. DVORNIK, *Le schisme de Photios* (n. 28), p. 302-303.

52. *Contra Graecos*, PG 140, col. 487: «Et quamvis infinita haeresium germina a trecentis octoginta annis, et circa, id est, a tempore Photii, primi hujus schismatis inventoris, in diversis suis partibus, propter defectum scientiae, et invidiae amaritudinem, manifeste pullulaverint: praecipue tamen in quatuor articulis... Quorum primus, ..., tertiam personam in Trinitate, id est Spiritum Sanctum "a Filio minime procedere", vel spirari, aut existentiam habere».

53. Voir en annexe Constantinople IV. Les trois parties du dossier anti-photien selon F. Dvornik sont en grisé.

actes du concile de Chalcédoine et de la correspondance entre le pape Léon I^{er} et les autorités grecques. L'étude du *De oboedientia* montre une amplification du corpus de ces citations et Joannès de Fontibus, contemporain de Philippe de Péra écrit, lui, que le premier inventeur du schisme fut Nestorios.⁵⁴ L'auteur du *De oboedientia* a repris le dossier de Chalcédoine et mis à contribution une source latine de l'époque du concile sur les Trois Chapitres, le *Bréviaire* de Liberatus de Carthage, auteur très bien informé, pour prolonger cette analyse.⁵⁵ C'est une source originale qu'aucun de ses frères polémistes n'avait utilisée. Il fait ainsi de Photios un nouveau Dioscore, coupable d'avoir déposé Ignace comme Dioscore, patriarche d'Alexandrie et successeur de Cyrille, l'avait fait à l'encontre de Flavien, patriarche de Constantinople, en 449, lors de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le « brigandage d'Ephèse ». Dioscore était pour Philippe de Péra doublement coupable puisqu'il avait attenté indûment à la hiérarchie de l'Eglise et qu'il était hétérodoxe, étant favorable au monophysisme.

La tradition polémique du couvent se développe donc dans le sens d'un enrichissement du corpus de références textuelles, celle-ci provoquant un élargissement de la période historique envisagée.

L'analyse du schisme grec par Philippe de Péra est donc la suivante: des divergences sans cesse aggravées depuis le IV^e siècle, époque où Athanase d'Alexandrie cherchait le soutien du pape contre les Ariens qui étaient soutenus par l'empereur, et une propension des Grecs au schisme constamment vérifiable; la responsabilité de Photios qui, par pure ambition, rompit avec Rome, Michel Keroularios ne faisant que le suivre. L'auteur réfute donc l'organisation pentarchique de l'Eglise et met en évidence le rôle du pape qui tenta constamment de remettre les Grecs sur le droit chemin, la preuve en est, selon lui, apportée par l'histoire. Face à des empereurs tentés par les hérésies, souvent influencés par leur épouse, le pape fut toujours un athlète de la foi, ainsi Léon le Grand ou Martin I^{er}, martyr pour la foi de Chalcédoine, champion de la cause juste contre l'iniquité comme Nicolas I^{er} et Hadrien II.

54. LOENERTZ, «Ioannis de Fontibus O.P. epistula ad abbatem» (n. 16), c. 70, p. 193.

55. LIBERATUS DE CARTHAGE, *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, éd. E. SCHWARTZ, dans: *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, t. II, vol. V, Berlin 1936, p. 98-141.

Grâce au dialogue avec les « Grecs modernes », les Prêcheurs de Constantinople étaient donc très bien informés de l'histoire des relations entre les deux Eglises, des arguments des Grecs comme des documents sur lesquels ces derniers se fondaient mais ils tinrent peu compte de l'avis de leurs contemporains grecs accusés, pour la plupart, de cécité et d'orgueil, au mieux de lâcheté. Ces discussions nourries n'avaient donc pas ébranlé la vérité catholique dont les Prêcheurs se considéraient comme les gardiens. L'ecclésiologie exposée par Philippe de Péra dans son traité est très grégorienne. C'est pourquoi il nourrit son traité de très nombreuses citations des décrétales d'après le Décret de Gratien. Pour lui, comme pour ses frères sans doute, les concessions nécessaires en vue de l'union ne pouvaient venir que des Grecs.

La polémique dominicaine écrite dans les couvents de Constantinople, de Nègrepont et de Péra (1252-1359):

Contra Graecos, anonyme – 1252. Latin.

Thesaurus de veritate fidei, Bonaccursius de Bologne – 1290. Édition bilingue.

De erroribus Graecorum, (attribué à) Bonaccursius de Bologne – 1292. Latin.

Quatre lettres sur la procession de l'Esprit saint (adressées à l'empereur Andronic II, à Manuel-Maxime Holobolos, au nomophylax Iôannès, au moine Sophonias), Simon de Constantinople – avant 1299. Grec.

Contra errores Orientalium et Graecorum, (attribué à) Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac – 1305. Latin.

De obiectionibus Graecorum contra processionem Spiritus sancti a Filio, (attribué à) Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac – 1307. Latin.

Lettre de Jacques O.P. à l'empereur Andronic II – 1318-1325. Grec.

Lettre de Joannes de Fontibus O.P. ad abbatem et conventum – 1350 c. Grec.

Libellus qualiter Graeci recesserunt ab oboedientia, Philippe de Péra – 1357. Latin.

De oboedientia Ecclesiae Romanae, Philippe de Péra – 1358. Latin.

De processione Spiritus sancti, Philippe de Péra – 1359. Latin.

Le dossier de Constantinople IV

Firenze, BNC, C. 7. 419		Documents	Mansi XVI
69r-69v	138v-140r	Libellus de Theognostos	295-302
69v	140r-v	Lettre de Nicolas <i>ex actis</i>	302-306
70r-70v	140v-141r	Lettre de Nicolas à Ignace	306-307
82r	141r	Mention de plusieurs lettres	307
74v	141r-v	Préface des actes du concile	307-310
74v	141v-142r	Première session	310-311
75r	142r-v	Lettre d'Adrien à l'empereur Basile	311-314
75r-v; 78r-81r	142v-162v	Suite des actes (sessions 2 à 10)	315-410
82r	141r	Lettre d'Epiphane de Chypre à Ignace	307

81r	162v-163v	Encyclique du synode	410-411
82r	163v	Lettre du synode au pape	411-414
	163v	Lettre du pape Adrien à Ignace (extraits sur la Bulgarie)	
70v-71r	163v-165r	Lettre de Metrophane au patrice Manuel	414-419

	165r-166r	Lettre du pape Etienne à l'empereur Basile	419-426
	166v-168v	Lettre de Stylianos au pape	426-435
	168v	Lettre d'Etienne aux évêques	435-438
	168v-169r	Seconde lettre de Stylianos	
	169r-v	Réponse du pape Formose à Stylianos	439-442

	169v-170v	Documents sur Photios et analyse	442-446
	170v-171r	synodiques pontificales	446-450
	171r-172r	Bréviaire du huitième concile	450-455
	172r-v	Lettre de Jean IX à Stylianos	455-458
	172v-173r	Extraits de chroniques (Skylitzès et Zonaras)	459

WHAT DID THE SCHOLASTICS KNOW ABOUT GREEK HISTORY AND CULTURE?

Sten EBBESEN*

Thomas Aquinas' *De regno* (= *De regimine principum*) is remarkable for not containing a single reference to Cyprus or Jerusalem that might justify the dedication to the king of Cyprus and Jerusalem rather than to any other prince or princeling. Thomas' continuator, Ptolemy of Lucca, shows a little more awareness of affairs in the East. According to him, Sardinia, Corsica, certain Greek islands and Cyprus have a population so savage that tyrannical or despotic rule is required to tame them.¹ He also knows that in Greece some lords are called despots.² But that's about it. The vast majority of Western schoolmen knew very little about the contemporary Greek world.

But what about ancient Greek history and culture? The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed a major transfer of Greek knowledge to the Latins, primarily in the form of translations of Aristotle and his commentators. At the end of the period the whole Aristotelian corpus was available in Latin together with a selection of late-ancient

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1. PTOLOMAEUS DE LUCCA, *De regimine principum* (in THOMAS AQUINAS, *De regimine principum*, ed. J. MATHIS, Torino-Rome 1948), III, 22: "Dicitur enim in Eccli., X, 2: *Secundum iudicem populi, sic et eius ministri sunt, et qualis est rector civitatis, tales habitantes in ea*. Tales enim principes modum habent communiter regendi, regaliter, vel imperialiter, nisi forte in aliquibus locis propter consuetudinem usurpatam, vel ex tyrannide, vel propter malitiam gentis, quia aliter domari non possunt, ut dictum est supra, nisi tyrannico regimine, ut accidit in insula Sardiniae et Corsicae, item in quibusdam insulis Graeciae, item in Cypro, in quibus dominantur nobiles principatu despotico vel tyrannico". Please note that when quoting Latin texts I do not always respect the editors' spelling and punctuation.

2. PTOLOMAEUS DE LUCCA, *De regimine principum*, ed. MATHIS, II, 9: "Est autem hic advertendum, quod principatus despoticus dicitur qui est domini ad servum, quod quidem nomen graecum est. Unde quidam domini illius provinciae adhuc hodie despoti vocantur".

commentaries. A proper understanding of all those Greek texts might seem to require a good deal of knowledge about the ancient world.

There was a fundamental difference between the learned men of Byzantium and the Western scholastics. Generally speaking, the Greeks were humanists to whom being able to imitate classical Attic style was more important than carrying through a logically coherent scientific argumentation. The Latins were scientists. Not that they had no classical education, but it mattered less, and their classical antiquity was a different one from that of the Greeks, which to a large extent was that of the Athenian writers of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Western antiquity was a Roman antiquity, with Sallust playing a role comparable to that of Thucydides among the Greeks, Vergil to that of Homer, and so on, but, *nota bene*, Cicero's speeches did not command half the attention that in the East was bestowed on Demosthenes.

A Greek expositor of Aristotle or some other ancient authority would get many of the references to classical Greek political and literary history right, and might even have the means to check on facts relating to the Greek language area in Hellenistic and late-ancient times. A Latin expositor did not stand a sporting chance. When the Westerners got Ptolemy the mathematician's works in translations from the Arabic, they assumed that the author was one of the Ptolemies who ruled Egypt after the Macedonian conquest,³ for that was what the standard encyclopedia, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, told them.⁴ Greeks were much less likely to be thus deceived, as the relevant information is found in their standard encyclopedia, the *Suda*, which gives the full name as Claudius Ptolemaeus and places him as a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius.⁵ Among Western scholars, only

3. Thus in a commentary on a Pseudo-Ptolemaean *Astrology* in MS London, British Library, Cotton App. VI (14th c.), f. 23v: "Ptolomeus summus philosophus et excellentissimus Egyptiorum rex".

4. ISIDORUS, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. LINDSAY, Oxford 1911, III, 26: "In utraque autem lingua diversorum quidem sunt de astronomia scripta volumina, inter quos tamen Ptolemaeus rex Alexandriae apud graecos praecipuus habetur: hic etiam et canones instituit, quibus cursus astrorum inveniatur".

5. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. ADLER, pars IV, Leipzig 1935, p. 254: "Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ Κλαύδιος χρηματίας, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, φιλόσοφος γεγὼς ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Μάρκου τοῦ βασιλέως. οὗτος ἔγραψε Μηχανικὰ βιβλία γ', Περὶ φάσεων καὶ ἐπισημασιῶν ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν βιβλία β', Ἀπλωσιν ἐπιφανείας σφαίρας, Κανόνα πρόχειρον, τὸν Μέγαν ἀστρονόμον ἥτοι Σύνταξιν καὶ ἄλλα".

Robert Grosseteste is known to have had a *Suda* and been able to read it,⁶ and there was no comparable reference book in Latin.

Greek scholars could even check on many events of Roman history thanks to the many historians who had chronicled the fate of Rome in Greek. The Latins did not have comparable guides to the history of the ancient Greek world. They could get something from Orosius' universal history, but for one thing it was a source with but little water in it, and for another, scholars with scientific aspirations seem to have cared little about Orosius or any other historian.

So, what did the Latins do when finding in Aristotle references to ancient Greek culture that they could not really digest?

Aquinas was a very learned man, and he had already read Aristotle's *Politics* when he composed his *De regno*, but a knowledge of Greek was not among his accomplishments. At one point in *De regno* he says:

When an unjust rule is exercised by a single man who seeks his own advantage from it and not the good of his subjects, such a ruler is called a tyrant with a name derived from strength because he oppresses with power instead of ruling with justice. Among the ancients all sorts of powerful men were called tyrants.⁷

How could a man of Thomas' intellectual abilities come up with the etymology *tyrannus a fortitudine*? Well, he did not invent it. He had it from Isidore of Seville, that inexhaustible mine of pseudo-Greek, according to whom:

Tyrannus is a Greek word, the Latin equivalent of which is *rex*, for among the ancients no distinction was made between king and tyrant [...]. Strong kings were called tyrants, because *tiro* means "strong".⁸

6. See A.C. DIONISOTTI, "Robert Grosseteste and the Greek Encyclopaedia", in: J. HAMESSE and M. FATTORI (eds.), *Rencontres de cultures dans la philosophie médiévale. Traductions et traducteurs de l'antiquité tardive au XIV^e siècle*, Louvain-la-Neuve-Cassino 1990, pp. 337-353. The *Suda's* entry about Claudius Ptolemaeus figures in Dionisotti's list of passages translated by Grosseteste (ibid., p. 352).

7. THOMAS AQUINAS, *De regno*, ed. H.-F. DONDAINE, in: *Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P.M. edita*, XLII, Rome 1979, I, 1, p. 450b: "Si igitur regimen iniustum per unum tantum fiat qui sua commoda ex regimine quaerat, non autem bonum multitudinis sibi subiectae, talis rector tyrannus vocatur nomine a fortitudine derivato, quia scilicet per potentiam opprimit, non per iustitiam regit; unde et apud antiquos potentes quique tyranni vocabantur".

8. ISIDORUS, *Etymologiae*, ed. LINDSAY, IX, 3, 19 "Tyranni graece dicuntur, idem latine et reges. Nam inter veteres inter regem et tyrannum nulla discretio erat [...]. Fortes enim reges tyranni vocabantur, nam 'tiro' fortis".

Thomas knew the translation of Aristotle's *Politics* which his fellow Dominican William of Moerbeke had done a few years before. If he had had a chat with Brother William he might have learned not to trust Isidore's Greek etymologies, but it is a sad fact that the emergence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of men like Moerbeke who had learned Greek in *Ῥωμανία* did not shake the scholastic community's faith in Isidore and other sources of pseudo-Greek. Thus Peter of Auvergne in the 1270s happily informs us that the name of Porphyry's *Isagoge* means *Introductio* and is a composite of *ysos* = *intro* and *gogos* = *ductio*.⁹ That *Isagoge* means *Introductio* was common knowledge: any intelligent reader would be able to conclude that from Boethius' commentaries on the work, even though he does not say so *expressis verbis*. Besides, the information was available in Isidore, who for once provides a genuine piece of information without accompanying it with a false etymology.¹⁰ But that was not enough to prevent one from turning up in scholastic writings.

Isidore's *Etymologies* was not the only bad standard work of reference. Aquinas in his commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* explains that *Ariopagus* means *Vicus Martis*,¹¹ which is close enough to the truth to look innocent. But in fact, Thomas must have had a seriously distorted picture of ancient Athens, as becomes evident when one looks up the source of his explanation of *Ariopagus*. The source is Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* from the twelfth century, which had become the standard account of Biblical history. Having related how Saint Paul discussed with the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers in Athens (*Acts* 17.18), Peter continues:

They took him and brought him to Ariopagus, i.e., to Mars' quarter,¹² i.e., the one in which there was a temple of Mars, because the Athenians

9. PETRUS DE ALVERNIA, *Quaestiones super Porphyrium*, ed. A. TINÉ, "Le questioni su Porfirio di Pierre d'Auvergne", in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 64 (1997), pp. 235-333; esp. q. 3, p. 276: "Et dicitur Ysagoga ab *ycos* quod est 'intro' et *gogos* quod est 'ductio', quasi 'Intro-ductio'".

10. ISIDORUS, *Etymologiae*, ed. LINDSAY, II, 25, 1: "Isagoga quippe graece, latine introductio dicitur".

11. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Sententia libri Politicorum*, ed. H.-F. DONDAINE and L.-J. BATAILLON, in: *Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P.M. edita*, XLVIII, Rome 1971, II, 17, p. 181b: "Erat enim in Ariopago, idest in vico Martis, qui erat locus solemnus apud Athenas, institutum consilium civitatis".

12. It is not clear to me whether by *vicus* Peter understood a neighbourhood or a street, but for my argument this is immaterial.

named the quarters of the city after the gods they worshipped, and the quarter in which Mars was worshipped they called Ariopagus, because Arioth equals Mars. The quarter in which they worshipped Pan they called Panapagus, and in this way they named each quarter after a god. Ariopagus, however, was the noblest quarter, for that was where the court of the magistrates and the schools of liberal arts were located.¹³

This is an egregious example of guesswork. Extrapolating from *Vicus Martis*, Peter builds an Athens with quarters or streets named after gods and ending in *-pagus*. He seems to have had some vague notion that what Paul was taken to was an official organ of sorts, so he locates the *curia magistratuum* there, and assuming the discussion with the philosophers to have taken place nearby, he makes Areopagus the Quartier Latin of ancient Athens.

Almost all the Greek literature that we consider classic was barely known by name. Of the works of Plato, only three were translated before the fifteenth century. Cicero's and Calcidius' partial translations of the *Timaeus* were widely known, whereas Henricus Aristippus' twelfth-century translations of *Phaedo* and *Meno* found next to no readers.

Now, Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* contains a reference (12, 173a8) to something that Callicles says in Plato's *Gorgias* (ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Καλλικλῆς ἐν τῷ Γοργία γέγραπται λέγων). The scholastics used a translation by Boethius from the early sixth century. He had translated *sicut Callicles in Gorgia scriptus est dicens*, but some scribe miscopied this as *Callides in Gorgia*, and for centuries nobody corrected the error.¹⁴ Not that it mattered, either: nobody knew who

13. PETRUS COMESTOR, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1702A-B: "Et disputabant cum Paulo Epicurei, qui ponebant felicitatem hominis in sola corporis voluptate, et Stoici, qui in sola animi virtute. Et inter se dissentientes, in impugnatione Apostoli unanimiter consentiebant [...] Et apprehensum duxerunt ad Ariopagum, id est ad vicum Martis, in quo scilicet erat templum Martis, quia Athenienses singulos vicos denominaverunt a diis quos colebant, et vicum in quo colebatur Mars vocabant Ariopagum, quia Arioth dicitur Mars. Vicum in quo colebant Pan vocabant Panapagum, et ita a singulis diis singulos vicos denominabant. Erat autem vicus excellentior Ariopagus, quia ibi erat curia magistratuum et scholae liberalium artium". The Migne text spells "Argopagus", but there can be little doubt the author used "Ariopagus". Strictly speaking, this passage is probably not by Peter, as it occurs in the latter part of *Historia Scholastica*, of which there are two versions, probably by different continuators of his unfinished work. Thomas surely used the standard version from which I quote. For the appearance of *vicus Martis* in sources older than Comestor, see the apparatus of the Leonine edition to the passage from Thomas' commentary quoted above.

14. See B.G. DOD (ed.), *Aristoteles Latinus* VI, 1-3, Leiden-Brussels 1975, p. 29.

Callicles was anyhow. As for *Gorgias*, some schoolmen were aware that this was a book by Plato, but then no more. In one thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Sophistical Refutations* a gloss above the word *Gorgia* says *illo libro Platonis*, and in the margin there is a more extensive note claiming that “Gorgias was a pupil of Plato. Plato used Gorgias’ name as the title of a book in which he dealt with Callicles”.¹⁵ Again a piece of homespun Latin learning, this time based on a belief about Plato’s habits that was at least as old as the twelfth century: according to William of Conches’ scholia on the *Timaeus*, it was Plato’s habit to entitle his books after his pupils, and Timaeus was one of them.¹⁶

A little later in the *Sophistical Refutations* (15, 174b27) Aristotle refers to what some Cleophon does in a work called *Mandroboulos* or *Mandraboulos*: οἷον ὁ Κλεοφῶν ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Μανδροβούλῳ / *ut Cleophon facit in Mandrabulo*. Several Latin scholiasts take Cleophon to be the author of *Mandrabulus*.¹⁷ One holds that Cleophon was a pupil of Socrates, and that Socrates was also the author of the book.¹⁸ Yet another scholiast glosses *Mandrabulo* as *libro Platonis*,¹⁹ obviously thinking that when *Callides in Gorgia* means “Callides in a book by Plato”, *Cleophon in Mandrabulo* must mean “Cleophon in a book by Plato”. Brave try, but a miss. In reality, *Mandroboulos* was the title of a dialogue by Speusippus, but only Diogenes Laertius mentions the fact.²⁰ In this case, medieval Greek commentators on Aristotle were no better than their Latin counterparts. One commentator thought Cleophon was a writer of tragedy mentioned by Aristotle in *Poetics* 2.148a12, and consequently claimed that *Mandroboulos* was

15. MS Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 228, f. 137v: “Gorgias fuit discipulus Platonis. Intitulavit librum sub nomine Gorgiae, in quo egit Plato de Callide”.

16. WILLIAM OF CONCHES, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. E.A. JEAUNEAU (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 203), Turnhout 2006, ch. VI, p. 12: “Titulus talis est: INCIPIT THIMAEUS PLATONIS. Dicitur sic a quodam discipulo Platonis. Mos enim fuit Platonis intitulare volumina a nominibus discipulorum, ut conferret illis honorem, vel ut vitaret arrogantiam, et ut subtraheret aemulis occasionem reprehendendi”.

17. Thus MSS Cambridge, Gonville & Caius 468/575, f. 133r; Paris, BnF lat. 16599, f. 115v: “Cleophon [...] in libro suo”.

18. MS Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 35^{ter}, f. 51r: “discipulus Socratis CLEOPHON introductus FACIT IN MANDRABULO in illo libro Socratis”. The words in small capitals are the Aristotelian text, the rest the interlinear glosses.

19. MS Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo 94-10, f. 134r.

20. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Vitae Philosophorum*, IV, 5.

a tragedy.²¹ Leo Magentinus in the thirteenth century reasoned in the same way as one of his Latin colleagues, and similarly concluded that *Mandroboulos* was a dialogue by Plato!²²

Now, these cases of Latin ignorance are quite harmless, as they have no bearing on how to understand Aristotle's logic. But might not ignorance about the ancient Greeks be a serious obstacle to understanding his *Politics*? The work was translated in the early 1260s by Moerbeke, and a copy soon reached two of his fellow Dominicans, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, both of whom produced commentaries on the work, but very different ones, I daresay.

Thomas is perspicacious, clear and scientific; Albert is foggy and unscientific. Thomas generally avoids commenting on unessential matters of history, geography and the like, and rarely speaks about matters beyond his ken. Albert will leave nothing unexplained, and provides many fanciful pieces of information about the whereabouts of the towns and islands mentioned by Aristotle. Thus Chius is confused with Kiev, *civitas Russiae, subiecta Graecis, modo autem Tartaris*—"a town in Russia, under Greek rule, but now under the Mongols".²³ While this type of error is rather harmless, another one is less so: Albert tends to interpret the technical terms relating to political institutions in light of the situation in thirteenth-century Western Europe. In *Politics* I, 1 Aristotle says that some use the expression "royal person" for one who only rules, and "*polis*-person" for one who alternatively rules and

21. ANONYMUS, *Commentarium II in Sophisticos Elenchos*, ed. S. EBBESEN, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi* (Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum, VII), Leiden 1981, vol. II, p. 102.

22. See EBBESEN, *Commentators*, vol. I, p. 339.

23. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *In octo libros Politicorum*, ed. A. BORGNET (Opera omnia, VIII), Paris 1891; IV, o, p. 469a, ad Arist., *Pol.* V, 6, 1306b5: "Et dat exempla, ubi ex illa causa solutae sunt oligarchiae, ibi, *Sicut quae in Cnido*, (civitas est) *et quae in Chio oligarchia* (civitas est Russiae subiecta Graecis, modo autem Tartaris)". Cf. V, 2, p. 445a, ad V, 3, 1303a34: "Chio autem civitas est Russiae, unde nunc Thebalorum et variorum adducuntur merces", and IV, 4, p. 343b, ad IV, 4, 1291b24: "Negotiativum autem in Aegina, civitate scilicet maritima, abundat, et Chio quae nunc civitas Tutiae est, et Chioma vocatur, unde vehuntur negotiationes pellium variarum et teballorum". I suspect that *Tutiae* and *Chioma* are corruptions of *Russiae* and *Chieva*. On two other occasions Albert correctly says that Chius is an island: I, 8, p. 68b, ad I, 11, 1259a13: "Et quibus dedit, subjungit, scilicet olivarum cultoribus, qui in Mileto, id est, qui in tali insula coluerunt olivas, et Chio, id est, in alia insula"; III, 8, p. 279b, ad III, 13, 1284a39-40: "Et dat exemplum, ibi, *Velut Athenienses quidem circa Samios et Chios et Lesbios*, scilicet tres insulas quibus dominabantur".

is ruled. In Albert's interpretation this becomes: there is a royal system if the prince exercises direct rule over a society, but a political system if the prince only rules indirectly, via some person to whom he has delegated his power in some specific city.²⁴

In Albert's defence it must be admitted that his misunderstanding was partly attributable to difficulties in the Latin text, and the same holds for his misunderstanding of democracy and timocracy. He thinks democracy is a form of government in which a considerable number of rich people run the government, for *demos* means riches, he explains with a deadpan face. Timocracy, then, is a system in which a minor group of men buy public office and subsequently extort money from the people to recover their outlay.²⁵

Thomas Aquinas, too, has difficulties with the passage about the royal and the political system, but comes closer to the point by assuming that the royal system is one in which the prince possesses unlimited power, while a political system is one in which his powers are limited by law.²⁶ And Thomas clearly understands that democracy is a situation in which even the poor want a share in power.²⁷

24. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *In octo libros Politicorum*, ed. BORGNET, I, 1d, p. 8B: "*Et quandoquidem aliquis praeest alicui communitati sive genti propria potestate, tunc dicunt esse regale. Rex enim est principatum tenens super gentem propria potestate. Quando autem aliquis principatur civitati secundum rationem disciplinae, hoc est, legibus et plebiscitis et statutis communitatis, secundum partem, hoc est, secundum particularem civitatem, et subiectus regi, qui eum in parte suae sollicitudinis constituit, tunc dicunt esse politicum...*".

25. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *In octo libros Politicorum*, ed. BORGNET, II, 3, p. 127B: "democratia, multorum de populo divitum principatus dicta. *Demos* enim divites sunt, et democratia dicitur quando multi propter solas divitias ad principatum constituuntur. Et corrumpuntur in timocratiam (quae a pretiis sic dicitur: *timos* enim graece pretium est, et *cratia* potestas sive principatus), quando aliqui de populo pretiis se erigunt ad principatus, qui numquam quaerunt bonum populi, sed potius extorquent a populo unde pretia recuperent quae dederunt". In the Borgnet edition, *Demos*, *timos* and *cratia* are printed in Greek letters. For the origin of Albert's misunderstanding of timocracy, see G. FIORAVANTI, "*Politiae orientalium et aegyptiorum. Alberto Magno e la Politica Aristotelica*", in: *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia*, ser. III, 9.1 (1979), pp. 195-246, at p. 201, n. 17. Most of the passages I quote from Albert are also mentioned in Fioravanti's study.

26. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Sententia libri Politicorum*, ed. DONDAINE and BATAILLON, I, 1/a, p. 72b: "Regale quidem est regimen quando ille qui civitati praeest habet plenariam potestatem. Politicum autem regimen est quando ille qui praeest habet potestatem coarctatam secundum aliquas leges civitatis".

27. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Sententia libri Politicorum*, ed. DONDAINE and BATAILLON, II, 7, p. 145a: "Si vero tota multitudo populi dominari velit, vocatur democratia id est potestas populi. [...] Nam oligarchia est solum magnorum: democratia vero est solum

Such names as Cleisthenes or Aristophanes ring no bells with Thomas,²⁸ but neither does he try to concoct any story about them.

Lacking knowledge of ancient prosopography did not prevent Thomas from correctly grasping the main lines in Aristotle's description of the development of the Athenian constitution from Solon to Pericles, and also of Aristotle's account of a critique raised against Solon's reform. In spite of an unhelpful translation which rendered *δικαστήριον* and *δικαστήρια* as *praetorium*, Thomas understood that the point must be that by introducing courts the members of which were chosen by lot, Solon had opened the gates to a popular tyranny of the sort that finally arrived with Pericles and Ephialtes. Thomas just could not imagine the Athenian mass tribunals with their hundreds of judges, so he reads into the text that Pericles and Ephialtes were judges in the Solonian courts (*praetores populares*), who by misusing their authority as judges imposed the popular tyranny. While unhistorical, this interpretation provided an excellent starting point for a discussion of good and bad ways of balancing interests when building the constitution of a state.²⁹

infimorum". 3.6, p. 204b: "Democratia vero est quando dominantur politiae non illi qui possident multitudinem divitiarum, sed magis pauperes".

28. Cleisthenes: THOMAS, *Sententia libri Politicorum*, ed. DONDAINE and BATAILLON, III, 2, p. 189a (*ad Pol.* III, 2, 1275b34-37): "quidam sapiens Clistenes nomine". Aristophanes: II, 3, p. 128b (*ad Pol.* II, 4, 1262b11-12): "Aristophanes dixit in sermonibus quos de amore fecit, quod se invicem amantes desiderant, quod essent facti unum per naturam". Thomas' text is a paraphrase of Moerbeke's translation, and adds no extra information about Aristophanes or his *sermones*.

29. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Sententia libri Politicorum*, ed. DONDAINE and BATAILLON, II, 17, p. 181-162 (*ad Pol.* II, 12, 1273b35-1274a21): "Deinde cum dicit *De ea quidem igitur* etc., prosequitur de instituentibus politias. Et quia de politia Lacedaemonica, quam Lycurgus instituit, supra dictum est, restat dicendum de politia Atheniensi, quam instituit Solon. Et circa hoc tria facit. Primo ostendit quid Solon instituit. Secundo quomodo a quibusdam reprehendebatur, ibi *Propter quod et quidam* etc. Tertio excusat ipsum, ibi *Videtur autem hoc* etc. Dicit ergo primo quod aliqui reputant Solonem fuisse bonum legislatorem, quia dissolvit oligarchiam, quae erat valde intemperata et immoderata apud Athenas, et liberavit populum qui servitute opprimebatur ex immoderato regimine divitum, et instituit democratiam in patria sua, et miscuit bene politiam, id est regimen civitatis, dans aliquam partem populo in ea. Erat enim in *Ariopago*, id est in vico Martis, qui erat locus sollemnis apud Athenas, institutum consilium civitatis, quod erat *oligarchicum*, quia consiliarii civitatis erant ex divitibus et potentibus; sed quod principes eligerentur, hoc erat aristocraticum. *Praetorium autem*, id est potestatem iudiciariam, instituit ex popularibus, quod erat *democraticum*, id est populare. Et sic Solon videtur non dissolvisse illa, quae prius erant, scilicet consilium oligarchicum et electionem populi, quae erant aristocratica. Sed de novo instituit popularem quemdam principatum, dum fecit

Thomas never finished his commentary on the *Politics*. The best known among the continuators is Peter of Auvergne, who was his junior by a generation. Peter followed in Thomas' footsteps also in the sense that, for the most part, he refrained from speculation about matters he knew nothing about. Thus Pisistratus is just *quidam nomine Pisistratus*,³⁰ which in the style of the time means "Don't worry about what a pisistratus is, for it is a proper name, whoever he was". Similarly, Peter just calls the thirty tyrants *triginta potentes* without telling any story about them;³¹ and a battle between the Athenians

praetoria, idest iudices ex omnibus civibus. Deinde cum dicit *Propter quod et quidam* etc., ostendit quomodo Solon a quibusdam reprehendebatur. Accusabant enim quidam ipsum quod ipse dissolverat alteram politiam quae prius erat, quando instituit praetorium quod postea habuit potestatem super omnia, cum tamen istud officium esset sortiale, quia scilicet sorte eligebantur aliqui ex populo ad hoc officium. Ideo autem dicunt eum per hoc dissolvisse priorem politiam, quia cum invaluit istud officium in civitate, praetores illi instituti ex populo transtulerunt totum regimen civitatis in populum qui <per> tyrannidem opprimebat maiores; et ita deventum est ad inordinatam democratiam, quae erat apud Athenas. Primo enim Ephialtes et Pericles qui fuerunt praetores populares, destruxerunt consilium quod ex antiquo erat in Ariopago, et consequenter unusquisque de rectoribus populi auxit potestatem populi, quousque perducta est politia ad democratiam quae tunc erat. Deinde cum dicit *Videtur autem* etc., excusat Solonem; et dicit quod iste defectus videtur accidisse non ex intentione Solonis, sed ex quodam accidente. Cum enim rex Medorum invaderet Athenienses, illi cogitantes quod neque fines suos tueri poterant neque obsidionem civitatis sustinere, collocatis pueris et mulieribus et rebus quas habebant in aliis Graeciae civitatibus, dimissa civitate transtulerunt bellum de terra ad mare. Et ita congregatus est populus tempore Medorum causa huiusmodi nauarchiae, id est principatus navalis, et astute concepit ut totam sibi potestatem usurparet: et accidit, quod loco virtuosorum rectorum populus habuit pravos rectores, qui intentionem populi sunt prosecuti. Quod autem Solon hoc non intenderit patet per hoc quia Solon non dedit potestatem populo nisi illam quae est maxime necessaria, ut scilicet eligeret principes et corrigeret eorum errores. Hanc autem potentiam populi dicit esse necessariam, quia sine hoc populus esset servus, si sine sua voluntate principes acciperet et non posset emendare mala quae principes facerent; et cum servitutem ferre non posset, fieret adversarius principibus. Sed omnes principatus instituit primo *ex insignibus*, idest nobilibus et divitibus. Et secundario instituit ex quibusdam quingentis qui erant quasi medii in civitate, quos *medignos* vocat quasi moderatores, et *iugarios* eos vocat quia erant capita societatum vel artium quasi coniungentes multitudinem. Et tertio instituebat principes ex equitibus, qui erat tertius ordo. Quartus autem ordo erat mercenariorum, qui erant infima pars populi: ad quos nullus principatus pertinebat. Et sic patet, quod in principatibus maiorem partem addidit maioribus quam populo. Unde non fuit eius intentio instituere democratiam; sed consecuta est praeter eius intentionem".

30. PETRUS DE ALVERNIA, *In libros Politicorum* (in THOMAS AQUINAS, *In libros Politicorum*, ed. R.M. SPIAZZI, Turin-Rome 1951), V, 4, 774 ad Pol. V, 5, 1305a23.

31. PETRUS DE ALVERNIA, *In libros Politicorum*, ed. SPIAZZI, V, 5, 782 ad Pol. V, 6, 1306a25-27.

and the Syracusans receives no comment — he obviously had not consulted the widely available *History* of Orosius, which does contain an account of the Sicilian expedition.³² When Aristotle tells about a war between Mytilene and Athens that had been occasioned by a dispute about a couple of heiresses, Peter almost gets it right. He does, however, make Mytilene conquer Athens rather than the other way round!³³

A contemporary of Peter's, Giles of Rome (ca. 1243-1316), was less cautious. In *Rhetoric* II, 23, 1400a32-36 Aristotle tells that Thrasylbulus accused Leodamas of having been *στηλίτης* on the Acropolis, i.e., of having been recorded on a stele as an *ἄτιμος* (one who had been stripped of his civil rights), but according to the accuser, he had had his name removed during the rule of the Thirty. To which Leodamas replied that if his name had been there he should have left it, as such a proof of anti-democratic activity would have greatly recommended him to the Thirty. Moerbeke, the translator of the *Rhetoric*, had not recognized the significance of the number "thirty", and he confused *στηλίτης* ("stele-person") with the homophonous *στυλίτης* ("column-person"), which he would know from accounts of stylite saints. Consequently, believing that Aristotle was talking of a hermit, he translated *στηλίτης* as *solitarius* and took *ἐν ἀκροπόλει* to mean "at the outskirts of the town", i.e., he took it to be equivalent to *ἐν ἄκρῳ πόλει*. This is his rendition of the passage:

32. PETRUS DE ALVERNIA, *In libros Politicorum*, ed. SPIAZZI, V, 3, 757 *ad Rh.* V, 4, 1304b27-29: "Deinde cum dicit *et in Syracusis* ponit quartum exemplum in quo idem probatur; et dicit, quod in civitate Syracusanorum cum factum fuisset proelium inter eos et Athenienses et obtinuissent, cuius victoriae causa populus fuit, rempublicam mutavit in statum popularem". The Syracusans' defeat of the Athenians is mentioned in Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos* II, 14.

33. PETRUS DE ALVERNIA, *In libros Politicorum*, ed. SPIAZZI, V, 3, 750 *ad Pol.* V, 4, 1304a4-10: "Deinde cum dicit *circa Mytilenem* ponit tertium exemplum. Et dicit quod circa Mytilenem civitatem facta fuit dissensio inter aliquos propter divisionem hereditatum, quae fuit principium multorum malorum quae postmodum contigerunt, et fuit principium belli quod fuit inter ipsos et Athenienses. In quo proelio quidam dux nomine Pachetes accepit civitatem ipsorum Atheniensium. Accidit enim quod Timophanes opulentus vita functus reliquit duas filias superstites, quidam autem Doxandrus eas dari concupivit filiis suis in uxores. Quod cum assequi non potuisset, persuasit Atheniensibus, apud quos hospes publice erat, ut bellum susciperent contra Mytilenas".

Greek text	Moerbeke's translation
<p>Λεωδάμας ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγε, κατηγορήσαντος Θρασυβούλου ὅτι ἦν <u>στηλίτης</u> γερονῶς <u>ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει</u>, ἀλλ' ἐκκόψαι³⁴ ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα· οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἔφη· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν πιστεύειν αὐτῷ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐγγεγραμμένης τῆς ἔχθρας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.</p>	<p>Leodamas respondens dixit accusante Thrasybulo quod erat <u>solitarius</u> factus <u>in extremo civitatis</u> sed <u>decidere</u>³⁵ <u>super</u> triginta non posse ait magis enim utique persuadere sibi triginta inscripta inimicitia ad populum.</p>

The translation is gibberish, and Giles may even have had a text that had *descindere* instead of *decidere* “cut away”. This did not deter him. True to Albert's spirit, he made up a story about how Leodamas was accused of hate of people because he had settled in a place that was more than thirty plots of land removed from other people's dwellings.³⁶

Giles was foolish. Walter Burley (ca. 1275-1344), the next important commentator on the *Politics* after Thomas and Peter, was not. He followed Thomas' sensible strategy of avoiding guesses about Greek history. In dealing with the passage about the development of

34. ἐκκόψαι *codd.*] ἐκκέκοπται Ross.

35. The lemma in the 1515 edition of Giles' commentary has *decidere*, and so has Bernhard SCHNEIDER's edition (*Aristoteles Latinus* XXXI, 1-2, Leiden 1978), but according to Schneider's apparatus his manuscripts have *decindere* or *descindere*.

36. AEGIDIUS ROMANUS, *In Rhetoricam*, in: *Rhetorica Aristotelis cum fundatissimi artium et theologie doctoris Egidii de Roma luculentissimis commentariis nunc primum in lucem editis: necnon Alpharabii compendiosa declaratione*, Venice 1515; reprint Frankfurt 1968, f. 84rB: “Nam accusante Thrasibulo Leodamam quod erat factus solitarius in extremo civitatis dicebat Thrasibulus quod Leodamas non poterat †decidere, ut habet alia littera†, vel non poterat se subtrahere super triginta habitationes. Forte inconsuetum erat quod aliquis absentaret se ab habitatione civium super triginta habitationes. Et quia hoc fecerat Leodamas, aedificaverat enim domum adeo distantem a domibus civium quod in spatio intermedio potuissent fieri plusquam triginta habitationes, ideo Thrasibulus accusabat Leodamam. Respondit enim Leodamas se hoc fecisse propter inimicitiam quam populus habebat ad ipsum. Licet enim semper civibus fugere inimicos. Igitur causa assignata magis persuadetur quod sibi erant dimittendae triginta habitationes quam non”. The passage that I have obelized seems to be a fragment of a longer passage about two variant readings, one of them probably being *descindere*, which may well be what Giles paraphrases as *se subtrahere*. So, I propose “deci(n)dere, <vel descindere>, ut habet alia littera”, leaving it open whether the first of Giles' variants was the correct reading *decidere* or the corrupted form *decindere*.

the Athenian constitution after Solon, he correctly explains the main idea, namely that the democratization of the constitution was accidental and not part of Solon's intentions. After which he adds:

Next Aristotle names several legislators of various communities, and adds certain things that each of them has said. This seems to me to be useless and unscientific. End of book II.³⁷

And elsewhere he says:

Please notice that Aristotle exemplifies all his types of change of constitution by means of particular events, and the text is reasonably clear. Sometimes he adduces many examples to illustrate the same point, because good moral teaching illuminates by means of the particular. Since, however, the examples derived from the deeds of the Greeks and remote nations are unfamiliar to us, and the purpose of examples is to familiarize us with a topic, I have not cared to put down his examples, as they will not help us acquire knowledge.³⁸

A good scholastic is like the classical scientist of modern times. He is interested in eternal laws; historical facts have no value of their own, though they may serve to exemplify a law. Burley pays lip service to the notion that moral philosophy has a special relationship with the particular, but it is lip service only. In ethics, too, he is a scientist, not a humanist.

Thanks to this attitude, the Westerners' abysmal ignorance of Greek culture did not prevent the better among them from making coherent sense of Aristotle's *Politics* in a way that made it relevant to their own situation. Albert's introduction of the notion of delegation was a mistake, yet sixty years later Marsilius of Padua in his *Defensor Pacis* (1324) was able to present a revolutionary political theory with two main ingredients: (a) a clever development of Aristotelian arguments that enables him to conclude that the people is the true sovereign; and (b)

37. WALTER BURLEY, *In Politicam Aristotelis*, MS BAV, Vat. Borgh. lat. 129, f. 30vB: "Deinde nominat multos legis latores diversarum civitatum, addens quaedam propria ab eis dicta. Nulla utilitas et scientificum mihi apparet in hoc. Finitur liber secundus".

38. WALTER BURLEY, *In Politicam Aristotelis*, MS BAV, Vat. Borgh. lat. 129, f. 75vB: "Intelligendum quod in omnibus praedictis modis transmutationis politiarum Philosophus exemplificat in factis particularibus. Quae satis patent in textu. Et aliquando adducit multa exempla ad idem, et hoc quia doctrina bona moralis manifestat in particulari. Tamen, quia exempla de factis Graecorum et nationum remotarum non sunt nobis nota, et exempla ponuntur propter notitiam habendam, non curavi ponere exempla sua, per quae non poterimus melius cognitionem habere".

the notion of delegation, so that he can make the people delegate its authority to smaller groups of persons or even to a single person, who thus becomes ruler by the grace of the people.

In a way the Westerners' ignorance about the ancient Greeks may have been a blessing in disguise. Unburdened by such *Μεγάλοι ἡμῶν πρόγονοι*, sensible scholars could concentrate on finding philosophical inspiration in Aristotle.

HIDDEN THEMES IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY
BYZANTINE AND LATIN THEOLOGICAL DEBATES:
MONARCHIANISM AND CRYPTO-DYOPHYSITISM¹

György GERÉBY

Theology was an important area of articulation of fourteenth-century culture, as Aristeides Papadakis' paper in this volume emphasizes. Awareness of the 'other side', however, was often defective, and even historians of Latin and Byzantine Greek Christianity have suffered from a curious short-sightedness in not noticing that two of the supremely important debates of the period actually proceeded in parallel. What is more, they resulted in very different solutions to basically similar problems. Sten Ebbesen's paper shows how little and jumbled was the knowledge that the scholastics had about matters Greek, and Martin Hinterberger writes about mysterious elements in the theological controversies (for the modern mind, to wit). All three issues played a role in the case I address here. The dogmatic discussions became so abstract and rarified that the resulting differences hardly made it to the 'lists of errors', and the precise nature of and the reasons for the differences have receded into the 'little curiosity shop' of history. Palamas' theology is generally dismissed, or played down as obscure 'mysticism', a kind of excessive irrationalism nicely befitting the last period of declining Byzantium.²

The mechanics of the gradual separation and growing alienation of the two great Christian Churches remains therefore a difficult issue for the investigation of medieval "Greek" and "Latin" interactions.³

1. If not otherwise indicated, the translations are mine. I thank István Perczel for the innumerable discussions we have had on these issues and for an important insight on the interpretation of transcendence in Augustine. I would like to commemorate here Katalin Vidrányi (1945-1993), our teacher, who hinted at some of the fundamental issues discussed in this paper.

2. A telling example is the recent book of H. CHADWICK, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church*, Oxford-New York 2003. The book completely leaves aside the Hesychast debate. It is mentioned only on a single instance, and even there cursorily (the only occurrence is on p. 270). The name of Gregory Palamas is missing altogether.

3. Leading to an alienation epitomized by the famous passage of Nicetas Choniates on the "deep chasm" and contradictory opinions between the Latins and themselves: οὐρα

While the separation of the respective traditions roused strong passions ever since the pronounced emergence of the theological and political conflicts during the patriarchate of Photius in the ninth century, this alienation now seems less of a straightforward development, but more an incremental evolution over time, sometimes hesitant, then step by step, and at a varying pace.⁴ Current scholarship, less motivated by partisan allegiances, has produced the critical mass of editions, monographs, and studies of the specialized or general kind that provide us with a wealth of information on the subject. This great wealth, however, sometimes leads to a somewhat blurred picture as to what was of decisive importance and what was hardly more than an ephemeral issue.

In this paper I would like to contribute to the understanding of an important phase of the antithetical developments, which, I suggest, resulted in dogmas that are the culmination of divergent trends. Two significant debates and their doctrinal effects, the manifestly opposite doctrines, are, in my view, the logical outcome of distinct theological assumptions, and while the outcome of the debates was not predictable, their conclusions were consistent with the majority views of the theologians of the day in the respective realms.

The first debate, the Latin one, concerned the *visio beatifica*, the beatific vision of the saints in heaven, beginning in 1331 and concluding in 1336, while the other debate, in the Greek speaking Byzantine Church, was the so-called Hesychast controversy, which was treated by three councils in Constantinople in the years 1341, 1347, and 1351. The two debates are mostly treated separately in Church history. What I would like to show is that, quite on the contrary, they are intimately linked, in the sense that they both addressed the issues of eschatology and theological epistemology. First I will try to show how

μέσον ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτῶν χάσμα διαφορᾶς ἐστήρικται μέγιστον καὶ ταῖς γνώμας ἀσυναφεῖς ἔσμεν καὶ κατὰ διάμετρον ἀφαστήκαμεν, εἰ καὶ σώμασι συναπτόμεθα καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πολλὰ καὶ κληρούμεθα οἴκησιν. *Andronicus Comnenus*, pp. 301,14-302,6, esp. 24-27 in: NICETAE CHONIATAE *Historia*, ed. J. A. VAN DIETEN, pars prior (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11/1), Berlin 1975.

4. The exchange between Patriarchs Michael Keroularios and Peter III of Antioch shows very well that the number of issues causing concern varied greatly with the personal stakes and stances in the debate (PG 120, cols. 781-796). For an excellent analysis of the changing significance of these issues, see T. KOLBABA, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins*, Urbana 2000.

these dogmatic decisions were at least indirectly related to each other. At first glance the Latins seem to have discussed only the nature of the vision of the beatified souls, that is, those souls who either left their body without sin or were purged from their non-mortal sins, while in Byzantium the debate appears to have addressed the Light of Tabor and the obscure problem of the divine essence and energies. In fact, however, the debate concerned the knowability of the divine essence and the presence of the divine in this world, that is, divine immanence and transcendence. From this the trained eye can already see that the debates addressed implicitly the divinity and the Incarnation, as well. Therefore, I will propose that general views on these latter issues were ultimately responsible for the resulting differences, manifesting old problems in Christianity that survived in this later age under the guise of a very sophisticated and roundabout theological language.

Despite the fact that the debates were so close in time and addressed related doctrinal concerns, Church historians and historians of dogma have rarely analyzed them in relation to each other. It is certainly true that the immediate concerns were independent and that there was very little direct reference to the other side in the debates — although there was a certain general awareness. In addition, the debates were both of arcane theological nature, motivated by interests of little concern today, leaving aside the fact that these arcane questions were debated in formulae and terminologies completely alien to modern parlance. Nonetheless the closely related concerns of the two Churches and their adoption of contradictory doctrinal positions seem to hint at more fundamental issues at stake.⁵ In fact, one might wonder

5. While there have been monographs devoted to the subject, historiography has not managed to look at these debates together. Apart from the incipient study of V. LOSSKY, *The Vision of God*, tr. A. Moorhouse, 2nd edition, New York 1983 (first published in English in 1963), neither Anneliese Maier in her late studies (see references below) nor recently C. TROTTMANN, *La vision béatifique. Dès disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII*, Rome 1995, alert the readers that the parallel Greek tradition struggled with related problems. There is little more awareness in the standard book of J. MEYENDORFF, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York 1974, pp. 91-128. Apart from V. Lossky, who connected the Greek to the Latin tradition, the Greek and patristic background was tentatively contrasted by M.-D. CHENU, "Le dernier avatar de la théologie orientale en Occident au XIII^e siècle", in: *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer*, Louvain 1947, pp. 159-181. An exception is the paper of W. DUBA, "The Afterlife in Medieval Frankish Cyprus", in: *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 26 (2000), pp. 167-194. Recently many studies have looked at certain doctrinal issues, like

whether these two debates are not two faces of the same coin, or to use more concrete terms: on a closer look the dogmatic differences resulting from the debates appear to point to certain profound differences in underlying theological ideas. I will try to address this difference and suggest explanations for them.

Let me first point out that the debates on both sides demonstrate the lack of uniform traditions. In the Greek debate it was easy to charge Barlaam, coming from Calabria, with sympathy for the Latins, although the same accusation was rather unjust against Akindynos, Gregoras, or other opponents of Palamitic theology. On the other hand the participants in the beatific vision debate did occasionally refer to the affinity of Pope John XXII's position with that of the Greeks,⁶ although this did not become a proper theme of the debate. But there were major divergences within the Latin tradition as well. The older views represented by Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, or Achar of St Victor were much closer to the views of John Chrysostom or John the Damascene than to the dominant theology of Gregory the Great and the vast majority of the academic theologians of the period. Few scholars dare to realize the fact that the papal constitution *Benedictus Deus* from 1336 practically relegated to a heretical position much of the patristic tradition, and not only from the Greek but also from the Latin side.⁷ This complex set of problems, in

R. FLOGAUS, "Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th Century Byzantium", in: *St. Vladimir Theological Quarterly* 42 (1998), pp. 1-32, later enlarged into a book: *Theosis bei Palamas und Luther. Ein Beitrag zum ökumenischen Gespräch*, Göttingen-Zürich 1997; R. SINKEWICZ, "The doctrine of the knowledge of God in the early writings of Barlaam the Calabrian", in: *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982), pp. 181-242; or D. BRADSHAW, *Aristotle East and West. Metaphysics and the Division of Christendom*, Cambridge 2004. See also V. LOSSKY, "La probleme de la 'vision face à face' et la tradition patristique de Byzance", in: E. LIVINGSTON (ed.), *Studia Patristica* 5 (1962), pp. 512-537.

6. "... de quo [scil. Thomas Aquinas] tamen notum est his qui ipsum legunt, quod ipse non tenuit opinionem premissam [scil. John XXII], immo dicit quod pro heresi est habenda et quod est opinio Grecorum". THOMAS WALEYS refers to Aquinas' *De rationibus fidei*, preface and c. 9. in: T. KAEPPPELI, *Le procès contre Thomas Waleys O.P. Étude et documents*, Rome 1936, p. 104.

7. M. DYKMANS, "De Jean XXII au concile de Florence ou les avatars d'une hérésie gréco-latine, in: *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 68 (1973), pp. 29-66., M.-D. CHENU, "L'homme, la nature, l'esprit. Un avatar de la philosophie grecque en occident, au XIIIe siècle", in: *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 36 (1969), pp. 123-130.

which both traditions became divided amongst themselves and then arrived at mutually exclusive solutions to the debates, requires attention, and very careful attention at that.

In addressing the problem of the comparison of the two dogmatic decisions, I think it necessary to lay down a few methodological remarks. My primary concern is to understand the logic of certain historical developments, without attempting to address theological truth. Instead of justifying one side, I will try to look at the inner logic of the respective positions and endeavor to reconstruct the differences in the underlying presuppositions and to point out some consequences. Again, for the sake of simplicity I will talk about the Latin Church and the Greek Church, but hereby I only mean the official liturgical language (and their immediate derivatives, like the Slavonic liturgy).

First I would like to address the term 'theology', which is not easy to handle. Theology, at least in the medieval period, is not an independent enterprise of purely academic concern, but rather a conceptual elaboration and reflection, or so to speak a way of articulating the meanings embedded in the practice of a church. Practices include, or rather are defined by, the liturgy, the church canons, behavioral codes, architecture, iconography, and other religious customs. The use of a particular language or conceptual scheme also belongs to the constitutive character of a church, defining its identity. In a sense medieval theology offers a justification or even legitimation of the institutional identity of the respective churches. This is, I think, quite clear in the case of Gregory Palamas, but also for the Latin theologians unanimously opposing the "novelties" of the pope. Theology does not invent identity or practices, but systematizes, explains, justifies, and conceptualizes them, which is the meaning of the adage *lex orandi, lex credendi*. Of course, while doing so it may hit on a new course, since conceptual analysis and reflection on various issues may be forced to follow its own inner logic, but generally speaking theology is institutionally and methodologically embedded in the church. Therefore in the following, when speaking about certain subtle points in theology, I imply that they also point to institutional differences between the Churches.

In the body of this paper I will first analyze the dogmatic decisions of the two debates and illustrate the points of contention within the

Latin and Greek traditions. In the second part I will try to sketch certain presuppositions that seem to be at work separating Latin theology from the Greek-Byzantine tradition and that have certainly contributed to the dogmatic contradictions. These undercurrents did not play an explicit part, in the sense that they were rarely addressed in the course of the debates, and one should not attribute a direct causal role to them, but once identified, their consequences imply the sharp contrasts.

The Latin Controversy over the Beatific Vision

The so-called "beatific vision" or *visio beatifica* debate was started by the greatest of the Avignon popes, John XXII, on All Saints Day in 1331, and was terminated by the dogmatic constitution *Benedictus Deus* promulgated by Benedict XII, John's successor, on 29 January 1336.⁸ The debate addressed the problem of the reward for the saints after the departure of their soul from this world. Those who led a holy life were expected to be rewarded with ultimate happiness, which consisted in the face-to-face vision of God. What does this vision mean, and first and foremost when will it happen? In a reverse approach, let us first have a look at the closing dogmatic constitution:

The souls of holy men who departed from this life before the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also of the holy Apostles, martyrs and confessors, virgins, and other faithful who died after receiving Christ's holy Baptism, in whom when they passed away nothing that could be purged existed nor even will exist in the future when they die; or if at that time there was or will be something in them that could be purged, when after their death they are purified... just after their death and the aforesaid purification in those who were in need of such purification, even before the resurrection of their bodies and the Last Judgment, after the ascension into heaven of our Savior Lord Jesus Christ, were, are, and will be gathered with Christ and the consortium of holy angels in the heaven of heavens, kingdom and celestial paradise, and after the Passion and death of Lord Jesus Christ saw, see, and will see the divine essence with intuitive and even face-to-face vision, with no creature mediating in the nature of an object that is seen, but with the divine essence immediately showing Itself nakedly, clearly, and openly to them; and those having the vision in this way fully enjoy the [divine]

8. For a good account see TROTTMANN, *La vision béatifique*. Cf. LOSSKY, *The Vision of God*. On the history of the concept of energy, see BRADSHAW, *Aristotle East and West*.

essence; and on the basis of this vision and delight, the souls of those who have already died are truly blessed and have eternal life and rest; and [blessed] will be those who will die afterwards when they will see the same divine essence and fully enjoy it before the Last Judgment; and after such an intuitive and facial vision and delight in these souls had commenced or will have commenced, the same vision and delight was continued and will be continued until the Last Judgment and from then on forever without any interruption or weakening of this vision and delight.⁹

The modern reader, or the reader not versed in medieval theology, will have difficulties in identifying the liminal concepts that abound in the text. (This vocabulary was used consistently throughout the discussions of the problem.) First, the subjects of this constitution are souls (that is, not the human being as such, consisting of soul and body, since we speak about the deceased) and, among the souls, only those that are pure, or holy, clean from any stain of sin. What is their reward going to be and when will this reward be given? The reward, says Benedict, will be the vision of God, that is, since vision implies knowledge, the direct knowledge of God. The key term here is the adjective "essential", *essentialis*. It is not a vision of some effect or of a created image of God, nor God under some aspect, but God in Himself, as He Himself is. (*Essentia* is the answer to the question "What is this particular thing?") God will not hide from the eyes of the saints, but will show them His reality; therefore this vision will be bare. It will also be "clear", which means that the vision will not be blurred by anything, as by a medium. Normal vision has many intervening media between the capacity of vision and its object, like air, or the light that is required from a different, third source, or the ways of transmission in the mind (like the intelligible *species* of the object seen). In the case of the vision of God there is no such interfering medium for the departed and beatified souls. As Aquinas formulated it, this light by which the saints see in heavens is an uncreated "species", the light radiating from God himself¹⁰ (alluding to Psalm 35.10: "in thy light shall we see light"). "Intuitive" means unmediated and

9. For the Latin text, see, e.g., editions of H. DENZINGER (ed.), *Enchiridion symbolorum*. There are various translations available.

10. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra gentiles* III, c. 51. We shall come back to this important passage.

uninhibited vision, not “through a looking glass darkly” (I Cor. 13.12), but directly. The term is an additional means to describe the “face-to-face vision” (*visio facialis*), which is usually taken as a prerequisite or concomitant aspect of the vision of the divine essence.¹¹ The vision is also “beatific” in the sense of being the supreme reward for a created intellect, the presence of God Himself, and this is final vision in the sense that it is perfect and leaves nothing wanting. (There is no need here to engage with the problem of *[per]fruitio*, delighting in, and its theological ramifications. The important issue is that this presence is the ultimate satisfaction for the human soul.) Sometimes additional terms are also joined to the description of the vision, like *singularis* (of a single mind), that is, every soul sees God individually, and *invariabiliter* (in an unchanging way), that is, once acquired, it will never change (meaning that it will never be lost). This latter aspect is addressed by the constitution in a detailed way: there will be no end to it or break within it. The reason for this last statement is that during the vision the pope describes the resurrection of the bodies will come at some point, then the reunification with their bodies, followed by the Last Judgment. The constitution stipulates importantly that the vision before and after the resurrection and the Judgment will be the same. This is not a trivial point, since the reward defined by the constitution is immediate, due to an immediate judgment after death, but between the individual death and the “end of times” there is the Last Judgment. The text implies that with respect to the vision this will *not* bring about a change.

As mentioned, the dogmatic constitution of Benedict XII in 1336 ended a debate on a “most idle question” (*quaestio supervacua*) that had been triggered by a sermon by his predecessor, Pope John XXII, on All Saints Day in 1331. The very successful, but then already elderly pope delivered a sermon in which he explained the three states of the saints. He said that before the coming of Christ the reward of the saints was the bosom of Abraham, and not heaven immediately. After His coming and His suffering on the cross and ascent to heaven

11. E.g., with Gerald Odonis; see A. MAIER, “Die Pariser Disputation des Geraldus Odonis über de Visio beatifica Dei”, in: *Ausgehendes Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols., Rome 1964-77, vol. III, pp. 319-372, at p. 337.

the reward for the saints will be to be received under the "altar" as described after the opening of the fifth seal in the Apocalypse:

And ... I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God [that is, Christ], and for the testimony which they held: And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.¹²

The assertion of the pope implied, to the horror of those present, that at present none of the saints, nor the angels, not even the Virgin Mary, see God face-to-face. It will only happen after the Judgment and the resurrection, although at that point they will be rewarded with this vision.

This text from the Apocalypse was not a haphazard choice of Pope John. It had been the key passage for the theology of eschatology throughout the Middle Ages, referred to and commented upon innumerable times. The pope, however, committed something very unusual. He interpreted the text according to a tradition that had been last applied about a century and a half before, and which had been the general understanding in both the Greek and Latin traditions. The sense of the text was taken to mean that the altar symbolizes the humanity of Christ, which is all a created being can see before the final revelation. The final revelation implies the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment, which is concomitant to the resurrection of the dead. The pope mentioned the opinion of Bernard of Clairvaux, who in the mid-twelfth century was still in the tradition of this interpretation. The pope followed Bernard, but Bernard said nothing substantially different from what was contained in the influential commentary of Andrew of Caesarea (early seventh century).¹³

12. APOC. 6.9-11. I shall use the King James version throughout since it fits relatively well the understanding of the scriptures in the period discussed.

13. ANDREW OF CAESAREA (Cappadocia), *In Apocalypsim*, ed. J. SCHMID, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes, 1. Text [und] Einleitung* (Münchener theologische Studien 1), Munich 1955, VI 17 section 6, 11 (= PG 106, cols. 269-272). The bosom of ABRAHAM: *ibid.* line 11-12 (= PG 106 col. 272B). The fairly large number of manuscripts of Andrew's commentary and the many translations show its influence throughout the period.

The reward of the saints before the coming of Christ was the bosom of Abraham. After the coming of Christ, and His sufferings and ascension into heaven, the reward of the saints is, and will be until Judgment Day, to be "under the altar", that is, under the protection and consolation of the humanity of Christ. However, after Christ will have arrived for judgment, they will be over the altar, that is, above the humanity of Christ, since after Judgment Day they will see... not only the humanity of Christ, but also His divinity, as it is in itself. They will see also the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit... Neither the demons nor the evil ones will go to eternal punishment, that is, to hell before the day of universal judgment.¹⁴

The third stage, that is, final beatitude (and damnation), will only happen after the Final Judgment at the end of times, according to Pope John. Until then not a single soul enters heaven or hell. Neither the saints presently enjoy eternal bliss, nor do the sinners yet suffer eternal damnation.

While the pope ran against the prevailing consensus of the theologians, he could certainly rely on authorities of the past. His main source was St Bernard, who in a sermon on the same occasion had indeed voiced the same opinion.¹⁵ Interestingly, 1) neither Bernard's nor the pope's sermon makes mention of Purgatory, 2) the view propounded implies a communitarian idea of the Judgment (the *communio sanctorum*, that is, the perfect society of the saints, an idea already present in Ambrose¹⁶), and 3) both allow for perfect vision of God in Itself — the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, that is, the Trinity — with bodily eyes after the resurrection.

The assertion of the pope was received with general consternation. As Thomas of Strasbourg said, the pope's novelties "caused agitation throughout the Christian world",¹⁷ and they even caused a "huge

14. For the Latin, see JOHN XXII, *Sermo in die omnium sanctorum*, in: M. DYKMANS, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique*, Rome 1973, pp. 94-95.

15. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Sermo de Festo Omnium Sanctorum* IV. *S. Bernardi Opera* ed. J. LECLERQ and H. ROCHAS, Rome 1957-1972, vol. V, pp. 354sq. See B. DE VREGILLE, "L'attente des saints d'après saint Bernard", in: *Nouvelle revue théologique* 70 (1948), pp. 225-244.

16. See VREGILLE, "L'attente des saints d'après saint Bernard", for references.

17. For the Latin, see THOMAS OF STRASBOURG, *In IV Sent.*, d. 49, q. 3, quoted by A. MAIER, "Schriften, Daten und Personen aus dem Visio-Streit unter Johann XXII", in: EADEM, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter*, vol. III, pp. 543-590, at pp. 543 and 585 (for the ms. used).

uproar" among the theological faculty.¹⁸ The pope was alternatively called ignorant in theological matters or a heretic (by William of Ockham, for instance). All influential theologians of the papal court and beyond, including Armand of Belvézer, Durand of Saint-Pourçain, Jacques Fournier, and Ulrich of Strasbourg, firmly rejected the views of the pope, sometimes in rather strong words. The reaction against the pope's "novelties" went so far that the king of France convened 29 masters of theology in Paris, then the center of Latin theology, to investigate the issue. The committee was headed by the Dominican Pierre de la Palu (ca. 1280-1342) and met at the king's residence at Vincennes.¹⁹ The king asked the commission to decide on two issues: First, whether the souls of the saints in heaven see God face-to-face before the Last Judgment. Second, whether the vision they have now will be replaced by another, subsequent vision after the judgment. In their answer the masters declared that concerning the first question, the blessed saints in heaven have a pure, clear, beatific, intuitive, and immediate vision of the divine essence and of the Trinity. Second, their vision will not be replaced by another one, and it is now the same as that which they are going to have after the judgment. The masters formulated their view significantly that the saints are "now seeing what they had believed in, and holding tight to what they had hoped for, not in hope, but in reality being blessed", that is, "what they had believed, they see now, what they had desired, they have now, being blessed not in expectation but in actual reality".²⁰

This unanimous judgment makes one wonder how much theological opinions must have changed since the time of Bernard. But then it remains a mystery for scholarship how the pope could not assess the situation, that is, how could he not know that his views were so much out of tune with his contemporary academic theological guild? His proposal seems all the more surprising since John must have suspected that this was going to be the case. In fact, John XXII proposed a theological idea that he himself had condemned in 1318, when he sent to the king of Armenia the declaration of faith by Emperor Michael Palaeologos from the Second Council of Lyons in 1274:

18. MAIER, "Die Pariser Disputation", pp. 323-324.

19. MAIER, "Die Pariser Disputation", p. 324.

20. "...jam quod crediderunt videntes, quod speraverunt tenentes, non in spe, sed in re sunt beatae"; cf. TROTTMANN, *La vision béatifique*, pp. 714-743.

[I believe] that if true penitents die in love... their souls will be purged by purgative sufferings after death... and the souls of those who... incurred no blemish at all... will be received promptly in heaven... and who died in mortal sin... will promptly descend to hell....²¹

This declaration about the immediate reward is in clear contradiction to his later views. Again, it is known that the papal court had received reports about the “error” and “heresy” of some Greek Cypriots, who believed that the souls of the dead are neither in heaven nor in hell, but in a certain place, implying that neither the good nor the evil enter their respective final state of bliss or damnation until the final day of judgment:

... certain Greeks, who reside in the kingdom [of Cyprus] as the majority population, deny Purgatory and Hell, asserting falsely and thoughtlessly that none of the saints is in Paradise until the Last Judgment, but that in between they lie in a certain place, and they stubbornly assert the same about the evil sinners, too.²²

The “error” attributed to these Greek Cypriots²³ was only surprising from the Latin point of view, since it had been and still is the Greek eschatological position, a fact that has certain important implications, as we shall see. A historically interesting point is that the view advocated by John XXII was (and still is) — except on the issue of the essential vision — the standard view in the Greek Church as well.²⁴

21. *Professio fidei Michaelis Paleologi imperatoris*, in various editions of DENZINGER, *Enchiridion symbolorum*.

22. *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317-1334)*, Vatican City 1952, pp. 176-177 (quoted from an earlier edition by F. LAKNER, “Zur Eschatologie bei Johannes XXII”, in: *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 72 (1950), p. 329, n.17). See in addition the translation in DUBA, “The Afterlife in Medieval Frankish Cyprus”, pp. 173-174, who also points out the irony of John’s letter in light of the later controversy.

23. The classification of the Greek view as “heresy” was heralded by a letter attributed to (pseudo-)Cyril of Jerusalem, sent putatively to Augustine on the miracles of St Jerome, probably forged in the thirteenth century: PL 22, cols. 289-325 (and PL 33, cols. 1126-1153). “... quaedam haeresis inter Graecos, id est, secta surrexit, quae ad Latinos usque devenit (!): quae suis nefandis nitebatur rationibus probare, quod animae Beatorum usque ad universalis iudicii diem, in quo eorum corporibus erant iterum coniungendae, visione et cognitione divina, in qua tota consistit beatitudo Sanctorum, privabuntur: et damnatorum animae similiter usque ad diem illum, nullis cruciabuntur poenis”.

24. Αἱ ψυχαὶ μετὰ θάνατον μεταβαίνουν εἰς τινὰ κατάστασιν ἣτις ὀνομάζεται μέση κατάσταση καὶ θέλει διαρκέσει μέχρι τῆς κρίσεως κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν. Η ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΕΚΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΙΣ, Thessaloniki 1899 (repr. 1984), 64-65. NECTARIUS refers to the 18th clause of the creed of the 1672 Jerusalem

While knowledge about Greek theological positions apart from the fundamental issues of the *Filioque* and the *azyma* and a few minor topics was not widespread among Latin scholastics, the charge that the pope was following the heresies of the Greeks was indeed brought up by the Dominican Thomas Waleys during his process in Avignon, by King Robert the Wise of Naples, and certain other theologians who were also aware of this similarity²⁵ — a similarity indeed, except for the difference in the “essential vision”, which was indicated above.

There is no room here to go into the history of the “*visio*” problem in greater detail, but since the main authority for John XXII was Bernard of Clairvaux (and, ultimately, as Ernst Lewalter has pointed out in a magisterial article, Augustine’s eschatology²⁶), to the modern eye the contemporary charge of “innovation” against the pope applies the other way round.²⁷

What happened to the earlier theories? The steps are difficult to identify. I would like to mention two of them. The first was the clear institutional turning point, when the views of John Chrysostom were condemned in Paris in 1241 (without mentioning his name). His views had been available in Latin via the then relatively recent translation of his homilies on the Gospel of John by Burgundio of Pisa, finished between 1171 and 1173.²⁸ In his fifteenth

council: Πιστεύομεν τὰς τῶν κεκοιμημένων ψυχὰς εἶναι ἢ ἐν ἀνέσει ἢ ἐν ὁδῶν καὶ ὅτι ἕκαστος ἐπραξεν χωρισμένως γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων παραυτίκα ἢ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην ἢ πρὸς λύπην καὶ στεναγμὸν ἐκδημεῖν ὁμολογουμένης μέντοι μήτε τῆς ἀπολαύσεως μήτε τῆς κατακρίσεως τελείας. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάστασιν ὅτε ἡ ψυχὴ ἐνωθεῖ τῷ σώματι μεθ’ οὗ καλῶς ἢ πονηρῶς ἐπολιτεύσατο ἀπολήψεται ἕκαστος τὸ τέλειον ἢ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ἢ τῆς κατακρίσεως δηλονότι. For the text see I. KARMIRIS, *Dogmatica et Symbolica monumenta orthodoxae catholicae ecclesiae*, 2nd ed. Graz 1968, pp. 764-765. For the development of the Greek tradition of eschatological ideas see J.-C. LARCHET, *La vie après la mort selon la tradition orthodoxe*, Paris 2001.

25. See DYKMANS, “De Jean XXII au concile de Florence”.

26. E. LEWALTER, “Thomas von Aquino und die Bulle ‘Benedictus Deus’ von 1336”, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 54 (1935), pp. 399-461. For the larger context see also his “Eschatologie und Weltgeschichte in der Gedankenwelt Augustins”, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 53 (1934), pp. 1-51. See also VREGILLE, “L’attente des saints d’après saint Bernard”, on the history of the beatific vision until Bernard, and F.-M. CONTENTSON, “Hugue de Saint-Cher et la condamnation de 1241”, in: *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 22 (1955), pp. 72-78, on the changes in the early twelfth century.

27. Cf. A. MAIER, “Die Pariser Disputation”, pp. 355 and 366.

28. H.-F. DONDAINE, “L’objet et le médium de la vision béatifique chez les théologiens du XIII^e siècle” in: *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 19 (1952), pp. 60-130, at p. 101.

homily Chrysostom comments on John 1.18: "No one has seen God at any time. The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He has declared Him". In the light of many apparently contradicting biblical instances of visions of God, Chrysostom sets out to investigate the meaning of the phrase "to see God". John concludes unequivocally that no created intellect can ever see the essence of God, including the angels, even the archangels. This vision of the divine essence is uniquely possible only for the Son and the Holy Spirit. One could say that the divine transcendence is absolute for Chrysostom, while precisely this is the conceptual means by which the condescension (the *σγκατάβασις*) of the divine in the Son can be exalted.²⁹ It is precisely the divine unknowability and unapproachability that gives the greatest possible emphasis to the mystery of the Incarnation.

Chrysostom's views were not well received by certain great authorities in the Latin Church. The first consistent and detailed criticism (again without mentioning him) of his assertions can be found in the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great. Gregory, who could have learned about his views during his stay in Constantinople (either directly or second hand), in the following criticism clearly challenges the views represented by Chrysostom on the impossibility of the vision of the divine essence by the angels. Gregory admits that this is impossible in the earthly (bodily) life, while the vision of the divine essence must not be impossible in heaven, in order to rule out the frustration of the angelic intellects (an argument that is going to be extended by Aquinas to the human soul as well³⁰). According to Gregory, the vision of the angels is of the divine essence, and thereby it is assumed for human souls, too.

But if it is so, that by some while still living in this corruptible flesh, yet growing in incalculable power by a certain piercingness of contemplation, the eternal brightness is able to be seen, ... For no one has seen Her, who still lives in a carnal way, because no man can embrace God

29. Δηλών ὅτι πάντα ἐκεῖνα σγκαταβάσεως ἦν, οὐκ αὐτῆς τῆς οὐσίας γυμνῆς ὅψις. Εἰ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἑώρων τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἂν διαφόρως αὐτὴν θεάσασατο. BURGUNDIO's translation: "Ostendens quoniam illa condescensionis erat non ipsius substantie nude visio. Si enim ipsam vidissent naturam, nequaquam differenter eam considerassent". The Greek text: JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homiliae in Joannem* 15, PG 59, col. 97. For BURGUNDIO's translation see DONDAINE, "L'object et le médium", p. 101.

30. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I, q. 12, a.1, c.

and the world at one and the same time... For there shall no man see me, and live... [Ex. 33.20] As though it were plainly expressed, "No man ever at any time sees God spiritually and lives to the world carnally"... But we are to know that there were some persons, who said that even in that region of blessedness God is beheld indeed in His Brightness, but far from beheld in His Nature. Which persons surely too little exactness of enquiry deceived. For not to that simple and unchangeable essence is brightness one thing, and nature another; but its very nature is to it brightness, and the very brightness is nature. ... here are some who imagine that even the angels never see God; and yet we know that it is spoken by a sentence of truth, in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my father, which is in heaven. [Mt. 18.10] Does, then, truth sound one thing and the preacher of truth another? But if both sentences be compared together, it is ascertained, that they are not at all at variance with one another. For the angels at once see and desire to see God, and thirst to behold and do behold. For if they so desire to see Him that they never at all enjoy the carrying out of their desire, desire has anxiety without fruit, and anxiety has punishment... Therefore we shall see God, and it shall be the very reward of our labour, that after the darkness of this mortal state we should be made glad by His light being approached unto.³¹

In this text Gregory does one more thing as well, in which he can be considered an authoritative source of later Latin developments: he identifies the *essence* (*essentia*) of God with his *nature* (*natura*). The Latin terminology is confusing from a later perspective, but what Gregory asserts is that the divine light, being identical to essence and nature, cannot be a transitive activity of the divine essence, but remains within it, so to say, in perfect unity (*simplex et incommutabilis*).

Gregory's views did not become dominant until the early thirteenth century. Achard de Saint-Victor around 1150 could still preach a version of Chrysostom's theology. He says that the saints will be with Christ, and the resurrection will imply the assumption of a glorified body, and this will result not just in a quantitative, but a qualitative difference in beatitude (to use the language of the later debate):

The fourteenth [type of transfiguration] will happen with the souls of the saints. Although the souls of the saints already rejoice with Christ

31. GREGORY THE GREAT, *Moralia in Job* XVIII, 54, 89-90, ed. M. ADRIAEN (CCSL 143A), Turnhout 1979, pp. 952-953. Translation from J.H. PARKER and J.G.F. and J. RIVINGTON, Oxford-London 1844, <http://www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoraliaIndex.html>, accessed 4/2/2010 (emphasis mine).

in heaven, when they will take up their bodies again, transformed as the so glorious and radiating body of Christ, they will rejoice incomparably more. Then will they have complete, perfect, and consummate joy.³²

It is interesting to compare Achard's view to the decision of the first Hesychast council in Constantinople in 1341, according to which after the resurrection the saints will be with Christ and enjoy the divine light radiating from Christ, which is above all created nature, implying the vision of the uncreated light.³³

Following the developments would take much too long here. Suffice it to say that Chrysostom's views (or the view advocated by him and, e.g., John the Damascene) were directly rejected by the condemnation in Paris in 1241. This condemnation testified to a new consensus on eschatology:

That the divine essence in itself will not be seen either by a human or by an angel. We reject this error, and those who state or defend it we excommunicate on the authority of Bishop Guillaume. We, on the contrary, firmly believe and assert that God will be seen in His essence or substance by the angels and the glorified souls.³⁴

Guillaume d'Auxerre himself stressed around 1222-25 the "stupidity" (an adjective authorised probably by Gregory) of those who deny the immediate and essential vision of the saints. "The elect who have been perfectly cleansed from sin... immediately escape to paradise; although certain stupid persons believed and preached that until Judgment Day the souls of the elect will not enter the heavenly paradise; but this is heretical".³⁵

32. ACHARD DE SAINT-VICTOR (ca. 1150), *Sermons inédits*, 12.8, ed. J. CHATILLON, Paris 1920, p. 129.

33. οὕτως ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ μέλλοντι πάντοτε σὺν Κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα Χριστὸν ὁρῶντες τῷ φωτὶ ἀστράπτοντα τῆς θεότητος. τοῦτο τὸ φῶς κατὰ πάσης φύσεως ἔχει τὰ νικητήρια, edd. H. HUNGER, O. KRESTEN, E. KISLINGER and C. CUPANE, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, vol. 2 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 19/2), Vienna 1995, document 132, 173-175 (cf. Συνοδικὸς τόμος no. 17. in: KARMIRIS, *Dogmatica et Symbolica monumenta*, p. 358).

34. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. DENIFLE and H. CHÂTELAIN, vol. I, Paris 1889, no. 128 (Condemnation of 1241), pp. 170-172.

35. "Postquam electi perfecte purgati sunt, statim evolant in paradysum, licet aliqui stulti crediderunt et predicaverunt quod usque in diem iudicii non intrabunt electorum anime in paradysum celestem. Sed illud hereticum est"; GUILLAUME D'AUXERRE, *Summa aurea*, IV, 18, 4, 1, Paris 1488 (repr. Frankfurt 1964), f. 48vb; ed. J. RIBAILLIER, Paris / Rome 1985, p. 549, 59-62.

The standard view of the leading theologians of the period changed unanimously to the view that the departed souls of the saints see the divine essence in a clear, intuitive, and beatific way even before the resumption of their body and, secondly, that this vision is the same both in kind and in number with the vision that they will have after the resumption of their bodies.³⁶ This opinion was formulated by the masters convened in Vincennes and then repeated approvingly by Nicholas of Lyra.³⁷

The situation, then, at the beginning of the Latin controversy reached a stage that was summarised by Cardinal Jacques Fournier (the future Pope Benedict XII). In his great treatise on the subject, he listed three opinions concerning the state of the blessed. According to the first view, the souls of the saints reside in great light and respite, but they do not delight in the face-to-face vision of the divine essence. They are under the altar in heaven until the Last Judgment, which means that they can see the humanity of Christ, and will participate in the beatific vision of God only after the resumption of their bodies at the resurrection. The second view would be that the souls of the deceased see the essence of God face-to-face and participate in the beatific vision, but some say that after the resurrection they will see the essence of God more clearly and more intensively, and their vision will experience a great increase. The third opinion is that the vision the saints already have (before the Last Judgment) is equally perfect and equally beatific as the vision which will be experienced after the Last Judgment.³⁸ The first opinion was ruled out by the 1241 condemnation, and as can be seen from the evidence, even the second view had had only very weak support. Therefore there is little wonder that the third view prevailed, especially after the unanimous vote of the Paris masters. This strong view indicates a significant shift in the Latin tradition.³⁹

36. "Quod anime sanctorum ante resurrectionem corporum vident divinam essentiam clare intuitive et beatifice, ... <et> quod eadem specie et numero est hec visio cum illa quam habebunt corporibus resumptis"; quoted by MAIER, "Schriften, Daten und Personen", p. 566.

37. MAIER, "Schriften, Daten und Personen", p. 567.

38. MAIER, "Die Pariser Disputation", pp. 321-322.

39. The theological change interestingly seems to have been concomitant to a change in ecclesiastical art. One can but wonder about a connection with the disappearance of the figure of Abraham with the towel in his hands (the bosom of Abraham) from the Western portals of the great churches towards the end of the 12th century. See the otherwise very unsatisfactory J. BASCHET, *Le sein du père. Abraham et la paternité dans*

For the attentive reader the later version of Latin eschatology seems to yield some curious consequences. First and foremost it has implications for the significance of the bodily resurrection. If the soul can enjoy complete bliss in heaven without the body, what is the bodily resurrection for? Secondly, if the judgment has been passed already, what sort of function does the Last Judgment have, apart from rolling up the curtain of the heavens and turning off the lights of the firmament, so to say? Again, if the subject enjoying the bliss is the soul, does it not imply that the human person will be identical to its soul only?

The Greek Hesychast Controversy

Let me now turn to the other major theological controversy of the fourteenth century, running nearly parallel in Byzantium, the so-called Hesychast controversy. This dispute, summarized now in a succinct form, began almost immediately after the Latin debate. The first council was held in 1341, only five years after the bull *Benedictus Deus*, continued in 1347, and came to an end in 1351.

The controversy apparently began with a dispute over the issue of the *Filioque* between Barlaam, a Greek theologian and monk from Calabria, and Gregory Palamas. The disagreement soon turned into a debate on theological epistemology, that is, on the knowability of God. Barlaam adopted the stance of a strictly negative theology, which was opposed by Gregory with the theology of the distinction between the transcendent divine essence (οὐσία) and the immanent divine activities or energies (ἐνέργειαι).⁴⁰ Then the debate took a new turn towards Gregory's theology of the Light of Tabor and the concomitant issue of the prayer practice of the "hesychast" monks (exercising stillness of the heart with the help of a special prayer technique). Here I will leave aside the issue of the novelty or traditionality of the hesychast movement⁴¹ and concentrate on the dogmatic decisions instead. These

l'Occident médiévale. Le temps des images, Paris 2000. Apart from establishing the facts, Baschet can make no sense out of the changes in the theological background.

40. R. SINKEWICZ, "A New Interpretation for the First Episode in the Controversy between Barlaam the Calabrian and Gregory Palamas", in: *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1981), pp. 489-500.

41. For a thoroughly learned and provocative view see D. KRAUSMÜLLER, "The Rise of Hesychasm" in: *Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 101-126.

dogmatic issues were no less complex and no less arcane than those in the Latin Church.

Since the formulae of the three councils are rather long and very far from the dry, legalistic, but succinct language of the Latin constitution of Benedict XII,⁴² the arguments must be excessively reduced. Basically the points explicitly addressed in the debate were two: first, the distinction between God's transcendent essence (οὐσία) and God's active presence in the created world, called energy (ἐνέργεια), and second, the nature of the vision of the divine light with bodily eyes, especially the "Light of Tabor" seen by the apostles at the Transfiguration.

In a summary fashion the τόμοι of the three councils declared that 1) the divine essence is totally unknowable (ἀπερινόητον παντελῶς), unnameable, imparticipable, and totally simple (indivisible), 2) God is present with His *uncreated* (ἀκτιστός) grace within the world, which is perceivable by a cleansed soul, it is nameable, and the participation in it renders the *divinisation* (θέωσις) of the human person possible, 3) this energy or active presence of God is both different from in some sense and fundamentally identical to God at the same time, and 4) the Light of the Transfiguration (the "Light of Tabor"⁴³) is the uncreated light showing the true divinity of Christ, a foremost example of the energy manifesting itself to the senses (of the apostles).⁴⁴

The connection between the debates on the beatific vision and on the theology of Palamas (or of the hesychasts) is clear. Both concern the vision of God and thereby the ultimate possibilities of the human person in this life and in the next. Benedict XII opted for the position that there is no vision of God possible in this life (*in via*, or during the earthly pilgrimage, *in statu viatoris*), but there is an essential vision immediately possible for the soul after its departure from the body (in the heavenly fatherland, *in patria*). The Greek decisions, however, went against an essential vision even after the Last Judgment, while it allows for a vision possible in this life with the help of the uncreated

42. The decisions of the councils of 1341 and 1347 were published by HUNGER, KRESTEN, KISLINGER and CUPANE, *Das Register*, documents 132 and 147 (cf. PG 151, cols. 679A-692B and cols. 1273-1284). The text of the council of 1351 can be found in PG 151, cols. 717-764, and KARMIRIS, *Dogmatica et symbolica monumenta*, pp. 310-342.

43. Mt. 17.1-6; Lk. 9.28-36; Mc. 9.2-8.

44. Based on the summary of KARMIRIS, *Dogmatica et symbolica monumenta*, p. 352.

grace of God, which is in a certain sense identical to God. The "certain sense" is that which is expressed by the term "energy".

For those brought up in the Latin tradition (to which all sorts of philosophical ideas, like that of theism, are heirs), the theology of Palamas seems to be extremely strange, even repugnant. What about these "energies"? What sort of thing would they be, both different from divine essence and still being God in some unexplainable way? As many philosophical and theological arguments marshalled against this view by Latin theologians demonstrate, the idea is truly quite counter-intuitive.

However, Palamas has a rather consistent logic of his own. His reasoning may seem strange to ears used to the Latin tradition, but one should bear in mind that the Latin presuppositions are historical developments as well, and considering the predecessors of the theology of energies, Palamas does not seem to be such an innovator after all.

As one can see immediately, a difference emerges concerning the simplicity of God. The hesychast councils acknowledge the absolute simplicity (indivisibility) of God, but only as far as the divine essence goes. They do stress, however, that this simplicity does not exclude, in fact the whole history of salvation requires, God's not being totally separated from the world; rather He is present within the world He created. The supreme example of this reality of divine presence is the Incarnation. In the 136th of his 150 chapters Palamas points to the principle of his theological vision: "If the essence does not possess an *energeia* distinct from itself, it will be completely without actual subsistence and will be only a concept on the mind".⁴⁵

For Palamas a God separated by a total transcendence would mean nothing more than a totally abstract deity, who would not be approachable by the mind or the intellect. This God would be secluded, a hidden God, *Deus absconditus*, or unknown, *ignotus*, while Christian doctrine is precisely about a self-revealing God, who went so far in His love for humanity that the Divine Word ultimately assumed human flesh, a total human life. Therefore, for Palamas, neither a totally transcendent, hidden God, nor a totally immanent

45. ἡ οὐσία εἰ μὴ ἐνέργειαν ἔχει διαφέρουσιν ἑαυτῆς, ἀνυπόστατος ἔσται τελέως καὶ διανοίας μόνον θεώρημα: 150 Chapters, c. 136. in: SAINT GREGORY PALAMAS, *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. and trans. R.E. SINKEWICZ, Toronto 1988, p. 242.

God would do in principle, but only a God who is both transcendent *and* immanent. The God of the Bible cannot be totally absent from the ordinary world of humanity, while at the same time the Trinity remains an absolutely unapproachable mystery. Palamas could have argued that the vision of the Latins, since it can never occur in this life, but is reserved for disembodied *souls* lifted up to heaven, is not a vision of human *persons*. That would not do, since from earliest times the Christian tradition — speaking here about the Great Church — maintained that humans belong to the earth and not to heaven. Even the Heavenly Jerusalem, the City of God, will *descend* to earth, as the Second Coming of Christ is said by St Paul to happen on earth, too.⁴⁶ Palamas insists strongly that the human person is not identical to its soul, just as Aquinas — and many other scholastics — clearly stated.⁴⁷ Therefore the vision of the divine energies, the uncreated grace of divine presence, should be in principle approachable in this life, too, while the absolute transcendence is simultaneously maintained for the essence of the Trinity.

It cannot be expanded on here, but a further difference between Greek and Latin eschatology is that while the Latin is individualistic (since the soul goes to judgment immediately after death), the Greek tradition is communitarian (since the Last Judgment comes at the fulfilment of the number of the saints, the *communio sanctorum*, and there is no judgment before).

Differing Presuppositions

After this comparison, or rather juxtaposition, of the dogmatic outcomes of the two debates in the mid-fourteenth century, it is time to reflect on the possible subtext of the difference. This is not the place to present a detailed justification of my suggestions, let alone to go into the details of the historical developments of the latent divergent trends underlying the theological differences of the two major traditions. I will merely suggest a few points of departure (at the risk of

46. See e.g. 1Thess 4.16-7.

47. E.g., THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I, q. 75, a. 4. In the *sed contra* Aquinas quotes the approval of Augustine (*City of God* XIX), where he “commendat Varronem, qui hominem nec animam solam, nec solum corpus, sed animam simul et corpus esse arbitrabatur”.

being alarmingly superficial). These points, or rather tendencies, I suggest, are the following:

1. The Latin tradition is strongly monarchic. It has often been remarked that for the Latin tradition the oneness of God comes first and the Trinity afterwards, while for the Greek tradition it is the other way round, that is, the Trinity takes priority and the unity is secondary. Textually, however, this thesis is rarely proved. Here I would like to propose a comparison of some texts, which may demonstrate the grain of truth in the general statement. The first is taken from the *Third Theological Oration* (Or. 29) of Gregory of Nazianzen. This sequence of homilies was conceived in the context of neo-Arianism, especially against the Eunomians, who claimed that at least certain predicates can apply to God as directly as they do to created subjects. This series of homilies earned Gregory the sobriquet "the Theologian" and secured him an unchallenged place in Byzantine theology. Here Gregory lists the possible theological positions and looks at their relation to Christianity.

The opinions about deity which hold pride of place are three in number: anarchy, polyarchy, and monarchy. With the first two the children of Greece amused themselves, and may they continue to do so. Anarchy with its lack of a governing principle involves disorder. Polyarchy, with a plurality of such principles, involves faction and hence the absence of a governing principle, and this involves disorder again. Both lead to an identical result — lack of order, which, in turn leads to disintegration, disorder being the prelude to disintegration. For us, however, monarchy is the most valuable, but not a monarchy defined by a single person, for unity establishing plurality is self-discordant, but the single rule produced by equality of nature, harmony of will, identity of action, and the convergence towards their source of what springs from unity — none of which is possible in the case of created nature.⁴⁸

Gregory's main point is the rejection of both polyarchy, the worship of many deities who interfere with the events on earth, and monarchy

48. GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS, Or. 29, 2, edd. P. GALLAY and M. JOURJON, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 27-31: Discours théologiques. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (Sources chrétiennes, vol. 250), Paris 1978, p. 178. I have corrected the translation of WICKHAM and WILLIAMS in: F.W. NORRIS, *Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning. The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzen*, Leiden 1991, pp. 244-245. Norris' commentary is completely unaware of the portent of the chapter, as can be recognised from his nonchalance in accepting the WICKHAM-WILLIAMS paraphrase of anarchy as 'atheism' or monarchy and polyarchy as 'monotheism' and 'polytheism'. The translation-paraphrase in this way completely dulls the politico-theological aspect of the text.

in the strict sense (presumably thinking of the Jews, but he does not name them). A strict monarchy is inadmissible, since that which it would bring about would be so different from it, being a plurality, that their opposition would result in conflict. The only theology acceptable for the Christians is the theology of the Triune God, a Trinity in complete unity.

The subtle thought of Gregory was not followed in every respect in the Latin tradition. To find an author of great authority and unquestionable orthodoxy we could turn to Thomas Aquinas. What we find in him, however, is precisely the opinion against which Gregory argued. For Aquinas uses the metaphysical argument, common for Aristotle, Plotinus, and all the Hellenistic monarchic theologians, which is built on the idea of analogy:

We must of necessity say that the world is governed by one. For since the end of the government of the world is that which is essentially good, which is the greatest good, the government of the world must be the best kind of government. Now the best government is the government by one. The reason of this is that government is nothing but the directing of the things governed to the end, which consists in some good. But unity belongs to the idea of goodness [...] as all things desire good, so do they desire unity [...]. Therefore the intention of a ruler over a multitude is unity, or peace. [...] it is clear that several cannot be the cause of unity or concord, except so far as they are united. Furthermore, what is one in itself is a more apt and a better cause of unity than several things united. Therefore a multitude is better governed by one than by several. From this it follows that the government of the world, being the best form of government, must be by one. This is expressed by the Philosopher: "Things refuse to be ill governed; and multiplicity of authorities is a bad thing, therefore there should be one ruler".⁴⁹

The consequences of a strict monarchianism is the possible analogy between the order of the created world and the order of the divine realm, and precisely this analogy is excluded by the strong divine transcendence — a transcendence that overcomes the unbridgeable gap by His own initiative.

To make the point more clear, one could quote another place where Gregory returns to the issue of monarchy and rejects it.

49. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I, q. 103, a. 3, c. (cf. *Summa contra Gentiles* I, c. 42, n. 7); translation by the English Dominican Province: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1103.htm>. The analogical principle was analysed wonderfully by E. PETERSON, *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem*, in: IDEM, *Theologische Traktate*, ed. B. NICHTWEISS, Würzburg 1994.

Correcting another fellow Nicaean orthodox, who would, however, sacrifice the notion of “homousios” (of one substance), since it would imply the possibility of enumeration, he answers ironically that conceding the “homousios” to the theologians of Arian or monarchic leanings would be equivalent to escaping the fear of death by hanging ourselves. “In order to avoid the struggle, by embracing monarchy, you betray the godhead”.⁵⁰ Certainly no one of sound mind would charge Aquinas with Arianism. It is telling, however, that Aquinas does not see the problem with Aristotle’s argument, namely that the primacy of the Trinity must take precedence in order to avoid even the shadow of an “emanationist” Trinity.

2. Latent dyophysitism.⁵¹ Dyophysitism in the ancient Christological controversies meant the assumption of two separate natures in the one person of Jesus Christ. The dyophysites did admit the personal unity of the two natures, which are contradictory in their properties (that is, created/uncreated; temporal/atemporal; limited/unlimited, etc.), but the divine and the human nature live “side by side”, so to say, and not, as the Cyrillian formula wanted it, as a single

50. τίς γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος; τὰ ὁμοούσια συναριθμεῖται φῆς· συναρίθμησιν λέγων τὴν εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἓνα συναίρεσιν· οὐ συναριθμεῖται δὲ τὰ μὴ ὁμοούσια· ὥστε ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐ φεύξεσθε τὸ λέγειν τρεῖς θεοὺς κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον· ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς κίνδυνος· οὐ γὰρ ὁμοούσια λέγομεν. σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπῆλλαξας σεαυτὸν πραγμάτων μιᾷ φωνῇ, καὶ τὴν κακὴν νίκην νενίκησας· ὅμοιον τι ποιήσας τοῖς διὰ θανάτου φόβον ἀπαγχομένοις. ἵνα γὰρ μὴ κάμῃς τῇ μοναρχίᾳ συνιστάμενος, ἡρνήσω θεότητα καὶ προδέδωκας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὸ ζητούμενον. GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSUS, Or. 31 (= Or. theol. V), 17, 3-12, edd. P. GALLAY and M. JOURJON, Paris 1978, p. 308. My translation. Williams misses the point (see n. 48). The mistranslation of this passage has a remarkable history. The first standard translation of the *Orations* was prepared by the Benedictine Abbot Jacobus Billius (Jacques de Billy, 1535-1581), *Opera omnia S. Gregorii Nazianzeni latine*, Paris 1569 and 1583. The adoption of this translation into the then most advanced, bilingual Maurinian edition of Gregory’s work (1778) resulted in influencing the history of the reception of the text in a fateful way, since it made it into the phenomenally successful *Patrologia Graeca* series (1857-66) of Abbé Migne. Later the Jesuit H. Hurter also published Billius’ translation in the stereotyped *Bibliotheca SS. Patrum* Latin series (1875). The recent English translation of F. Williams and also the commentary of F.W. Norris misunderstand the Greek precisely where the Latin translation of Billius did; see: NORRIS, *Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning*, pp. 244-245.

51. The debate on the “Nestorianism” of a number of Latin theologians has been discussed recently, for example in the case of Anselm of Canterbury: S. RODGER, “The Soteriology of Anselm of Canterbury, an Orthodox Perspective”, in: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 34 (1989), pp. 19-43. O.J. HERBEL, “Anselm the neo-Nestorian? Responding to the Accusation in Light of *On the Incarnation of the Word*”, in: *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 52 (2008), pp. 173-197.

incarnate Logos. I have no intention to enter here this highly complicated theological discussion. What I would like to point out is the approach to the difference between the created and the uncreated realms. There is no similarity possible between the divine and the human, or the uncreated and the created; so far the parties agree. But how should one understand the *presence of the divine in the human* or the *uncreated in the created realm*? The positions begin to differ in the answers to this question. To make a long story short, the Latin approach seems to retain a kind of divide between the two realms. The human soul cannot see God in this life at all. The "imitatio Christi" becomes an imitation of the human side of Christ, that is, of His suffering. The anthropological idea of being created in the "image and likeness" does not entitle humanity to any approach to God — even if God Himself would open the way. (This might be one of the reasons why Palamas assigns such an important role to the investigation of the "image", e.g., in his *150 Chapters*.⁵²)

A clear sign of this sharp and rigid separation of "this life" (*in via*) from "the heavenly fatherland" (*in patria*) in the Latin tradition can be seen, for example, in the interpretation of the Light of the Transfiguration, which was of such great importance in the hesychast debate. Aquinas, for instance, interpreted it as a reflection of the future glory of Christ.⁵³ What the apostles saw *could not be* the uncreated light of the future glory, since Christ was still in His *human* form. For a strict observant of the division between creator and creation, this state would preclude the possibility of the uncreated presence.

During the Latin debate it was a stock argument that the soul, by its separation from the body, itself becomes capable of seeing God, since as long as it was connected to the perishable body it could not reach it.⁵⁴ This argument clearly shows unquestioned metaphysical

52. GREGORY PALAMAS, *150 Chapters*, cc. 34-40, ed. SINKIEWICZ, pp. 116-128.

53. "illa claritas dicitur imaginaria fuisse, non quin esset vera claritas gloriae, sed quia erat quaedam imago repraesentans illam gloriae perfectionem secundum quam corpus erit gloriosum. ... claritas quae erat in corpore Christi repraesentabat futuram claritatem corporis eius, ita claritas vestimentorum eius designat futuram claritatem sanctorum, quae superabitur a claritate Christi, sicut candor nivis superatur a candore solis"; THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* III, q. 45, a. 2, ad 2 et ad 3.

54. "... ex hoc quod anima separatur a corpore sit capax visionis divinae ad quam dum esset coniuncta corruptibili corpori pervenire non poterat..."; quoted by MAIER, "Die Pariser Disputation", p. 362.

dualism for the participants of the debate, a position that would have been unimaginable for Palamas, who strictly maintained the unity of the human person together with his body and allowed for a bodily vision.

An additional hint of this "latent dyophysitism" can be detected in a text on the *azyma* controversy. The issue is well known. What I would like to point out is the analysis of the problem by Thomas Aquinas, or rather his justification for the different types of bread used in the great Christian traditions. Aquinas takes a very tolerant stand on the issue. He says in a question of the *Summa theologiae* (written around 1273, shortly before the Second Council of Lyons, which he was supposed to attend), referring to the (pseudo) authority of Gregory again that both the use of leavened and of unleavened bread are equally justified in the respective Churches. The issue itself is less important than his justification for the difference. "The Roman Church offers unleavened bread, *because our Lord took flesh without union of sexes*: but the other [including Greek] Churches offer leavened bread, *because the Word of the Father was clothed with flesh*, as leaven is mixed with the flour".⁵⁵ Aquinas' argument has nothing principally wrong in it. However, he openly articulates a difference of theological attitudes. He is apparently aware of the fact that the Latin tradition emphasises the humanity of Christ, while the Greek focuses on the divinity.

3. The role of the academic theological guild. An additional issue that may have contributed to the different stance of the Latins in the eschatological controversy could be identified in the different role of the "Theologenschaft" and the change of theological language. By the time of the beatific vision debate, the West had developed a language of its own. Indeed, there was a problem of theological method, but probably in a different way than Martin Jugie or Gerhard Podskalsky would interpret it.⁵⁶ Humbert of Romans (c. 1200-1277), the fifth Master General of the Dominican Order, in his treatise on the causes of the schism, mentions as the third cause of the schism:

...the ignorance of the Greeks. Science and studies have for the most part disappeared in their realm, and therefore they cannot understand

55. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* III, q. 74, a. 4, c. (emphasis mine). On the *azyma* issue, the pseudo-Gregory, and Aquinas, see SCHABEL's paper in this volume.

56. The best modern example is G. PODSKALSKY's otherwise extremely learned book *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, Munich 1977. See also M. JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium ab ecclesia Catholica dissidentium*, Paris 1926-1935.

what is told to them in terms of arguments, but they insist on certain councils and on traditions which were bequeathed to them by their predecessors, behaving like certain heretical idiots, for whom reasons don't matter.⁵⁷

What Humbert is frustrated about is certainly the lack of a theological culture comparable to that of the Latins, which in the case of this eminent Dominican must be the "modern" argumentative culture of the Latin universities. The charge against the Greeks that their analytic skills are defective has been repeated countless times, up until recent scholarship. The methodological issue came up in the early phase of the Hesychast controversy as well, between Barlaam and Palamas. And indeed, if one compares the short bull of Benedict XII to the long lists of patristic authorities of the Byzantine councils the difference becomes obvious.

This argument, however, can be interpreted differently. In another sense it would call attention to a difference in the sociology of knowledge. We cannot discuss here the rarely studied problem of how much Greek patristics was known and readily available in the West. We have seen above that the most important texts of Gregory of Nazianzen, for example, were not available in the West until the mid-sixteenth century. Of course, the Latin developments were largely unknown in the East, too (apart from a few cases). In addition, one should pay attention to the remark of John XXII about the contemporary theologians. He blames them for either not reading patristic authorities or not even bothering about them.⁵⁸

57. "Tertium est inscientia Graecorum. Perit enim apud eos pro magna parte scientia cum studio, et ideo non intelligunt quae dicuntur eis per rationes, sed adhaerent semper quibusdam conciliis, et quibusdam quae tradita sunt eis a praedecessoribus suis, sicut faciunt quidam haeretici idiotae, ad quos ratio nihil valet"; *Opus tripartitum*, pars 2, c. 11, ed. E. BROWN, in: *Appendix ad Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum & Fugiendarum*, Londini 1690, p. 216; K. MICHEL, *Das Opus tripartitum des Humbertus de Romanis, O.P.: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kreuzzugs-idee und der kirchlichen Unionsbewegungen*, Graz 1926, pp. 61-62.

58. "Postquam fuimus in statu isto, studuimus singulariter originalia sanctorum, et attendimus questiones quas faciunt in ista materia, et frequenter in sermonibus fecimus mentionem. Et maxime fuit utile, quia alii vel non habent originalia, vel non curant studere in illis. Sunt enim hodie studentes et alii applicati quibusdam scriptis et illa habent pro evangelis et epistolis, et amplius parum curant vel quaerunt. Et ideo quia nos studuimus in originalibus, ista proposuimus, ista inquirimus"; N. VALOIS, "Jacques Duèse, pape sous le nom de Jean XXII", in: *Histoire littéraire de la France* 34 (1914), pp. 391-630, at pp. 606-607.

Indeed, by the fourteenth century the authority of the patristic authors, especially the Greek Fathers, had seriously diminished. The days were over when Eriugena clearly had an extremely high respect for whatever was said by his Greek authorities.⁵⁹ It was rather the attitude of Richard of St Victor, who protested that “we are not Greeks”,⁶⁰ or that of Thomas Aquinas, who simply rejected the authority of John the Damascene.⁶¹ This attitude, however, was not confined to the Greek fathers. Durand of Saint-Pourçain plainly said that, “although the blessed Bernard was a man of great devotion both in his sermons and in his preaching, he was not a great authority in arguments”.⁶² Some scholastics, like Nicholas of Lyra, who did not like the idea of sidelining such a towering theologian, suggested instead that the text that John XXII referred to was written by a different Bernard than the great doctor. On the other hand, there were even cases when Greek authorities were simply forged to support the antiquity of the Latin position, like the Epistle of Cyril of Jerusalem on the death of Jerome.⁶³

The essence and energies distinction, however, played less of a role in the debate on the surface level. First, the Latins had not yet really realized the doctrine (in fact it was first formulated only by Gregory Palamas in a systematic fashion), and second, there are traces of a similar idea among the Latin masters as well. In the third book of his *Summa contra gentiles*, chapter 51, Aquinas discusses how God may be seen in His essence. “Consequently, if the divine essence is seen, it must be done as His intellect sees the divine essence itself through itself, and in such a vision the divine essence must be both what is seen and that whereby it is seen”.⁶⁴ The vision for Aquinas is in the

59. “Graeci solito more res acutius considerantes expressiusque significantes...”; JOHN SCOT ERIUGENA, *Periphyseon* V, 35, in: PL 122, col. 955.

60. RICHARD DE SAINT-VICTOR, *De trinitate* IV, 4 (ed. G. SALET, Paris 1959, Sources chrétiennes, vol. 63), p. 236.

61. “Damascenus in hac parte non creditur”; THOMAS AQUINAS, *Scriptum in primum Sententiarum*, d. 11, q. 1, a. 1, ad 3.

62. “licet beatus Bernardus fuerit vir magne devotionis in oratione et sermonibus, non fuit tamen magne auctoritatis in disputationibus”; quoted by A. MAIER, “Schriften, Daten und Personen”, p. 545.

63. *Cyilli episcopi Jerosolymitani de miraculis Hieronymi ad sanctum Augustinum episcopum Hipponensem*, PL 22, cols. 289-325.

64. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra gentiles* III, c. 51: “... Unde oportet, si Dei essentia videatur, quod per ipsammet essentiam divinam intellectus ipsam videat: ut sit in tali visione divina essentia et quod videtur, et quo videtur...”.

afterlife, and it is an essential vision. Aquinas is forced, however, by the logic of his analysis to the position that his vision cannot be like any other vision mediated by a created image in the intellect. If it is not created, it has to be uncreated. According to Aquinas, it will be this uncreated image that takes the place of the created image, normally required for the mind to comprehend the thing seen. This uncreated intelligible species will be the means by which the created mind will be able to see God *immediately*, that is, without any interposed medium.⁶⁵ This view had had a rather standard acceptance, since it is repeated by Gerald Odonis as well.⁶⁶

As I tried to point out, neither the Latin nor the Greek tradition was unequivocal. In fact, what we can see in the fourteenth century is a sorting out of a hidden ambivalence in the Christian tradition about the interconnected theologies of the last things, the *eschaton*, and the final reward of Christian life, the beatific vision. In the Latin West the issue was decided by the guild of "academic" theologians, who were formed by the great institution of the universities, striving for conceptual clarity and carving out for themselves the definitive authority in theological matters. This great guild developed its own understanding of its past, in a sense opposite to that of the other great institution of Eastern Greek monasticism, which, in a different way, also vindicated for itself the right to the canonical understanding of the Christian tradition.

I would like to conclude with a wise word of Georgios Metochites (d. 1328), who judiciously said that "if you want to use the divinely wise mystagogies [that is, patristic literature] there will be no theological idea which would not be presented by inexorably manifest argumentation".⁶⁷ The past is always only a half-legible guidebook for present concerns. The other half remains the responsibility of the quick.

65. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra gentiles* III, c. 51: "... per essentiam divinam intellectus creatus possit videre ipsam Dei substantiam quasi per quamdam speciem intelligibilem..."

66. "...sancti Dei et prophete viderunt Deum per speculum speciei divinitus infusae"; quoted in MAIER, "Die Pariser Disputation", p. 346. Gerald's treatise has been published in its entirety: GUIRAL OT, *La vision de Dieu aux multiples formes*, ed. C. TROTTMANN, Paris 2001.

67. GEORGIOS METOCHITES, *Contra Manuelem Cretensem* c. 6, in: PG 141, col. 1321A-B.

CYPRLOT ASTRONOMY AROUND 1350: A LINK TO CREMONA?

Fritz S. PEDERSEN

A conspicuous remnant of fourteenth-century Byzantine astronomical learning is the manuscript Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus graecus 212 (Va), written about AD 1350 in Cyprus.¹ On ff. 26r-104v, it contains the only known Greek translation of the Toledan Tables, the all-purpose table collection current in the Latin West throughout the thirteenth century, gradually to be superseded by the Alfonsine Tables during the fourteenth century. The Greek translation has been thoroughly examined by David Pingree, who makes it plausible that the translator and main scribe was the Cypriot scholar George Lapithes, the greatest representative of Greek learning on Frankish Cyprus in the fourteenth century.²

Although few of his works survive, we learn enough about George Lapithes from his famous correspondents — among them Barlaam the Calabrian, Nicephoros Gregoras, and Gregory Akindynos — that he was a wealthy polymath with an understanding of the Latin language and close ties to the Lusignan court in Nicosia. Indeed, since he possessed an estate near the capital, he was able to participate in intellectual discussions not only with prominent Latins, perhaps among them the Parisian masters of theology Raymond Bequini, Peter de la Palu, and Elias de Nabinaux, but also with Arab scholars visiting from Mamluke Egypt. He had close connections with Byzantium, being a strong supporter of the anti-Palamite cause, and although he wrote theological treatises against the Latins, he also composed a work on the sacraments based on Latin models, to be used by the local Greek bishops. Thus the identification of Lapithes as the translator of Latin astronomical tables is highly likely, and it is no

1. Description: C.N. CONSTANTINIDES and R. BROWNING, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Nicosia 1993, pp. 209-212, with further references.

2. "The Byzantine Version of the 'Toledan Tables': The Work of George Lapithes?", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976), pp. 85-132.

surprise that the cosmopolitan society of Frankish Cyprus produced such a work.³

The Latin Toledan Tables appear as a mixed adaptation from several Arabic sources; the latter are only preserved in part, and no Arabic original of the Toledan Tables as a whole is known to exist. On the other hand, there are over a hundred Latin manuscripts of the Toledan Tables, in versions that differ widely as to content and arrangement. This manuscript tradition has been examined by the present author.⁴

On this basis, the present note will offer some observations indicating that one source of the Greek translation in manuscript Va was connected with Northern Italy, possibly Cremona.

Indeed, Va shows sparse but specific similarities with exactly one of the known Latin manuscripts, namely, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11249, 4r-87r (Ps). This is in one main hand of the early thirteenth century, probably Northern Italian. A martyrology in the same hand shows a feast for Omobonus cf., bishop of Cremona, at November 12 (f. 8v); and a note on f. 88v, still in the same hand, mentions AD 1225.

To illustrate the similarities between Ps and Va, I shall show four conspicuous examples, referring to the above-mentioned edition for the rest and for examples of dissimilarities.

1. *Addition to Table of Geographical Positions*⁵

The table of geographical positions is generally the same in Va and Ps, and close to the standard form found in the Toledan Tables. Most of the places it lists are from the Islamic world. — Headings:

3. On Lapithes, see especially G. GRIVAUD, "Literature", in: A. NICOLAOU-KONNARI and C. SCHABEL (eds.), *Cyprus — Society and Culture 1191-1374*, Leiden 2005, pp. 219-284, at 272-275, and for the Parisian theologians pp. 231-232.

4. F.S. PEDERSEN, *The Toledan Tables. A review of the manuscripts and the textual versions with an edition*. The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Historisk-Filosofiske Skrifter 24, Copenhagen 2002, esp. pp. 163, 796 (Ps), 804 (Va). — The classic work on the mathematics of the tables is G.J. TOOMER, "A Survey of the Toledan Tables", in: *Osiris* 15 (1968), pp. 5-174.

5. PEDERSEN, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 1509 ff.; TOOMER, "A Survey of the Toledan Tables", no. 83.

Ps 79r: Tabula longitudinum regionum, que sunt elongationes earum ab occidente, et latitudinum earum, cuius est similis altitudo axis septentrionalis super eas. — This type of heading is common in the Latin tables.

Va 85r: Κανὼν διαστάσεων χωρῶν κατὰ μῆκος ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, κατὰ πλάτος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ βορείου πόλου.

In both cases, however, there is an addition containing Cremona (long. 31°, lat. 45°, which are standard) plus a series of places, partly with miswritten names and figures, which occurs only in Va and Ps, as follows:

Ps	Va	Long.	Lat.	Identification ⁶
Almaria	almana	17 0	36 50	Almeria
Valentia	ualensia	30 20	39 36	Valencia
Scibilia	scibilia	25 35	37 30	Sicilia
Marrochus	marochus	21 0	31 0	Marrakish
Insula	insula			Makhlay /
gm(sirat	nisirat	176 30	5 45	Jawhar Island?
Suseth	musat	168 45	4 45	Susa of China
Mineta	mincta	177 0	18 30	China ⁷
Retha	rata	73 0	36 36	Raqqa? ⁸
Carsen	carsen	90 0	30 0	Kirman
Adeso	adesso	45 0	13 0	Aden?
Mansora	mansora	93 0	22 0	Mansura Assind
Albuth	albuth	53 0	14 30	Dunqula/in Nubh ⁹
Tholetum	toletu	27 45	39 34	Toledo
Betagna(us)	betagnam	25 23	39 30	Badlis / Bitlius??
Serragoza	serragoza	29 55	-	Zaragoza

6. Basis of comparison: E.S. KENNEDY and M.H. KENNEDY, *Geographical coordinates of localities from Islamic sources*, Frankfurt a.M. 1987. The sources are not cited singly, and variant readings, which are many, are not noted. However, the coordinates in Ps and Va are the same.

7. The coordinates are a duplicate from the entry "Civitas regis Acin", no. 14 in the main list.

8. Possibly a duplicate from the entry Aracah (73°36', 36°0'), no. 15 in the main list.

9. The coordinates are duplicates from the entry for "Civitas Anuba", no. 46 in the main list. The place-name may be an error for Albeith (no. 13), but this does not fit the present coordinates.

Note that the place-names of Va are in Latin (except no. 7 of the main list, "siege dou roy de frans", from "Sedes regis Francorum"). Such Latin entries can still be assumed to be by the main scribe. The coordinates in Va are in alphabetical Greek number notation.

2. *Table of Solar Altitudes for Terrestrial Latitude 45°*¹⁰

This table is specific, if not for Ps, then at least for Northern Italy. Indeed, Ps has it in a hand that is not the main hand but may well be contemporary. Apart from Ps and Va, it occurs or is mentioned in two other witnesses as "tabula... secundum Johannem", "Johannes" being unidentified. These two witnesses contain adaptations of the Toledan Tables for Novara and for Ferrara.¹¹ — Headings:

Ps 3v: Tabula altitudinis solis in meridie, prout est in quolibet signo, secundum latitudinem 45 graduum.

Va 101r: Κανὼν τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ ἡλίου ἐν τῷ μεσημβρινῷ ἐν κλίματι πλάτος ἔχοντι μοίρας με'.

The table is based on an ecliptical obliquity of 23°33'30", as are some of the Toledan tables, notably the declination table.¹²

3. *Table of the Motion of the Eighth Sphere*¹³

This is, roughly speaking, a table of the motion of the vernal point on the equator, according to the theory of accession and recession current in the Toledan Tables. It occurs in several formats; the present one, which has the Latin sub-headings "Boreale proclive, boreale declive..." occurs in Ps, Va and two other manuscripts. In Ps, it occurs on an added leaf, though still in the main hand. This may have caused a main-hand gloss in Ps, which recurs in Va and nowhere else, as follows:

10. PEDERSEN, *The Toledan Tables*, p. 1123.

11. For details, see PEDERSEN, *The Toledan Tables*, p. 1123.

12. PEDERSEN, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 961 ff.; TOOMER, "A Survey of the Toledan Tables", no. 14.

13. PEDERSEN, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 1563-1564, type PB11h; cf. TOOMER, "A Survey of the Toledan Tables", no. 81 ii-iii.

Ps 83r: Tabula motus 8 spere. Hec tabula non est de hoc libro.

Va 88r: Ista tabula motus 8 spere dicitur quod non sit de hoc libro.
Hali est sicut... (gloss for another table follows)

The source of Va seems to be specifically like Ps, though I do not know the origin of the extra ascription to Ali, or which Ali was meant.

4. *Small Table of Mean Arguments of the Planets*¹⁴

This is a list of the planets' mean daily motion on the epicycle, expressed in seconds. It has only been found in Ps¹⁵ and Va. — Headings:

Ps 74r: Tabula motus planetarum in una die.

Va 81v: Κανὼν κινήσεων πλανητῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ.

Values: Saturn, 3428"; Jupiter, 3249"; Mars, 1662"; Venus, 37' (in minutes by mistake, both in Ps and Va); Mercury, 11184".

Thus the two tables are the same, including the error mentioned. In this case, Va shows both the heading and the planet names in Greek. This shows that material from a source like Ps need not be left partly untranslated, as might be suspected from (1) and (3) above.

Conclusion

In short, there is not much doubt that one of the sources for manuscript Va was a manuscript close to Ps and thus valid for Northern Italy, perhaps specifically for Cremona. It is not too difficult to speculate about how such a manuscript could travel to Cyprus, but this is the province of the historians. As for now, one should view manuscript Va as one of several fourteenth-fifteenth-century Greek attempts

14. PEDERSEN, *The Toledan Tables*, p. 1237.

15. In PEDERSEN, *The Toledan Tables*, p. 1237, *l.c.*, the reference is to another manuscript (Sg) by mistake.

to supplement Ptolemy with newer tables, not only the Toledan Tables ("the Arabic tables"), but also Persian and Hebrew ones, not to speak of the Alfonsine Tables and adaptations from all these sources.¹⁶

16. For descriptions of these attempts, see also: J. MOGENET, "L'influence de l'astronomie arabe à Byzance du IXe au XIVe siècle", in: *Colloques d'Histoire des Sciences I (1972) et II (1973)*, Louvain 1976, pp. 45-55; A. TIHON, "Un traité astronomique chypriote du XIVe siècle", *Janus* 64 (1977), pp. 279-308; A. TIHON and R. MERCIER, *Georges Gémiste Pléthon, Manuel d'astronomie*, Corpus d'astronomes byzantins IX, Louvain-la-Neuve 1998, esp. pp. 10-13.

TEXTES SPIRITUELS OCCIDENTAUX EN GREC:
LES ŒUVRES D'ARNAUD DE VILLENEUVE ET QUELQUES
AUTRES EXEMPLES

Antonio RIGO

Avec une annexe sur les illustrations du Petropolitanus graecus 113
par Andrea BABUIN

À Byzance, la littérature mystique, après la période de formation de l'époque patristique (IV^e-VII^e siècles) représentée par les importants ouvrages des auteurs monastiques, tels Évagre le Pontique, le pseudo-Macaire, Maxime le Confesseur et Jean Climaque, et par d'autres apports significatifs (je pense en premier lieu à Grégoire de Nysse et au pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite) et l'interruption des «siècles sombres» de l'Empire, connaît deux grandes saisons: la première entre la moitié du X^e et la moitié du XII^e siècle et la seconde, plus courte, qui va de la deuxième partie du XIII^e à la fin du XIV^e siècle.¹ Dans cette histoire millénaire, le nombre de textes traduits en grec est bien limité, mais l'influence de ces apports et de ces auteurs est souvent décisive pour le développement spirituel suivant. Ainsi, à l'époque de formation, on traduit du latin quelques œuvres de Jean Cassien,² et la traduction du syriaque en grec à Mar Saba en Palestine du *corpus* d'Isaac de Ninive³ avant les débuts de la première période est tout à fait importante pour la renaissance spirituelle byzantine du X^e-XI^e siècles.

1. Nos remarques à ce propos dans *Mistici bizantini*, Torino 2008, pp. VII-XCII.

2. Cf. en dernier lieu E. L'ANNE, «Cassiano il Romano, discepolo di Evagrio Pontico. Un vincolo tra monachesimo d'Oriente e d'Occidente», dans: *Amore del bello. Studi sulla Filocalia*, Bose 1991, pp. 54-77; C. BADILITA et A. JAKAB (éd.), *Jean Cassien entre l'Orient et l'Occident*. Actes du colloque international organisé par le New Europe College en collaboration avec la Ludwig Boltzmann Gesellschaft (Bucarest, 27-28 septembre 2001), Paris 2003.

3. Cf. S. BROCK, «Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba: the Translation of St. Isaac the Syrian», dans: J. PATRICH (éd.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 98), Louvain 1991, pp. 201-208.

Nous nous attacherons aujourd'hui à la dernière période (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles), pour voir si, à une époque caractérisée par la nouvelle diffusion de la connaissance du latin à Byzance et par les nombreuses traductions d'ouvrages latins et occidentaux en grec dans différents domaines, il est possible d'identifier quelques textes importants pour leur influence dans le monde spirituel grec. Après un bref examen préliminaire, nous sommes contraints, pour avoir des résultats dignes de considération (fait déjà significatif!), d'élargir notre perspective et de ne pas prendre en considération les seules œuvres qui ont un sujet spirituel au sens strict, mais aussi celles plus liées à la dévotion, à la piété et à certains aspects du culte personnel et communautaire.

1. Nous allons commencer notre analyse par le milieu philo-unioniste byzantin de la fin du XIV^e et du début du XV^e siècle et de Démétrius Cydonès. À côté de ses nombreuses traductions, surtout d'œuvres à contenu théologique et polémique (Augustin, Thomas d'Aquin, Riccoldo da Monte Croce, etc.), on trouve seulement une version intéressante pour notre propos, la traduction des *Monologia sive soliloquia* pseudo-augustiniens, sous le titre *Prières contemplatives et d'amour* (Ἐυχαὶ θεωρητικαὶ καὶ ἐρωτικαὶ).⁴ Ces méditations (écrites en réalité entre la fin du XII^e et le début du XIII^e siècle) ressemblent à d'autres compositions pseudo-augustinienne de la même époque et aussi à des ouvrages contemporains, comme ceux de Hugues de Saint-Victor, et contiennent les dialogues de l'âme avec Dieu, caractérisés par une chaude affectivité et une profonde piété.

Les nombreuses copies dans les manuscrits et enfin l'édition des *Soliloquia* par Nicodème l'Hagiorite (1799),⁵ montrent que cette traduction de Cydonès eut un succès considérable déjà à Byzance, mais surtout pendant l'époque de la Turcocratie. Outre la traduction des *Soliloquia*, on doit signaler aussi la traduction en grec effectuée par Démétrius de l'*Ordo missae* dominicain avec les parties propres à la messe de la Trinité. Manuel Calécas (*ante* 1415) a inséré cette

4. A. KOLTSIOU-NIKETA, Δημητρίου Κυδωνίου. Ἡ βυζαντινὴ μετάφραση τοῦ ψευδοαυγουστίνειου ἔργου *Soliloquia* (Τί ἂν εἴποι ἡ ψυχὴ μόνη πρὸς μόνον τὸν Θεόν) (Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi. Philosophi byzantini, 11), Athènes 2005.

5. Cf. E. CITTERIO, «Nicodemo l'Agiorita», dans: C. G. et V. CONTICELLO (éd.), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, Turnhout 2002, pp. 905-997, particulièrement p. 915-916.

traduction dans sa version du missel romain. Nous connaissons, enfin, une rédaction postérieure de la traduction de Cydonès, sous le nom de Manuel Chrysoloras.⁶

En passant à l'examen des traductions effectuées par Manuel Calécas, on retrouve des traductions tout à fait semblables (pour les intentions et le contenu) à la version de l'*Ordo missae* par Cydonès. Il faut signaler en premier lieu celles du pseudo-Thomas d'Aquin, *Sur la fête du Corpus Domini*,⁷ et d'Anselme, *Cur Deus homo*.⁸ Mais la traduction des textes liturgiques, liée évidemment aux projets unionistes de Calécas et à son désir de constituer un petit groupe de dominicains grecs, est sans doute plus intéressante. On retrouve ainsi les versions

6. Cf. A. BAUMSTARK, «"Liturgia S. Gregorii Magni", eine griechische Übersetzung der römischen Messe», dans: *Oriens Christianus* 4 (1904), pp. 1-27; G. MERCATI, «Intorno a un frammento dell'*Ordo Missae* romano tradotto in greco», dans: *Rassegna gregoriana* 10 (1911), coll. 399-408, réimpr. dans: *Opere minori*, III (Studi e testi, 78), Città del Vaticano 1937, pp. 288-293; IDEM, «Nuove minuzie. Fra Massimo da Costantinopoli O. P. e l'uso del greco coi Greci uniti di Oriente», dans: *Studi bizantini* 2 (1927), pp. 311-316, réimpr. dans: *Opere minori*, IV (Studi e testi, 79), Città del Vaticano 1937, pp. 462-468; R.J. LOENERTZ, *La Société des Frères pèlerins* (Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum. Dissertationes historicae, 7), Rome 1937, pp. 86-87; IDEM, *Correspondance de Manuel Calécas* (Studi e testi, 152), Città del Vaticano 1950, p. 13; F. TINNEFELD, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I/1 (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 12), Stuttgart 1981, p. 72 (n° 2. 13); A. ROLLO, «Problemi e prospettive della ricerca su Manuele Crisolora», dans: R. MAISANO et A. ROLLO (éd.), *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 26-29 giugno 1997), Napoli 2002, pp. 42, 81. – Il faut aussi rappeler l'existence des traductions grecques de la messe latine avant les travaux de Cydonès, Calécas et Chrysoloras. Le moine Athanase du monastère constantinopolitain du Pantocrator affirme en 1357 avoir examiné «une traduction grecque du mystère de l'ordination sacerdotale», J. DARROUZÈS, «Conférence sur la primauté du pape à Constantinople en 1357», dans: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 19 (1961), pp. 76-109, ici p. 102. Dans le manuscrit Istanbul Panaghia 33, ff. 130r-131r, 139r-140v, 148v-149r on a recopié (XIII^e-XIV^e) deux traductions différentes de la messe latine attribuée à Grégoire le Dialogue, cf. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, «Documents grecs pour servir à l'histoire de la 4^{ème} croisade», dans: *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1893), pp. 544-549; M. KOUROPOU et P. GÉHIN, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki*, t. I, Turnhout 2008, p. 134.

7. Vat. gr. 1879, ff. 117v-119r (autographe), Escorial. gr. Ψ. IV. 22 (496) (v. plus en bas), Wrocław Rehdig. 358; v. MERCATI, *Notizie*, p. 97; A. PERTUSI, «Gli studi latini di Manuele Caleca e la traduzione del *De Trinitate* di Boezio», dans: *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati*, t. III, Milano 1951, pp. 283-312; 290; TINNEFELD, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I/1, pp. 73-74 (3. 5. 1).

8. Vat. gr. 614 (autographe), ff. 83v-109r, cf. PERTUSI, «Gli studi latini», pp. 290-291.

de la messe de S. André,⁹ de la messe du S. Esprit,¹⁰ de la messe de Noël selon le rite ambrosien (effectuée par Calécas pendant son séjour à Milan),¹¹ de l'*ordo* pour la confession et la pénitence.¹²

On possède une traduction grecque de la prière «Salve regina»¹³ et, dans le Laur. IV. 12 (XV^e siècle), f. 4v, une version grecque anonyme du «Te Deum». Une note marginale attribue la paternité du texte à Manuel Calécas, mais cette attribution est incertaine sinon douteuse.¹⁴ Il est aussi difficile d'établir si deux autres prières bien connues de la tradition occidentale ont été traduites par Calécas ou si, au contraire, le traducteur doit rester anonyme. On conserve en effet une copie de la version grecque des prières suivantes: «Pange linguam»¹⁵ et «Veni Creator»,¹⁶ mais il n'est pas sûr que les versions aient été faites par Manuel Calécas. Par ailleurs, à la même époque, on retrouve d'autres prières occidentales traduites en grec: ainsi, le «Supplices te rogamus», utilisé par Nicolas Cabasilas (dans une traduction différente de celle de Démétrius Cydonès) pour son *Explication de la divine liturgie*.¹⁷

9. Vat. gr. 1093, f. 45rv; v. MERCATI, *Notizie*, p. 80; PERTUSI, «Gli studi latini», p. 291.

10. Vat. gr. 1093, ff. 46r-46v; v. MERCATI, *Notizie*, p. 80; PERTUSI, «Gli studi latini», p. 291.

11. Vat. gr. 1093, ff. 55r-64r; A. FUMAGALLI, «Esposizione della Messa che si canta nella festa della Natività di Cristo secondo la tradizione di Santo Ambrogio dal latino tradotta in greco da Demetrio Cidonio», dans: *Raccolta milanese dell'anno 1757 dedicata al Marchese don Alessandro Trivulzio*, t. II, fasc. IV; v. MERCATI, *Notizie*, p. 80; PERTUSI, «Gli studi latini», p. 291. Sur le séjour de Manuel Calécas à Milan v. en dernier lieu A. ROLLO, «Gli inizi dello studio del greco in Lombardia», dans: M. VEGETTI et P. PISSAVINO (éd.), *I Decembrio e la tradizione della Repubblica di Platone tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, Napoli 2005, pp. 240-249.

12. Vat. gr. 1858, ff. 7r-8r (autographe), Vat. gr. 579, f. 296r (autographe), Vat. gr. 1122 (XV^e s.), ff. 36r-38v, Laur. LXXIV. 13 (XV^e s.), f. 292r; MERCATI, *Notizie*, p. 80; PERTUSI, «Gli studi latini», p. 293.

13. Dans le ms. Escorial. gr. Ψ. IV. 22 (496) (v. plus en bas); cf. PERTUSI, «Gli studi latini», p. 290; IDEM, «Di alcune traduzioni greche di inni attribuiti a s. Tomaso e a s. Ambrogio», dans: *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 12 (1958), pp. 141-150, particulièrement p. 141 n. 5.

14. Cf. en particulier MERCATI, *Notizie*, p. 80 n. 3; v. aussi PERTUSI, «Gli studi latini», p. 293.

15. Roma Vallicel. 218 (Allatianus CXLIII), copie d'un manuscrit du fonds Barberini non identifié; cf. PERTUSI, «Di alcune traduzioni greche», pp. 143-144, 147-148.

16. Roma Vallicel. 218 (Allatianus CXLIII) (v. note précédente); cf. PERTUSI, «Di alcune traduzioni greche», pp. 144-147.

17. Cf. S. SALAVILLE, R. BORNERT, J. GOUILLARD et P. PÉRICHON, *Nicolas Cabasilas, Explication de la divine liturgie* (Sources Chrétiennes, 4bis), Paris 1967, pp. 192-193. Je

Exception faite de la traduction grecque des *Soliloquia* effectuée par Démétrius Cydonès, les versions de ces pièces liturgiques et de ces prières latines en grec ont eu une diffusion assez limitée. Dans la *Vie en Christ* de Nicolas Cabasilas on peut retrouver trace des *Soliloquia*.¹⁸ Il faut aussi ajouter que les données fournies par certains des témoins manuscrits apparaissent intéressantes pour la présente recherche.

Deux manuscrits exécutés sous la direction de Gennadios Scholarios, qui contiennent aussi des notes autographes du même, Athos Lavras E 84 (546)¹⁹ et Athos Dionysiou 440 (3974),²⁰ conservent deux copies différentes des *Soliloquia* traduits par Démétrius Cydonès. Dans le codex de Lavra on lit (f. 9v) une notice écrite par Scholarios qui rappelait que les *Soliloquia* avaient été copiés pour lui en Italie (donc à l'époque du Concile de Ferrara-Florence) par Georges Galésiotès.²¹ Dans les deux manuscrits l'œuvre pseudo-augustinienne est accompagnée d'une composition de Gennadios, les *Prières pour les métanies et résumés partiels des Psaumes*.²² Ces courtes invocations (pour lesquelles Scholarios utilise les oraisons bien connues d'Isaac de Ninive, de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, de Nicéphore Blémmydès, etc.) devaient être répétées dans la solitude de la cellule pendant

rappelle aussi un seul exemple du XIV^e siècle pour l'Italie meridionale: au f. 71v du Marc. gr. 412 (674) (fin du XIII^e siècle) on a recopié la version grecque de l'«Ave Maria».

18. Cf. J. DEMETRACOPOULOS, «The Sitz im Leben of Demetrius Cydonis' Translation of Pseudo-Augustine's *Soliloquia*. Remarks on a Recent Edition», dans: *Quaestio. Annuario di storia della metafisica* 6 (2006), pp. 191-258.

19. Cf. SPYRIDON LAURIOTES et S. EUSTRATIADIS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (Harvard Theological Studies, 12), Cambridge, MA 1925, p. 83; L. PETIT, X.A. SIDERIDÈS et M. JUGIE, *Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, t. IV, Paris 1935, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII; KOLTSIOU-NIKETA, *Δημήτριου Κυδωνίου Ἡ βυζαντινὴ μετάφρασις τοῦ ψευδοαυγουστίνειου ἔργου Soliloquia*, pp. 100*-102*.

20. Cf. SP.P. LAMPROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, t. I, Cambridge 1895, p. 425; L. PETIT, X.A. SIDERIDÈS et M. JUGIE, *Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, t. III, Paris 1930, p. xx.

21. E. TRAPP, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna 1976-1996 (= PLP), Nr. 3527; E. GAMILLSCHEG et D. HARLFINGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, 1. Teil *Großbritannien* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, III/1), Vienne 1981, p. 59; E. GAMILLSCHEG et D. HARLFINGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, 2. Teil *Frankreich* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, III/2), Vienne 1989, p. 79; E. GAMILLSCHEG, D. HARLFINGER et P. ELEUTERI, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, 3. Teil. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, III/3), Vienne 1997, p. 99.

22. PETIT, SIDERIDÈS et JUGIE, *Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, t. IV, pp. 310-325.

l'exécution des métanies. La série des invocations se conclut par la traduction de l'antienne mariale du bréviaire latin, «Ave regina coelorum, ave Domina angelorum».²³ À la fin de la neuvième prière, œuvre de Scholarios (composée «par le moine Gennadios avant son patriarcat», donc entre 1450 et 1454), on lit la traduction de la collecte du commun des fêtes de la sainte Vierge, «Concede nos famulos tuos».²⁴ Le cas de Scholarios constitue un témoignage ultérieur sur la traduction, et l'utilisation, à l'époque, des prières latines pour la piété et la dévotion personnelles.

Dans la première partie d'un manuscrit bien connu des chercheurs en littérature byzantine et néo-grecque, l'Escorial. Ψ. IV. 22 (496), contenant le *Digénis Akritas* (récension E) et d'autres romans (de Libistros et Rodamne), et copié vers l'année 1500,²⁵ on retrouve, dans l'ordre suivant: (ff. 1r-3v) pseudo-Thomas d'Aquin, *Sur la fête du Corpus Domini* dans la version de Manuel Calécas, (f. 3v) la prière «Salve regina» en grec traduite par le même Calécas, (ff. 5r-20v) la *Fleur des vertus* (Ἄνθος χαρίτων), sans titre.²⁶ Ce dernier texte est la traduction d'une œuvre italienne, le *Fiore di virtù*, écrite par un religieux italien, Tommaso Gozzadini de Bologne, au début du XIV^e siècle.²⁷ L'ouvrage, à l'intention didactique et vulgarisatrice, suit la tradition des «fleurs» et contient un exposé sur chaque vertu et son vice opposé, accompagné par des exemples et des épisodes moralisants. La *Fleur des vertus* a connu en grec, mais aussi en slave et en roumain,²⁸ une popularité extraordinaire, dont témoignent les trois (!) différentes traductions effectuées à la fin du XV^e siècle et les

23. Ici, p. 311, ll. 24-26.

24. Ici, p. 325 app.

25. Cf. G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, III. *Códices 421-649*, Madrid 1967, pp. 106-109; v. aussi P.A. AGAPETOS (éd.), *Ἀφῆγησις Λιβίστρον καὶ Ροδάμνης* (Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 9), Athènes 2006, pp. 68-70.

26. Sur l'Ἄνθος χαρίτων v. en premier lieu E.D. KAKOULIDI, «Fior di virtù - Ἄνθος χαρίτων», dans: *Ἑλληνικά* 24 (1971), pp. 267-311; E.D. KAKOULIDI-PANOU et K.D. PIDONIA, Ἄνθος τῶν χαρίτων Φιόρ δε Βερτού. Ἡ κνπριακὴ παραλλαγή (Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν, 16), Nicosie 1994.

27. À propos de l'auteur v. la discussion de G. MILAN, «Gozzadini Tommaso», dans: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, t. 58 (2002), pp. 227-228.

28. Cf. N. CARTOJAN, «Fiore di virtù» dans la littérature roumaine (Académie Roumaine. Mémoires Sectionii Literare, III, 4), București 1928; P. OLTEANU, *Floarea darurilor sau Fiore di virtù*, Timisoara 1992.

nombreuses éditions et réélaborations pendant l'époque moderne (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles). Mais, comme on peut le voir, c'est déjà une autre histoire, postérieure à Byzance et liée aux nouvelles réalités du monde intellectuel et religieux grec pendant la Turcocratie, le monde de la littérature populaire édifiante du XVI^e siècle (Damaskénos Stoudites, Ioannikios Kartanos, Jean Nathanael, etc.), une réalité qui a connu bien des traductions et des adaptations en grec de textes dévotionnels et spirituels, comme on peut le voir encore à la fin de la période (XVIII^e siècle), dans un domaine différent du *Fiore di virtù*, avec les réélaborations grecques des *Exercices spirituels* du jésuite G.P. Pinamonti et du *Combattimento spirituale* du religieux théatin Lorenzo Scupoli. Une histoire, en tout cas, à écrire dans sa riche complexité, mais bien différente de notre sujet d'aujourd'hui.

Laissant de côté le cas trop tardif et particulier de la *Fleur des vertus*, l'analyse conduite jusqu'ici a donné des résultats assez maigres : quelques prières, quelques pièces liturgiques, avec une circulation très limitée. Seuls les *Soliloquia* pseudo-augustinien ont eu une diffusion importante.

2. Un autre cas que je vais maintenant exposer est sans doute plus intéressant, mais, dans l'ensemble, ne change pas les résultats auxquels nous sommes déjà arrivés.

Le manuscrit Petropolitanus graecus 113 est un recueil de huit ouvrages, en traduction grecque, par une personnalité bien connue de la fin du XIII^e et des débuts du XIV^e siècle, Arnaud de Villeneuve (1240-1311).²⁹ Il doit sa célébrité à sa production d'œuvres spirituelles à contenu apocalyptique liées à ses projets de réforme de l'Église, à ses rapports avec les Spirituels franciscains et les béguins et à ses intérêts scientifiques (médecine, alchimie). Le premier chercheur qui a identifié l'auteur des textes du manuscrit de S. Péterbourg, Joaquim Carreras Artau (1932),³⁰ a aussi affirmé que la version grecque avait été

29. Dans une bibliographie imposante v. en premier lieu J. PERARNAU I ESPELT et F. SANTI, « Villeneuve (Arnaud de) », dans : *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, t. 16 (1994), coll. 785-797 ; J. MENSA I VALLS, *Arnau de Vilanova, espiritual: guia bibliographica*, Barcelona 1994 ; J. ZIEGLER, *Medicine and Religion c. 1300. The Case of Arnau de Vilanova*, Oxford 1998.

30. « Una versió grega de nou escrits d'Arnau de Vilanova », dans : *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 8 (1932), pp. 1-8 ; cf. aussi M. BATLLORI et J. CARRERAS ARTAU (éd.), *Arnau de Vilanova, Obres Catalanes, I. Escrits religiosos*, Barcelona 1947, pp. 48-49.

effectuée sous la direction d'Arnaud même pendant les dernières années de sa vie (1305-1311) pour raisons de prosélytisme dans les milieux schismatiques. Arnaud, qui était en excellentes relations avec les moines de l'Athos, aurait profité de la domination catalane à Athènes pour diffuser ses écrits et ses idées. Les conclusions de Carreras Artau sont évidemment suivies soit par Miquel Batllori, qui dans une série d'articles met aussi en relation la traduction grecque des œuvres d'Arnaud, effectuée par un occidental, avec la renaissance spirituelle contemporaine sur le Mont Athos (l'«hésychasme»),³¹ soit par les chercheurs successifs,³² jusqu'à J. Nadal i Cañellas dans l'étude introductive à sa récente édition de la version grecque de cette œuvre. En acceptant la fourchette chronologique proposée et l'hypothèse selon laquelle la traduction aurait été faite à l'initiative d'Arnaud, Nadal rappelle en premier lieu les liens entre l'auteur et les moines athonites présents à Avignon (printemps-début été 1308), formule ensuite l'hypothèse selon laquelle la mission des moines de Lavra en Occident devait avoir le patronage du patriarche de Constantinople Athanase I^{er}, et parvient enfin à la conclusion que la traduction a été effectuée pendant l'année 1309 parce que Arnaud désirait l'envoyer au patriarche de Constantinople, inspiré par les mêmes idées de réforme de l'Église que lui, et qu'il avait connu grâce à l'ambassade des moines athonites. Le traducteur chargé par Arnaud aurait été un commerçant byzantin qui résidait en Calabre ou en Sicile: ce personnage serait donc le

31. *Arnau de Vilanova, Obres Catalanes*, I. *Escrips religiosos*, p. 61, réimpr. dans: M. BATLLORI, *Arnau de Vilanova i l'Arnaldisme. Obra completa*, III (Biblioteca d'Estudis i Investigacions, 20), Barcelona 1994, p. 156; IDEM, «Els textos espirituals d'Arnau de Vilanova en llengua grega», dans: *Quaderni Ibero-Americani* 14 (1953), pp. 358-361, réimpr. dans: *Arnau de Vilanova i l'Arnaldisme*, pp. 393-397; IDEM, «Les versions italiennes médiévales d'obres religioses de mestre Arnau de Vilanova», dans: *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 1 (1951), pp. 395-410, réimpr. dans: *Arnau de Vilanova i l'Arnaldisme*, pp. 215-223, en particulier 215, 218, 220, 223; IDEM, «Un opuscle inédit: Θύγατερ, μέλλετε εὐδέναι», dans: *Miscellanea Melchor de Pobladora*, t. I, Roma 1964, pp. 215-223, réimpr. dans *Arnau de Vilanova i l'Arnaldisme*, pp. 396-407. Il faut signaler que M. Batllori affirme dans un de ces articles que la traduction pourrait avoir été faite par un des Fraticelli en fuite dans l'Orient byzantin après les condamnations des années 1317-18, «Els textos espirituals d'Arnau de Vilanova en llengua grega», p. 396.

32. Cf. à titre d'exemple, PERARNAU I ESPELT et SANTI, «Villeneuve (Arnould de)», col. 788. En partie dans la même ligne G. FIACCADORI, «Umanesimo e Grecità d'Occidente», dans: G. FIACCADORI et P. ELEUTERI (éd.), *I Greci in Occidente. La tradizione filosofica, scientifica e letteraria dalle collezioni della Biblioteca Marciana*. Catalogo della mostra, Venezia 1996, pp. XLVII et LXXIII.

responsable de la très médiocre version grecque des œuvres d'Arnaud. Le manuscrit de S. Pétersbourg aurait été rédigé dans un *scriptorium* de l'Italie méridionale, pendant le séjour d'Arnaud dans le royaume de Naples. En effet, poursuit le chercheur, l'écriture démontre que le manuscrit vient de Reggio de Calabre.³³

Il suffit amplement de discuter le point central des argumentations des chercheurs, c'est-à-dire la thèse selon laquelle la traduction grecque des œuvres d'Arnaud aurait été effectuée à l'initiative de l'auteur même pendant la première décennie du XIV^e siècle, sans traiter d'autres arguments, intéressants, mais en dernière analyse secondaires: Arnaud et l'Athos,³⁴ l'existence d'une version grecque d'opuscules à contenu alchimique attribués à Arnaud,³⁵ les traductions latines des

33. J. NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo in graecum sermonem versi (Petropolitanus graecus 113)* (Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi. Scripta spiritualia, 2), Barcelona 2002, pp. 14, 15, 16-17, 34-35, 39, 148 n. 11, 363.

34. Les liens d'Arnaud avec les moines de l'Athos sont connus grâce à un seul document conservé dans les Archives de la Couronne d'Aragon et publié par A. RUBIÓ I LLUCH, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409)*, Barcelona 1947, p. 50 (n° 40). Pendant la période des attaques de la Compagnie catalane à l'Athos et dans la région voisine [à ce propos cf. l'analyse de Paul Lemerle dans: P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU et S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Actes de Lavra*, IV (Archives de l'Athos, 11), Paris 1982, pp. 26-28; v. aussi R.M. DAWKINS, «The Catalan Company in the traditions of Mount Athos», dans: *Homenatge a Rubió i Lluch. Miscellania d'estudios literaris, historics i linguistics*, t. I, Barcelona 1936, pp. 267-270; M. ŽIVOJNOVIĆ, «Žitije arhiepiskopa Danila II kao izvor za ratovana Katalanske Kompanije», dans: *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 19 (1980), pp. 251-273], le monastère de Lavra (très probablement au printemps 1308) envoya deux moines en Occident. Ils rencontrèrent alors (à Avignon?) Arnaud qui connaissait bien Jaume II d'Aragon, suzerain de la Compagnie catalane. Un des deux moines fut envoyé par Arnaud au souverain avec une lettre de recommandation. Le document publié par Rubió i Lluch est la réponse de Jaume II. Voici une analyse de la missive. Il affirme avoir reçu la lettre d'Arnaud, dans laquelle il affirmait qu'il serait agréable à Dieu d'empêcher aux soldats catalans en Roumanie de causer des dommages aux moines de Saint Athanase sur la Sainte Montagne et à leurs propriétés. Jaume II donne au moine lavriote un rescrit, par lequel il commande aux soldats de ne pas causer de dommages ni de vexations au monastère de Lavra, mais au contraire de le protéger. Le document est important parce qu'il montre que Lavra, comme dans d'autres occasions, agit de son initiative, sans interpeler les autres monastères athonites et encore moins le patriarche, et il atteste seulement la rencontre des deux émissaires de Lavra avec Arnaud.

35. Je pense en premier lieu au traité d'origine calabraise, provenant du milieu des traducteurs proches des rois de Naples, connu comme "l'anonyme de Zuretti", et élaboré vers le 1300, dans lequel on retrouve des recettes d'Arnaud de Villeneuve (τοῦ μεγίστου Πενάλδου τῆν Βιτανόβα), cf. A. COLINET, *L'anonyme de Zuretti, ou L'art sacré et divin de la chrysopée par un anonyme* (Les alchimistes grecs, 10), Paris 2000, pp. LXII, 167-170. V. déjà FIACCADORI, *Umanesimo e Grecità d'Occidente*, pp. XLVII, LXXIII, et maintenant S. LUCA, «Note per la storia della cultura greca nella Calabria meridionale», dans:

textes spirituels grecs effectuées à l'époque dans le milieu voisin des Spirituels franciscains (en particulier Angelo Clareno).³⁶

Dans ce but, un réexamen du manuscrit de S. Pétersbourg contenant les œuvres d'Arnaud apporte des éléments importants.

L'actuel Petropolitanus grec 113³⁷ faisait partie du fonds du chancelier Pierre Séguier (1588-1672), avec le numéro de côte 36 (la reliure en cuir porte les armes de Séguier et le monogramme PSQ), et ensuite, de la bibliothèque du duc de Coislin, avec le n° 379.³⁸ Pendant la Révolution (1791), le manuscrit (avec bien d'autres) fut retiré de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près où il se trouvait, et finalement acheté par l'attaché culturel de l'Embassade Russe à Paris, Piotr P. Dubrovskij,³⁹ dont on conserve encore les notes «Ex Musaeo Petri Dubrowskij» (ff. 1r, 224r). De cette collection, il est parvenu ensuite à la Bibliothèque Impériale et il a été décrit une autre fois (après Montfaucon) dans le catalogue de E. de Muralt (1864).⁴⁰

C'est un manuscrit en parchemin (182 x 130), de 28 cahiers: 1 x 8 (8), 1 x 10 – 1 (17) (manque le f. 9 sans perte de texte), 26 x 8 (225), qui conserve encore en partie la numération primitive en chiffres

Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 74 (2007, mais 2008), pp. 43-101, particulièrement p. 75-76. Il faut signaler aussi le morceau attribué quelquefois à Arnaud sur l'art chimique (Ἐνώλδων τελα νόβε βίλα φησι περὶ τῆς χυμευτικῆς τέχνης), dont le manuscrit plus ancien est le Paris. BnF gr. 2327, copié par Théodore Pélékanos (a. 1478): v. *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, V, Bruxelles 1928, pp. 95-96; aussi *PLP* 2725.

36. À ce propos cf. en dernier lieu M. CORTESI, «La ricezione della "Scala" in occidente», dans: S. CHIALÀ et L. CREMASCHI (éd.), *Giovanni Climaco e il Sinai*. Atti del IX Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa - sezione bizantina, Bose, 16-18 settembre 2001, Magnano 2002, pp. 279-300 (bibliographie précédente).

37. En premier lieu E. GRANSTREM, «Katalog grečeskich rukopisej Leningradskich chranilišč», dans: *Vizantiiskij Vremmenik* 24 (1964), pp. 176-178 (n° 450); NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 14-20 et plus en bas.

38. B. DE MONTFAUCON, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, Paris 1715, p. 585.

39. Cf. F. MICHEL, «Pierre Dubrovsky et les manuscrits de Saint-Germain des Près à Leningrad», dans: *Revue de l'histoire de l'église en France* 43 (1957), pp. 333-341; sur P. Dubrovskij et son «musée» v. aussi G. LOZINSKIJ, «Le musée slave de Pierre Dubrovskij, un Glozel slavons», dans: *Revue des études slaves* 18 (1938), pp. 214-223; M.P. ALEKSEEV, *Iz istorii russkich rukopisnych sobranij*, dans *Neizdannye pis'ma inostrannykh pisatelej 18-19 vekov*, Moscou – Leningrad 1960, pp. 36-62; *Katalog pisem i drugich materialov zapadnoevropejskich utchenych i pisatelej 16-18 vv. iz sobranija P. P. Dubrovskogo*, Leningrad 1963; T.P. VORONOVA, *P. P. Dubrovskij – pervyj chranitel' Depo manuscriptov Publ'chnoj biblioteki*, dans *Archeologičeskij ezhegodnik za 1980 god*, Moscou 1980, pp. 123-130.

40. *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique*, S. Peterbourg 1864, pp. 65-66.

romains, en bas, dans le premier folio de chaque cahier. Le codex a été exécuté assez soigneusement par un seul copiste (a), en apparence pendant la deuxième moitié du XIV^e siècle (troisième quart). Mise en page: 22/24 lignes par folio. À la fin de chaque cahier, au centre du folio, en bas, on trouve la réclame avec les mots initiaux du cahier suivant insérés dans un carré.

Le manuscrit contient dans l'ordre:

(ff. 1r-16v) I <*Expositio vitae christianae*>: NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 64-86. L'original catalan et latin de ce texte, écrit par Arnaud après 1305, et très probablement à la fin de l'année 1308 ou dans les mois successifs, est perdu. On conserve seulement une version italienne.⁴¹

(ff. 17r-50r) II <*Epistola ad priorissam de charitate (Regula de charitate)*>: NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 92-144. L'original catalan et la version latine sont perdus, mais on connaît une traduction italienne (partielle) et une en dialecte napolitain (vraisemblablement élaborée dans le milieu de la chancellerie de Robert d'Anjou) de ce texte (postérieur à la fin de l'année 1302).⁴²

(ff. 51r-72r) III *Informatio beguinorum seu lectio Narbonae*, avec le titre Σύνοψις βίου πνευματικοῦ: NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 150-180. L'œuvre, dont on conserve l'original catalan et une traduction italienne, a été écrite après l'été 1305, peut-être pendant l'automne 1309.⁴³

(ff. 72r-81r) IV Sans titre: NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 186-198. L'original catalan du texte est perdu.

41. Version italienne: BATLLORI, «Les versiones italianes medievals», pp. 454-462; R. MANSELLI, «La religiosità d'Arnaldo da Villanova», dans *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano* 63 (1951), pp. 1-100, particulièrement p. 92-100; cf. F. SANTI, «Gli "scripta spiritualia" di Arnau de Vilanova», dans: *Studi Medievali* s. III, 26 (1985), pp. 977-1014, particulièrement p. 996 (n° 49-50); pour la datation v. NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 61-62.

42. Version italienne: BATLLORI, «Les versiones italianes medievals», pp. 411-427; MANSELLI, «La religiosità d'Arnaldo da Villanova», pp. 60-76; cf. SANTI, «Gli "scripta spiritualia" di Arnau de Vilanova», pp. 995-996, 1003 (n° 44-46, 78).

43. Texte catalan: *Arnau de Vilanova, Obres Catalanes*, I. *Escrips religiosos*, pp. 141-166; Version italienne: BATLLORI, «Les versiones italianes medievals», pp. 395-462; MANSELLI, «La religiosità d'Arnaldo da Villanova», pp. 77-91; cf. SANTI, «Gli "scripta spiritualia" di Arnau de Vilanova», p. 992 (n° 34-36).

(ff. 81v-113v) v *Dialogus de elementis catholicae fidei, seu Alphabetum catholicorum ad inclitum dominum regem Aragoniae pro filiis erudiendis in elementis catholicae fidei*, avec le titre *Διάλογος διδασκαλικὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως*: NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 204-258. Ce dialogue, dont on connaît l'original latin et une version en castillan, a été composé entre 1295 et 1297.⁴⁴

(ff. 114r-173v) vi *Philosophia catholica et divina tradens artem adnichilandi versutias maximi Antichristi et omnium membrorum ipsius ad sacrum collegium Romanorum*, avec le titre *Ἡ φιλοσοφία καθολικὴ καὶ θεῖα, ἡ διδοῦσα τέχνην τοῦ οὐδενῶσαι τὰς πανουργίας τοῦ μεγίστου Ἀντιχρίστου καὶ πάντων τῶν μελῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν δμῆγνυν τῶν Ῥωμαίων*: NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 264-360. Ce texte latin a été écrit pendant la première moitié du mois de mars 1302.⁴⁵

(ff. 174v-185v) vii *Eulogium de notitia verorum et pseudo apostolorum*, avec le titre *Εὐλόγιον περὶ γνωρίσματος ἀληθινῶν καὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν*: NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 366-382. Texte latin composé à Gérone (fin 1302-début 1303).⁴⁶

(ff. 186r-223r) viii *Allocutio super significatione nominis thetogrammaton tam in lingua hebraica quam latina et super declaratione misterii Trinitatis evidentibus rationibus atque signis*, avec le titre *Ὁμιλία ἐπὶ τῇ σημασίᾳ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ τετραγράμματος, τόσον ἐν τῇ γλώττῃ τῇ ἑβραϊκῇ, ὅσον τῇ λατινικῇ, ἐπὶ τῆς δηλώσει τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς Τριᾶδος*

44. Texte latin: J. PERARNAU I ESPELT, *Arnaldi de Villanova, Alphabetum catholicum ad inclitum dominum rege Aragonum pro filiis erudiendis in elementis catholicae fidei, Tractatus de prudentia catholicorum scholarium*, Barcelona 2007; NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 205-259; version en castillan: J. PERARNAU I ESPELT, «Dos tratados "espirituales" d'Arnau de Vilanova en traducción castellana medieval», dans: *Anthologica Annua* 22/23 (1975/76), pp. 553-602; cf. SANTI, «Gli "scripta spiritualia" di Arnau de Vilanova», p. 983 (n° 4-6).

45. Texte latin: J. PERARNAU I ESPELT, «L'«Ars catholicae philosophiae» (primera redacció de la Philosophia catholica et divina) d'Arnau de Vilanova», dans: *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 10 (1991), pp. 7-223; cf. SANTI, «Gli "scripta spiritualia" di Arnau de Vilanova», pp. 985-986 (n° 12-13).

46. Texte latin: J. CARRERAS ARTAU, «La polémica gerundense sobre el Anticristo entre Arnau de Vilanova y los dominicos», dans: *Annales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* 5 (1950), pp. 33-44; cf. SANTI, «Gli "scripta spiritualia" di Arnau de Vilanova», p. 986 (n° 15-16).

σαφέσι λόγοις καὶ σημείοις πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πέτρον τοῦ Πουγέτου:
NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, pp. 388-438.
Texte en latin, dédié à Pierre Puget o. p., qu'Arnaud a composé
pendant son séjour au château de Raymond de Meuillon (juillet
1292).⁴⁷

Dans tout le manuscrit, une main occidentale contemporaine du copiste a – la même selon moi qui a écrit les numéros au début des cahiers et que j'indique comme b – a écrit dans les marges des mots latins en correspondance avec la traduction en grec, mots qui se trouvaient évidemment dans le latin ou étaient les équivalents des ceux présents dans l'original catalan.⁴⁸ Le même personnage a aussi contrôlé la totalité du manuscrit, en insérant des corrections après avoir gratté des mots ou en ajoutant dans les marges des phrases ou des paroles omises par le copiste. La graphie grecque de b trahit son habitude d'écrire en latin et il est possible aussi d'observer bien des incertitudes sur les accents et les esprits, etc.⁴⁹

Dans le manuscrit, on trouve aussi quelques illustrations (f. de garde, ff. 81r, 113v, 174r, 224v-225r) exécutées dans les folios ou parties de ceux-ci laissées en blanc par le copiste parmi deux textes différents. Les illustrations ont une provenance extérieure au monde byzantin. On peut plutôt penser à un milieu aulique occidental. Les dessins sont datables entre la deuxième moitié du XIV^e et, au plus tard, le début du XV^e siècle (v. annexe). Deux de ces illustrations sont accompagnées d'une note tracée par une main grecque (c) (ff. 113v, 81r), que l'on retrouve ailleurs dans le manuscrit (au f. 81v en marge de la première ligne de l'œuvre v.: ὑπάρχει οὐχ ἀπλῶς δηλοῖ τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάλαι εἶναι, au f. 216r en bas) et qui semble de la deuxième moitié du XV^e siècle, donc postérieure à l'exécution des dessins. Enfin, une dernière note tracée par une autre main grecque (d) du XVI^e siècle figure dans les premiers folios du manuscrit: «Il me

47. Texte latin: J. PERARNAU, *Arnaldi de Villanova, Introductio in librum De semine Scripturarum. Allocutio super significatione nominis Tetragrammaton*, Barcelona 2004; cf. SANTI, «Gli "scripta spiritualia" di Arnau de Vilanova», pp. 982-983 (n° 2-3).

48. Quelques exemples dans NADAL I CAÑELLAS, *Arnaldi de Villanova Tractatus octo*, p. 31.

49. Ici, corrections et intégrations normalement signalées dans l'apparat, mais insuffisamment exploitées (v. p. 30).

semble que cet exégète et didascale était grec et qu'ensuite par grande disgrâce il est devenu latin» (δοκῆμι ὅτι ο ἐξηγιτῆς καὶ διδάσκαλο τούτιδε ἦτον ρομέος καὶ ηστέρων δι' ἄπασαν θλιψὴν ἐλατίνησεν) (f. 1v).

L'étude du Petrop. gr. 113 permet de voir que le manuscrit a été exécuté pendant la deuxième moitié du XIV^e siècle dans un milieu que nous ne pouvons pas identifier avec l'Italie méridionale et la Calabre. Il a quand même été copié par un grec en Occident, ou dans un milieu occidental. L'organisateur du codex était un occidental qui a contrôlé et corrigé les textes grecs. Il serait tentant de lui attribuer aussi la mauvaise traduction en grec des œuvres catalanes et latines d'Arnaud de Villeneuve.⁵⁰

Le manuscrit contient une petite collection d'ouvrages qui réunit des textes de la période 1292-1309, écrits en latin pour un public cultivé et d'autres en catalan, diffusés aussi dans les versions italiennes destinées aux cercles pieux des béguins. La collection est anépigraphue — pour cette raison les phrases finales du traité sur le *Tetragrammaton* ont conduit un chercheur moderne à attribuer les ouvrages à Raymond de Meullon⁵¹ et d'autres à penser pouvoir dater le manuscrit de l'an 1292.⁵² Or il était anépigraphue dès l'origine, comme nous le savons grâce à la numération primitive des cahiers. En premier lieu l'absence du nom de l'auteur exclut *a priori* la possibilité que le manuscrit ait été la copie de la dédicace d'Arnaud de Villeneuve au patriarche de Constantinople Athanase I^{er}. De plus, la simple comparaison avec le manuscrit de ses œuvres latines donné par Arnaud au pape Clément V, le Vat. lat. 3824,⁵³ nous semble suffisante pour

50. Selon nous le traducteur des œuvres d'Arnaud est sûrement un occidental. Une étude spécifique (que nous ne pouvons naturellement pas conduire ici) sur cette traduction serait nécessaire, aussi bien qu'une mise en valeur des mots latins dans les notes marginales, travail indispensable aussi pour déterminer la langue originale (catalane ou latine) de chaque texte traduit.

51. E. DE MURALT, *Catalogus codicum Bibliothecae imperialis Publicae graecorum*, S. Pétersbourg 1840, coll. 24-25; V. LE CLERC, «Raymond de Meullon, dominicain, évêque de Gap, archevêque d'Embrun», dans: *Histoire littéraire de la France*, t. xx, Paris 1895, pp. 260-266.

52. G. CERETELI - S. SOBOLEVSKI, *Exempla Codicum Graecorum litteris minusculis scriptorum annorumque notis instructorum, Volumem alterum: Codices Petropolitani*, Mosquae 1913, Supplementum, tab. XXXIXa; GRANSTREM, «Katalog».

53. Cf. H. FINK, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz' VIII.*, Münster 1902, pp. 117-121; J. PERARNAU I ESPELT, «L'«Allocutio christiani» d'Arnau de Vilanova», dans: *Arxiu de Textos Catalanos Antics* 11 (1992), pp. 10-24.

abandonner définitivement cette hypothèse. Il faut souligner un autre élément (qui constitue aussi une preuve supplémentaire pour la datation du manuscrit). L'anépigraphe est caractéristique d'une bonne part des manuscrits des œuvres d'Arnaud et elle est essentiellement due à la sentence (posthume) de condamnation de ses doctrines et ouvrages émise à Tarragone le 9 novembre 1316. Le manuscrit grec est sans le nom de l'auteur pour les mêmes raisons que ceux des ouvrages d'Arnaud dans les langues occidentales. La réalisation de cette traduction témoigne aussi de la vitalité de la postérité spirituelle d'Arnaud après sa condamnation, sur laquelle nous avons des données importantes vers la moitié du XIV^e siècle. Le responsable de cette initiative désirait évidemment poursuivre concrètement les projets envisagés par le maître dans certains de ses ouvrages.

La collection des écrits d'Arnaud en grec, réalisée en Occident (ou dans un milieu occidental) dans la deuxième moitié du XIV^e siècle y reste pendant un siècle environ, mais dès la fin du XV^e et ensuite au XVI^e siècle, se trouve dans un milieu grec et orthodoxe avant de finir dans le fonds Ségurier. Ce parcours nous fait penser à la possibilité que le manuscrit se soit trouvé précédemment dans quelque domaine occidental en Orient (naturellement l'idée de la domination catalane à Athènes et en Grèce est la plus suggestive entre toutes).

Si l'histoire du manuscrit des œuvres en grec d'Arnaud de Villeneuve est sans aucun doute intéressante, nous devons remarquer que dans ce cas, encore plus que dans les exemples précédents, la circulation et la diffusion de ces textes spirituels occidentaux a été tout à fait limitée, ou pour mieux dire, inexistante.

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On peut conclure que les traductions des textes spirituels (au sens large du mot) occidentaux en grec pour la période en question (fin du XIII^e-XV^e siècle) sont très rares et que leur influence est minimale, limitée aux milieux particuliers dans lesquels ces versions ont été élaborées. La mystique byzantine de l'époque, dans toutes ses tendances, semble suivre des parcours bien différents et éloignés de ces réalités. En faisant cette constatation, on ne doit pas penser à un développement totalement autarcique de la mystique à Byzance pendant la

période paléologue. On peut trouver des échos des textes occidentaux, ou en tout cas non byzantins, chez des auteurs bien différents: Anselme et Thomas dans la *Vie en Christ* de Nicolas Cabasilas, Augustin dans de nombreux autres ouvrages spirituels.

ANNEXE:
LES ILLUSTRATIONS DU PETROPOLITANUS GRAECUS 113

Andrea BABUIN

Le codex Petropolitanus gr. 113, produit très vraisemblablement dans la deuxième moitié du XIV^e siècle, a la particularité de conserver une série d'illustrations n'ayant aucun rapport avec les textes d'Arnaud de Villeneuve rassemblés ici. Ces dessins de style gothique, très certainement l'oeuvre d'un artiste occidental, ont été insérés dans les espaces laissés vides dans le manuscrit. Ils représentent des sujets n'ayant apparemment aucun rapport entre eux, un musicien, des soldats, deux lions.

Le folio de garde du codex contient un chevalier avec la lance couchée. Malgré un état de conservation médiocre, ce dessin recèle une série de détails intéressants: le casque du chevalier est du type à bacinnet à visière mobile, la lance est une arme de tournoi ayant, au niveau de la poignée, un disque en métal qui protège la main (rondelle de lance), le bouclier est en réalité une targe avec échancrure pour la lance. Les protections pour le corps de ce chevalier sont constituées par un camail d'anneaux métalliques situés au dessous du casque et une série d'éléments de plate (épaulière, cubitière, canon) pour la protection du bras. Il est difficile d'établir si le tronçon est protégé par une cuirasse de plate ou bien par une brigandine, c'est à dire un blouson recouvert de plaquettes à l'intérieur.

Dans les folios du Petropolitanus gr. 113 on trouve deux autres images traitant d'un sujet militaire, tous deux dans le folio 174r. En haut est représenté un soldat luttant avec un dragon: la bête saisit le poignet gauche du guerrier pendant que ce dernier le frappe à la tête avec un poignard. Bien qu'essentielle, la scène fournit des données intéressantes du point de vue de la science des armes: l'homme porte un bacinnet représenté de façon très détaillée et empoigne un poignard à la forme unique d'un baselard, une arme dont le nom dérive de Bâle (Basel), sa ville d'origine présumée. Les parties de l'armure ne sont pas visibles, toutefois le corset avec une importante rangée de boutons pourrait aussi représenter une brigandine.

La partie inférieure du folio est occupée par deux personnages engagés dans un duel à l'épée. D'un point de vue iconographique la scène est essentielle; l'auteur l'a toutefois enrichie de détails réalistes tels la petite rondache de duel que les deux personnages portent passée au bras et les épées de forme caractéristique au bras droit. Pour finir, remarquons le casque du guerrier de gauche, surmonté par une petite croix, et le couvre-chef de coupe exotique de son adversaire, du genre généralement attribué aux Mongols dans l'art du XIV^e siècle.

Les images prouvant l'usage combiné de l'épée et de la rondache sont assez fréquentes dans l'iconographie médiévale, du moins à partir du XII^e siècle. Le plus ancien manuel d'escrime existant, le manuscrit Royal Armouries MS. I. 33, est entièrement consacré à cette forme particulière de combat.⁵⁴ Cette technique a été employée pendant tout le XIV^e siècle mais les manuels d'escrime du siècle suivant — le premier étant le manuel de Fiore dei Liberi daté de 1409 — n'y font aucune référence ou lui réservent une place très limitée.⁵⁵

Pour ce qui concerne les données permettant de dater cette série d'images, il faut remarquer que le camail du chevalier du folio de garde est un accessoire qui n'est plus utilisé à partir des premières années du XV^e siècle, les targes de combat apparaissent à partir du troisième quart du XIV^e siècle et le bacinet est un modèle de casque utilisé principalement dans la période allant de 1320 à 1420. Quant aux armes offensives, on peut dire que la lance de tournoi avec la rondelle de lance est apparue dans l'iconographie vers la fin du XIV^e siècle, le baselard a connu une grande diffusion surtout en Italie et en Allemagne de 1300 à 1500 et que les épées brandies par les duellistes dans le folio 174r sont semblables aux modèles qui circulaient dans l'Europe occidentale entre 1320 et 1400.⁵⁶

54. Cette œuvre de provenance allemande et datée fin XIII^e – début XIV^e siècle est entièrement illustrée par des scènes de duel dans lequel on voit des épées et des boucliers très semblables à ceux en question: J.L. FORGENG, *The Medieval Art of Swordmanship. A Facsimile & Translation of Europe's Oldest Personal Combat Treatise*, Royal Armouries MS. I. 33, Union City, CA 2003.

55. M. BUBBOLI et L. CESARI, *Fiore dei Liberi. Flos duellatorum. Manuale di arte del combattimento del XV secolo*, Rimini 2002; M. RECTOR, *Hans Talhoffer. Medieval Combat. A Fifteenth-Century Illustrated Manual of Swordfighting and Close-Quarter Combat*, London 2000.

56. E. OAKESHOTT, *Records of the Medieval Sword*, Woodbridge, Suffolk 1991, pp. 113, 150, 156, 160, 199, 200, 204.

Les éléments analysés jusqu'à présent permettent de proposer pour ces dessins une datation entre la moitié du XIV^e et le premier quart du XV^e siècle au plus tard. Cela signifierait qu'ils ont été ajoutés au codex à une période très proche de celle de la production du texte.

Malgré ses limitations techniques évidentes, l'illustrateur de ces folios fait montre de grandes capacités d'observation et soin du détail: la vielle dont joue le musicien dans le folio 113v est reproduite dans tous ses détails de fabrication, ainsi la veste aux motifs changeants et le couvre-chef (probablement orné d'un bouclier héraldique) du joueur. Particulièrement digne d'attention est également la complexe composition du folio 81r, où un encadrement architectural recherché entoure le personnage dont malheureusement on ne distingue que la partie inférieure du corps. L'arc aigu avec intrados en carène et les détails ornementaux se conjuguent dans cette image selon le goût caractéristique du gothique tardif.

Le Petropolitanus gr. 113 n'est pas le seul codex en langue grecque de cette période à avoir été illustré par des images réalisées par un artiste occidental: il y a aussi le Paris. BnF gr. 135, un manuscrit contenant le livre de Job et copié par Manuel Tzykandylès à Mistra vers 1361/2, qui est décoré par 198 miniatures réalisées par un artiste anonyme qui aurait réinterprété dans le goût gothique les miniatures contenues dans un modèle byzantin.⁵⁷

Du point de vue stylistique, les images des deux manuscrits appartiennent à un climat commun,⁵⁸ où les motifs du goût occidental se mêlent aux modes provenant de l'Asie (le chapeau mongol, le portail avec sa délicate décoration exotique). Tout cela ne prouve pas que le

57. T. VELMANS, «Le Parisinus Graecus 135 et quelques autres peintures de style gothique dans les manuscrits grecs à l'époque des Paléologues», dans: *Cahiers Archéologiques* 17 (1967), pp. 209-235. Une bibliographie mise à jour sur ce manuscrit est présente dans I. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, t. I, Leiden 1981, n° 264, p. 5. Voir aussi C. F[ÖRSTEL], *The book of Job, with Catenae*, dans: H.C. EVANS (éd.), *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, from March 23 through July 4, 2004), New Haven-London 2004, n° 33, p. 63.

58. Peut-être le même que certains desseins à la plume contenus dans le Lipsiensis gr. 35, que, sur la base des filigranes, on peut dater entre 1354 et 1374. Sur ce manuscrit, voir: C. CUPANE, «Κατέλαβες τὰ ἀμφίβολα τῆς τυφλῆς δαίμονος πρόσωπα. Λόγος παρηγορητικός περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εὐτυχίας», dans: N.M. PANAYOTAKIS (éd.), *Origini della letteratura neogreca*. Actes du II^e Congrès international Neogreca Medii Aevi, 2 t., Venezia 1993, t. I, pp. 413-437 et M. POLITI SAKELLARIADI, «Παρατηρήσεις στον "Λόγο παρηγορητικό περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εὐτυχίας"», ibidem, t. II, pp. 177-181.

Petropolitanus gr. 113 ait été produit en Grèce, mais seulement qu'il a été illustré à une époque proche de celle du codex de Paris selon le goût largement répandu alors surtout en Italie et en France. Pour l'iconographie, le point de contact le plus intéressant entre ces deux manuscrits est représenté par l'image des deux lions dans les folios 224v-225r du Petropolitanus et la scène très similaire figurant dans le folio 56r du codex parisien.⁵⁹

Il existe entre les deux livres une différence substantielle: les miniatures du codex de Mistra sont évidemment la transposition gothique de modèles d'image byzantines,⁶⁰ alors que les rapports entre les dessins du Petropolitanus gr. 113 et l'art grec sont seulement conjecturaux.

Pour ce qui concerne le chevalier du folio de garde, par exemple, tout parallèle avec des modèles byzantins est impossible: dans l'art paléologue, en fait, on ne trouve pas d'images d'hommes harnachés pour un tournoi. Et pourtant elles doivent avoir existé, étant donné que certains manuscrits du XVI^e et XVII^e siècle du *Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος* — une version grecque réalisée au XIV^e siècle du *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de St. Maure — sont décorés de miniatures représentant des affrontements avec la lance couchée et qui prouveraient l'existence d'un archétype illustré de cette œuvre du XIV^e siècle.⁶¹ Il est également difficile d'établir des comparaisons avec le joueur du folio 113v, les images des musiciens étant très rares dans l'art monumental et dans les manuscrits grecs de cette période.⁶²

La scène du dragon qui saisit le bras du guerrier dans le folio 174r — sans équivalent direct dans la littérature byzantine — pourrait s'inspirer d'un épisode peu connu du cycle de Digénis Akritas: suite à la découverte d'assiettes céramiques avec des scènes de combat entre

59. VELMANS, «Le Parisinus Graecus 135», p. 211, fig. 2.

60. A propos du manuscrit en question cf. le récent article de C. ALCALAY, «Le Parisinus graecus 135: un hommage à Jean Cantacuzène? Étude historique d'un livre de Job du XIV^e siècle», dans: *Byzantion* 78 (2008), pp. 404-483.

61. E.M. JEFFREYS (éd.), *The War of Troy* (Βυζαντινή και Νεοελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη, 7), Athènes 1996, pp. civ-cxii, tav. 2, 4-7. Deux autres images inédites d'affrontement entre chevaliers sont visibles dans un fragment du *Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος* conservé dans le Vat. gr. 2299, f. 50rv (Je remercie le Dr. Ilias Nesseris pour me l'avoir signalé).

62. G. GALAVARIS, «Musical Images in Byzantine Art», dans: B. BORKOPP et T. STEPAN (éds.), *Λιθόστρωτον. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle*, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 79-91.

Digénis et des dragons, nous savons qu'il y a dû sûrement exister des aventures de ce héros très populaire à Byzance et dont il n'y a aucune trace dans la tradition écrite.⁶³

Apparemment il n'y a aucune correspondance pour la scène du combat entre chrétien et infidèle figurant en bas de la page. Le casque surmonté d'une croix ne se retrouve jamais dans l'iconographie byzantine, dans laquelle en général on évite de décorer même les boucliers des saints guerriers avec le symbole de la croix.

Du point de vue de la composition, on peut affirmer que, tout compte fait, le folio 174r, plus que les modèles byzantins, rappelle beaucoup les thèmes iconographiques chers à l'Occident gothique comme celui de la totale opposition sous-entendue par les différentes antithèses homme-bête, chrétien-Antichrist mongol en combat.

Pour ce qui concerne l'équipement, il faut remarquer que les casques et les cuirasses représentés dans le codex de S. Pétersbourg sont d'inspiration purement occidentale et qu'on ne les retrouve presque jamais dans l'art grec. Dans une fresque datable du XIV^e siècle dans l'église de l'Afentikò à Mistra, on peut observer l'image isolée d'un baselard, le poignard empoigné par le soldat du folio 174r.⁶⁴

Avec leur style gothique et leur répertoire expressif plus proches du monde courtois et chevaleresque que du contenu religieux de ce livre, ces dessins semblent provenir d'un milieu occidental. À l'heure actuelle, il n'y a toutefois aucune donnée permettant d'établir avec certitude où ce livre a été produit. Bien que l'appareil d'images semble être de pure inspiration occidentale, cela n'exclut pas la possibilité qu'il ait été illustré en terre grecque. Nous savons par exemple qu'en 1395, le palais de l'archevêque catholique de Patras était décoré de fresques avec des scènes tirées du cycle troyen réalisées très vraisemblablement par des ouvriers non grecs⁶⁵ et on peut supposer que dans

63. A. FRANTZ, «Digenis Akritas: a Byzantine Epic and its Illustrators», dans: *Byzantion* 15 (1941), pp. 87-91. J.A. NOTOPOULOS, «Akritan Iconography on Byzantine Pottery», dans: *Hesperia* 33 (1964), pp. 108-133.

64. Pour une reproduction de cette fresque, voir N. OIKONOMIDÈS (éd.), *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα* (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Διεθνής Συμπόσια, 3), Athènes 1996, fig. 121.

65. L. LEGRAND, «Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien», dans: *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 (1895), pp. 566-669, particulièrement p. 661.

les cours latines de Romanie étaient produits et circulaient des livres de goût purement occidental.

Le dernier point d'interrogation soulevé par les scènes concerne le motif pour lequel elles ont été réalisées: elles ne semblent avoir aucun rapport avec le livre qui le contient et sont par ailleurs trop peu nombreuses et trop espacées entre elles pour servir de carnet de modèles.

Ces images, qui illustrent des épisodes méconnus et probablement pas liés entre eux, d'un côté sont trop minutieuses pour représenter le simple divertissement d'un dessinateur amateur et de l'autre côté dénotent une réalisation souvent négligente, au point de faire douter qu'elles aient été conçues comme un essai sérieux de décoration du manuscrit.



Fig. I: Petrop. gr. 113, f. 113v.



Fig. II: Petrop. gr. 113, f. 174r.

DIVIDED LOYALTIES? THE CAREER AND WRITINGS OF DEMETRIUS KYDONES

Judith R. RYDER*

In his *History of the Byzantine State*, George Ostrogorsky described Demetrius Kydones as "one of the most fertile and interesting writers of the fourteenth century" and his writings as "among the most important historical sources for the age of the Palaeologi".¹ Amongst Byzantinists, or at least those of them who stray into the final centuries of Byzantium, Kydones is a well-known figure, although his career and the scope of his writings and activities are not always appreciated. Further afield, however, Kydones is certainly less well known: his name does not enjoy the same recognition, for example, as those of Bessarion or Gemistos Plethon, who manage to transcend the boundaries of obscurity which so often limit Byzantine historical figures, taking their place on the wider canvas of medieval European history. Given Kydones' relative unfamiliarity, therefore, although the core argument of this paper is of relatively narrow scope, as will become clear later, it seems best to open with a short introduction to Kydones' career and writings. This introduction should hopefully serve to indicate why it was that Ostrogorsky held Kydones in such high regard, and why Kydones perhaps deserves wider recognition.

The first, perhaps most mundane, point to be made in this introduction is that Kydones is important historically because he was a significant political figure in his own right. Born in the 1320s in Thessalonica, he was closely associated with John Kantakuzenos, leader of one of the factions in the Byzantine civil war of the 1340s.²

* Acknowledgement is due to the Arts and Humanities Research Council (then the Arts and Humanities Research Board) for funding my doctoral research on Kydones, which forms the basis of this article.

1. G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford 1986 (= Reprint of English Paperback Edition), p. 473.

2. For an introduction to the political upheavals in Byzantium in these years, see e.g. G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, section VIII.3, "The period of civil wars: Serbian ascendancy in the Balkans"; D.M. NICOL, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*,

When, in 1347, Kantakuzenos gained the upper hand and entered Constantinople as its emperor (Emperor John VI), Kydones' political career took off. Kantakuzenos refers to him as τοῖς πράγμασι μεσάζων (that is to say, as effectively Kantakuzenos' chief minister), and as such required to be at the emperor's side at all times.³ In 1354, a further stage in the civil war forced Kantakuzenos to abdicate in favour of the Palaiologan heir, John V, and Kydones too went into retirement. But in Kydones' case the retirement did not last long: by 1356 John V had recalled him to imperial service, and his subsequent career lasted into the 1390s, although with varying degrees of influence and occasional periods of effective exile. Kydones' position therefore made him one of the most prominent Byzantine political figures for over four decades.⁴

How important this makes Kydones in wider terms is debatable. Byzantium was, after all, a pale shadow of its former self by the fourteenth century, drastically reduced geographically, internally divided, and, during the second half of the century, repeatedly threatened with extinction.⁵ Why, in such circumstances, should Kydones be regarded as of anything more than minor local importance? To downplay Kydones on this basis would, however, be to miss two important points. The first is that this was a period in which the cultural and

1261-1453, Cambridge 1993,² Part III: "The mortal illness of Byzantium: the age of civil wars – 1321-1354", passim.

3. Παρόντος δὲ καὶ Κυδωνῆ, ὃς ἔνδον βασιλείων διέτριβεν αἰεὶ, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν, ἣν πολλὴν παρὰ βασιλείῳς ἔκαρποῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι μεσάζων ἀνάγκην εἶχεν αἰεὶ συνεῖναι βασιλεῖ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν. JOHN KANTAKUZENOS, *Ioannis Kantakuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, ed. L. SCHOPEN, Bonn 1832, p. 285, ll. 5-9.

4. For Kydones' biography, see: F. TINNEFELD (ed. & trans.), *Demetrius Kydones. Briefe, Vol II*, Stuttgart 1981, pp. 4-52; also R.-J. LOENERTZ, "Démétrius Cydonès, 1: De la naissance à l'année 1373", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 36 (1970), pp. 47-72 and IDEM, "Démétrius Cydonès, II: de 1373 à 1375", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971), pp. 5-39. In English, articles by Frances Kianka cover, in different contexts, different areas of Kydones' activities, of which probably the most relevant here are F. KIANKA, "The Apology of Demetrius Cydones: A Fourteenth Century Autobiographical Source", in: *Byzantine Studies* 7 (1980), pp. 57-71; EADEM, "Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The Role of Demetrius Cydones", in: *The International History Review* 7 (1985), pp. 175-213; and EADEM, "Demetrius Kydones and Italy", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), pp. 99-110.

5. See e.g. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, section VIII. 3; NICOL, *Last Centuries*, Part IV, chapters 13 & 14.

military hegemony of the Eastern Mediterranean was being forged, not a period in which it was fixed. Byzantium may have been weak, but as yet no single power dominated the region in its stead. There were 'powers' aplenty with a stake in the region: the Ottomans, the Venetians, Genoa, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Cyprus, various Latin states and their Western backers, even the Golden Horde; but this period was characterised by flux rather than by clear political boundaries.⁶ On these grounds alone, it would be foolish to write off and ignore Byzantium and therefore also Kydones. Moreover, to this can be added the second point: Byzantium's influence often goes far beyond any calculations based on practical resources. Its position between East and West, its status as Christian but not Catholic, its claims to cultural leadership within Orthodoxy, its intellectual heritage, its political history, all demanded attention from the world around, eliciting complex responses from Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim neighbours. These and other aspects of the Byzantine inheritance meant that Byzantium continued to be an important factor in regional cultural and political developments, despite its state of relative decline.

So Kydones was a leading Byzantine political figure, and by virtue of that a figure of some historical importance. However, his significance goes far beyond that, into areas both related and unrelated to his political role. This significance is attested principally by the substantial corpus of writings that he left behind.⁷ Three main aspects of

6. Numerous references could be given to illustrate this. To the references from Ostrogorsky and Nicol given above, which necessarily mention the influence of the different groups in Late Byzantine affairs, can be added in particular the following: on the waxing and waning of the Serbs, and to a lesser extent the Bulgarians: G.C. SOULIS, *The Serbs and Byzantium During the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan*, Washington, DC 1984; on the various 'Latin' powers in the Eastern Mediterranean: P. LOCK, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500*, London-New York 1995; on the Balkans more generally in this period: J.V.A. FINE, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 1994. Essentially, any account of Byzantine fortunes during these years should give a good sense of how the range of external interests operating in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time interacted and impacted upon each other, without any party yet clearly holding overall sway.

7. For a list of the writings described in what follows, with brief descriptions and extensive references, see F. TINNEFELD (ed. & trans.), *Demetrius Kydones. Briefe, Vol I,I*, Stuttgart 1981, pp. 62-74. Rather than reproduce the references given by Tinnefeld, it has been thought sufficient here to indicate which writings are being referred to by giving their number within Tinnefeld's system (e.g. T 1.5).

this should be emphasised, although they by no means exhaust the potential to be found in the corpus. First there is the importance of Kydones' writings as a source for the period, already mentioned above; second, Kydones' involvement in the theological issues of the time; and third, his place in more general intellectual history.

Taking first Kydones' writings as a major source for the history of the period, certain of his writings are particularly useful in terms of historical reconstruction. There is a large corpus of letters: more than 450 survive, addressed to a wide range of recipients on a wide range of subjects.⁸ The standard conception of the Byzantine letter is often that it said very little but in a very convoluted way.⁹ This is true of some of Kydones' letters — he was proficient in the use of rhetorical forms — but only of some. Others are very informative, even startlingly direct. The letters alone therefore provide much material useful in reconstructing and interpreting the period. To them can be added Kydones' speeches, of which two particularly stand out for the insight they give into historical developments: one dating to 1366, which discusses the political balance in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time;¹⁰ and another probably dating to 1371,¹¹ which discusses the strategic importance of Gallipoli and the danger posed by the Ottomans. To these can be added a number of other speeches: two addressed to Kantakuzenos,¹² another addressed to John V,¹³ all of which contain both historical and personal information. In addition, Kydones wrote a monody on a massacre that took place in Thessalonica in 1345 as part of the so-called 'Zealot revolt'.¹⁴ Kydones' family was directly affected. The episode has often been regarded as some kind of prototypical socialist uprising, and as such attracted considerable attention—but such theories tend to fall down because of the sparsity of evidence. Kydones' monody is the most substantial piece

8. T 1.5.

9. See, for example, the various frustrations expressed by George T. Dennis: G.T. DENNIS, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus: Text, Translation, and Notes*, Washington DC 1977, pp. xviii-xxi.

10. The *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum* (T 1.3.4), which will be discussed at more length below.

11. The *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli* (T 1.3.5), which will also be referred to below.

12. T 1.3.2 and T 1.3.3.

13. T 1.3.1.

14. T 1.3.1.

of evidence for the episode.¹⁵ Although Kydones did not consciously set out to write 'history', nevertheless his writings provide invaluable insight into a period often neglected by modern historians because of its lack of coverage in formal historiographical narratives.¹⁶

Moving on, the second main area in which Kydones stands out as a figure of interest is one which was of key importance in the fourteenth-century Eastern Mediterranean: religion. Kydones was, for want of a better phrase, a 'Catholic convert' — quite how this should be understood is a question central to the argument of this paper, as will be seen. He learnt Latin early in his career, had numerous 'Latin' contacts — including political and religious figures — and, perhaps most notably, translated Western theology into Greek.¹⁷ His main interest in his translations was Aquinas; but he also dealt with Augustine, or what he thought was Augustine, as well as looking at other material. Much of the other material related to issues disputed between Catholics and Orthodox, but some related to other questions such as the Christian response to Islam. The extent to which Kydones' translations influenced developments in the East is debatable and debated; but Kydones certainly inspired a number of notable Greek 'Thomists',¹⁸ while anti-Islamic apologetics, using Kydones' material, were developed already in the fourteenth century by Kantakuzenos himself and by the Emperor Manuel II, a pupil of Kydones.¹⁹

On his own account, moreover, Kydones wrote religious tracts and treatises. He wrote a number of so-called *Apologias*, explaining and defending his own beliefs²⁰ and, in the case of one, those of his brother, Prochoros.²¹ It could be argued that the *Apologias* are as much political as religious; they are written not as abstract treatises

15. See esp. J.W. BARKER, "Interpretations of the Zealots" = Appendix 2 of his article "Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Second City's Challenges and Responses", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 5-33. at pp. 29-33.

16. Cf. NICOL, *Last Centuries*, pp. 253-254.

17. A list of his translations can be found in TINNEFELD, *Briefe*, pp. 68-72.

18. See esp. S.G. PAPADOPOULOS, "Thomas in Byzanz: Thomas-Rezeption und Thomas-Kritik in Byzanz zwischen 1354 und 1453", in: *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 (1974), pp. 274-304.

19. See E. TRAPP, *Manuel II. Palaiologus. Dialog mit einem "Perser"*, Vienna 1966.

20. T 1.6.1, 1.6.2, 1.7.2 (exactly which of Kydones' writings are to be termed 'apologias' varies according to commentator; I include here Tinnefeld's 1.7.2, which he terms Kydones' 'Testamentum religiosum' and places in a different category).

21. T 1.6.3.

but as very much connected to the practical circumstances in which they were written. However, a number of more abstract theological treatises by Kydones also survive,²² as do a number of sermons.²³ What is particularly interesting is that Kydones often anticipates issues that arise in later Catholic-Orthodox debate, particularly those surrounding the Council of Florence in the fifteenth century. For example, he emphasizes the infallibility of both Greek and Latin Fathers, insisting that if this is accepted, and if both patristic traditions thereby receive equal consideration, the underlying agreement between the two sides becomes clear.²⁴ This prefigures the famous *concensus sanctorum* — the principle that both Catholic and Orthodox fathers were infallible — which formed the basis of the agreement reached at Florence.²⁵ He also wrote strongly in favour of the idea of a council to resolve differences.²⁶ Kydones' approach to Catholic-Orthodox relations in his writings is an important, if frequently unacknowledged, element in the development of East-West debate.

Returning to the fourteenth century, however, Kydones was also personally involved in a number of striking historical episodes in Byzantine-papal relations. Early in his reign, John V made considerable efforts at enlisting papal support, and Western support more generally, for Byzantium.²⁷ This included two particularly noteworthy episodes. The first of these was John's journey of 1365-67 to Hungary, to pursue negotiations with King Louis I. Kydones did not accompany him, but apparently was a leading player in events in Constantinople in John's absence.²⁸ The second was John's famous

22. T 1.1.1-1.1.4.

23. T 1.2.1-1.2.4.

24. This is argued in both his *Apologia I* and *Apologia III*: see G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Studi e Testi, 56), Vatican City 1931, pp. 367-368, ll. 43-60 and pp. 429-430, ll. 27-58.

25. See e.g. J. GILL, "Eleven Emperors of Byzantium seek Union with the Church of Rome", in: *Eastern Churches Review* 9 (1977), pp. 72-84, at p. 83.

26. E.g. D. KYDONES, *Apologia III* (= MERCATI, *Notizie*, pp. 425-435), at pp. 427-428.

27. For an account of this, see O. HALECKI, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'Orient, 1355-75*, Variorum: London 1972 (= reprint of 1930 edition).

28. See the relevant sections of HALECKI, *Empereur*. Kydones' *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, discussed at greater length below, belongs to this period.

journey to Italy over the years 1369-71, in the course of which John made a personal submission to Pope Urban V in Rome, but then ran into difficulties in Venice, delaying his return.²⁹ Kydones went with John on this second journey, and was at his side in Rome when John made his submission. It is easy to see Kydones' influence running strong through the 1360s. Even later in the century, however, when Ottoman pressure and the papal schism combined to make this path less realistic, the question of political and ideological relations with the East remained alive in Byzantium, with Kydones and his circle providing a pro-western impetus.

A final point to be made with regard to Kydones' religious involvement is his opposition to the developments within Orthodoxy that were taking place at this time. Gregory Palamas, who can perhaps be said, like Bessarion and Plethon, to have transcended the bounds of Byzantine obscurity, albeit in rather different ways, was the central figure in a theological controversy (the 'Hesychast controversy') which came to the foreground in the 1340s and had a lasting impact on the development of Orthodoxy.³⁰ Kydones' brother, Prochoros, became embroiled in the controversy in its later stages, and for his pains was condemned in 1368 by Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, an enthusiastic 'Palamite'.³¹ Kydones himself disagreed with Palamas and was outspoken in his opposition to 'Palamites' of his own generation. Thus with regard to Kydones' involvement in matters theological he also stands out as a leading anti-Palamite.

Moving on from theology, the third main area in which Kydones stands out as a figure of importance is intellectual and literary history. As will be seen, this is not the preoccupation of this paper. However, the range and nature of Kydones' writings demonstrate that he made an important contribution to intellectual and literary history. Some

29. See the relevant sections of HALECKI, *Empereur*; R.-J. LOENERTZ, "Jean V Paléologue à Venise (1370-1371)", in: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 16 (1958), pp. 217-232; J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, "John V Palaeologus in Venice (1370-1371) and the Chronicle of Caroldo: A Re-interpretation", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965), pp. 76-84.

30. See esp. J. MEYENDORFF, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, Paris 1959, translated into English by G. LAWRENCE as *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, London 1964.

31. See N. RUSSELL, "Palamism and the Circle of Demetrius Cydones", in: C. DENDRINOS, J. HARRIS, E. HARVALIA-CROOK and J. HERRIN (eds), *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, Aldershot 2003, pp. 153-174, esp. pp. 158-166.

aspects should already have become clear. Byzantine rhetoric, for example, is a field of study in itself, and many of Kydones' writings are highly capable examples of Byzantine rhetorical forms: letters, speeches and so on. The most popular of his works in the centuries immediately following his death, moreover, was not any of the writings so far mentioned, but his treatise *De contemnenda morte*, a philosophical meditation on death.³² Kydones, western- and theologically-orientated as he was, was a strong proponent of the great tradition of Byzantine scholarship; of interest in and promotion and emulation of the Greek classical tradition, whether philosophical, mathematical or rhetorical.³³ In this, as well as in political and theological matters, he exercised great influence on those around him. And in terms of Renaissance history, many Greek scholars of influence in Italy were associates and disciples of Kydones.³⁴ Kydones was thus an important link in the chain of Byzantine scholarship and the crossover between Greek and Latin thought worlds.

The above introduction was intended to present, in brief, some of the reasons why Demetrius Kydones deserves attention. Clearly, however, it cannot claim to be an exhaustive account: Kydones' activities spanned a number of fields, so to understand his contribution fully would require in-depth study of these various fields. The intention was, rather, simply to outline where Kydones stands in relation to key events and trends, historical and cultural.

The main intention of this paper has, however, yet to be stated. It is, in fact, somewhat at odds with the 'intellectual' emphasis of this volume as a whole. This might seem rather strange, given that the basic outline given above of Kydones' activities and writings is

32. T 1.1.5.

33. For example, Kydones owned manuscripts containing works of Proclus, Ptolemy and Euclid (see MERCATI, *Notizie*, p. 17; also E. FRYDE, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261 – c. 1360)*, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2000, pp. 341-342, 383) and wrote scholia on Euclid and a short mathematical piece (T 1.7.7 & T 1.7.6). He also had in his possession one of the most important manuscripts of Libanios (see MERCATI, *Notizie*, pp. 156-157, 1). His writings are littered with references to and promotion of Greek classical and theological writers.

34. The most notable of these being Manuel Chrysoloras, who taught Greek in Florence at the end of the fourteenth century, and who was closely associated with Kydones at the time. Kydones was also acquainted with Coluccio Salutati. See F. KIANKA, "Demetrius Kydones and Italy", at pp. 108-10.

evidently weighted heavily in favour of the 'intellectual' (counting 'theology' in this category). But what has preoccupied me in my work on Kydones is not so much *what* his ideas are and their relationship to wider and longer-term intellectual trends as how they operate within their historical context. The basic outline of Kydones' ideas and activities has, after all, long been known, even if often treated in a somewhat simplistic manner: his pro-western stance; his theological ideas; his translations; his literary and philosophical influence. His contributions to specific intellectual and cultural debates have often been noted, as indeed they are elsewhere in this volume. What this paper intends to do, instead, is to take the basic elements of Kydones' life and thought as a given, and to consider how they relate to their context. More specifically, the question to be addressed is: how do Kydones' ideas, and in particular his pro-western ideas (which, after all, is the overriding theme), relate to his identity as a leading 'Byzantine'?

Three reasons in particular can be given for addressing this question. The first is a general one. Popular preconceptions of 'Byzantine' society often think of it as based on a largely anti-western, anti-intellectual, monolithic orthodoxy. More subtle understanding of 'Byzantine' society naturally reveals something rather more complex and interesting, and readily acknowledges the existence of individuals and groupings, particularly in the intellectual elite, much more open to a range of intellectual and cultural influences. Kydones clearly is a prime example of such individuals, he and his associates forming an archetypal pro-western grouping. But there is still a sense that these people were not really part of their society, but an anomalous separate elite; somehow disconnected from their context, to be judged according to different criteria — as part of 'intellectual history', in fact, rather than as part of the history of their society. To a certain extent there is truth in this; but it is in other respects unsatisfactory. Regardless of how great a contrast there may have been between them and other sectors of their society, these people in many cases continued to operate primarily within that society, and the connections or disjunctions between them and their surroundings constitute in themselves an essential ingredient of that society. So by considering the way in which such individuals or groups related to their context — rather than simply stating baldly that they existed — a better picture can be built up of the overall

nature of the society. Kydones is a particularly useful case for study precisely in this respect because of his long career: he continued to be present, active and influential in Byzantine political and intellectual life for decades, while at the same time clearly representing allegedly 'non-Byzantine' trends. Consideration of how Kydones' ideas and his career relate to each other is therefore likely to offer valuable insight into the broader nature of his society.

The second main reason for addressing this question is more mundane, in a sense, but will form the core of my paper, since it can be given concrete expression. Kydones himself is clearly concerned with the question. At times in his writings he addresses head-on questions of identity and loyalty, and seems to come up with at least the outline of a basis for reconciling differing opinions within a common framework. So Kydones himself provides the impetus for seeing such questions as an essential part of any attempt to understand him and his ideas and how both relate to his society.

The third reason for addressing the question is related to the first; in a sense it is an extension of it. However, it is more something to be flagged up than a question to be dealt with in any depth here, since it has to do with subsequent generations. If Kydones can, as will be suggested here, be regarded as having developed an approach to identity and loyalty that allowed him to place differing opinions within the same framework, clearly this has implications for understanding his own period. But how far do these implications go? How influential were such ideas subsequently? How much did they colour debate, whether positively or negatively? Did Kydones' ideas become influential or at least tolerable in the later Late Byzantine World? The final decades of independent Byzantine existence present complex phenomena for the consideration of the historian, some of which are difficult to reconcile. It is worth considering the extent to which some of Kydones' ideas regarding the relationship between 'Byzantines' and 'Latins' may help to explain some of these phenomena.

As stated above, however, the substantial core of this paper — that is, what follows below — is to deal very specifically with how Kydones seems to understand, or at least to present, the relationship between his pro-western ideas and his 'Byzantine' identity.³⁵

35. From this point, Byzantine will appear in inverted commas: this is in order to emphasize that, in dealing with primary texts of this nature, it may not be safe to assume

With respect to identity and 'Latin'-'Byzantine' relations, the most striking, and perhaps most well-known, passage in Kydones' writings comes from the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*.³⁶ This piece was written in 1366 in response to the imminent arrival of Amadeo of Savoy, cousin of John V, in Constantinople, after Amadeo had captured Gallipoli, and urges that Amadeo and his men should be welcomed as allies.³⁷ In a key passage within the speech, Kydones emphasises at length the common origin of 'Byzantine' Easterners and 'Latin' Westerners, describing them all as 'Romans', with an origin in a shared *patris*, placing great emphasis on Constantine's actions and intentions in founding Constantinople and on the resultant shared cultural and institutional history.³⁸ Here, Kydones is clearly making a strong argument that at some important level, 'Byzantines' and 'Latins' have much in common.

This passage could be seen as indicative of Kydones' basic attitude to identity and loyalty: that is, it could be argued that it implies that his sense of 'Byzantine' identity was rather diluted; that he was only interested in his 'Byzantine' identity as one aspect of a much wider identity, in which both 'Byzantines' and 'Latins' shared. This would leave him easily open to charges of divided and ambiguous loyalties, at the very least. But this is only if it is taken out of its context; when the wider context is taken into account, something rather different seems to be going on.

This passage from the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum* belongs within a wide-ranging speech, in which the central focus, drawn from immediate circumstances, is the plight of the 'Byzantines' and how to save them. The speech is structured as a discussion of the possibilities open

that the meaning of 'Byzantine' is automatically clear. Equally, 'Latins' will receive the same treatment, it being a notoriously loose term—almost as loose as 'Westerners'.

36. See above, note 10.

37. The exact nature of Kydones' audience for this speech cannot be determined, although both internal and contemporary external evidence suggest strongly that it, or at least some version of it, was delivered publicly before an assembly. See J.R. RYDER, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society*, Leiden 2010.

38. PG 154, cols. 977C-980B. The passage opens with a simple identification of Amadeo's forces as 'Romans' (Τοὺς νῦν ἥκοντας Ῥωμαίους φημι), an identity which renders them most suitable as allies (Τίνες Ῥωμαίους Ῥωμαίων οἰκειότεροι σύμμαχοι; ἢ τίνες ἀξιοπιστότεροι τῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐχόντων πατρίδα;). Parts of this passage are cited by Frances Kianka (F. KIANKA, "Demetrius Kydones and Italy", at p. 103).

to the beleaguered 'Byzantines', given that they are clearly not strong enough to achieve their own salvation on their own. There is a need for allies: and Kydonēs identifies a number of criteria by which allies should be chosen.³⁹ These include: shared faith;⁴⁰ close connection with the 'Byzantines' on different levels, including military and administrative;⁴¹ military superiority to the 'barbarians', i.e., the Turks, the enemy who are to be confronted;⁴² previous experience of fighting them;⁴³ reliability;⁴⁴ and sufficient wealth for the enterprise.⁴⁵

Kydonēs' argument in favour of alliance with Amadeo and the West rather than other possible alliances is expressed according to these criteria. His initial presentation of the Westerners, in the passage described briefly above, is only one part of the overall picture: he spends much time in subsequent passages seeking to demonstrate that the Westerners are militarily superior to the Turks, experienced in fighting them, reliable, and wealthy. Far more words go into this than go into dealing with the first two criteria, namely shared faith and close similarities to the 'Byzantines'. And Kydonēs' opening presentation of the Westerners comes after passages in which he has discussed exactly the same criteria in relation to the main alternatives to the Westerners: the Serbs and Bulgarians. In these passages, he does not suggest that the Serbs and Bulgarians are *not* connected to the 'Byzantines', while the Westerners are; in fact, he describes the Serbs and Bulgarians specifically as complying with criteria of shared faith and close similarities, accepting that there are important cultural connections between them and the 'Byzantines'.⁴⁶ He rejects them as allies instead on the grounds not that there are no such connections but

39. PG 154, col. 969B-D.

40. *Ibid.* ἀνάγκη, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξης ἡμῖν κοινωνεῖν.

41. *Ibid.* Ἐπειτα καὶ ἄλλως ἡμῖν οικείους καὶ συνήθεις ὑπάρχειν· λέγω δὲ κοινὰς ποθ' ἡμῖν καὶ κείνοις γενέσθαι στρατείας καὶ διοικήσεις, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιμιξίας.

42. *Ibid.* Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πλήθει, καὶ τόλμῃ, καὶ φρονήμασι, καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰς μάχας ἐμπειρίᾳ δεῖ τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν βαρβάρων προέχειν.

43. *Ibid.* καὶ πρὸς γε ἔτι μὴ ταύτην αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρώτην τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους συμπλοκῆς τὴν ἀρχήν.

44. *Ibid.* Τῆς δὲ βεβαιότητος, καὶ τοῦ μὴ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνωσμένων ἀφίστασθαι, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναγκαιοτέραν συντέλειαν ἡγεῖται.

45. *Ibid.* Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν ἔστιν εἰς ὃ τι τούτων ἐκάστῳ χρησόμεθα, χρημάτων ἀπόντων· μάλλον δὲ μὴ πλείστον παρόντων. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστιν, οὗ σχεδὸν πάντων μάλιστα δεῖ ...

46. Τί δ' ἂν ἔχους Μουσούς καὶ Τριβαλοὺς αἰτιάσαι, παρελθὼν τις ἴσως ἐρεῖ, ἀνθρώπους ὁμοίους ἡμῖν, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ προσκειμένους, καὶ πολλῶν ἐν πολλοῖς καιροῖς πραγμάτων κεκοινωνηκότας ἡμῖν. DEMETRIUS KYDONES, *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, PG 154, col. 972C-D.

because they do not satisfy his other criteria.⁴⁷ He is particularly critical of their historical dealings with the 'Byzantines', which make them thoroughly unreliable, not to say dangerous.⁴⁸

So Kydones' description of the relationship between 'Latins' and 'Byzantines' in the passage of the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum* which introduces the 'Latins' should not be read without reference to the wider picture. Although certainly Kydones is emphasising a strong connection between the two, this is not an exclusive connection; and it is not his starting-point. His starting-point is the situation and needs of the remnant of the 'Byzantine' Empire.

Certainly, it could be suggested that Kydones' concept of the shared *patris*, as found in the passage in which he introduces the 'Latins', is problematic, suggesting a dilution of focus, of allegiance. But this, I would argue, is not the case. On the one hand, Kydones clearly intends the use of the term *patris* to have a strong effect; but the effect is only strong if it rests on a strong primary point of reference for the term, for both speaker and audience, in the immediate homeland: without this, the extension of the term to include the 'Latins' would lose most of its rhetorical force. On the other hand, although Kydones applies the idea of shared *patris* to the contemporary situation, he also bases this on a historical account where the focus is on explaining the relevance of the West to contemporary Byzantine people, practices and institutions: that is to say, the focus returns again to the situation of both speaker and audience.

More of a sense of Kydones' emphasis on his immediate political and cultural setting as forming his identity and providing the focus for his loyalty can be gathered from another text, perhaps the most famous of his writings. This is the *Apologia I*, a piece which deals largely with theological and ecclesiastical issues, and has therefore attracted much attention but not generally been examined for its political content.⁴⁹

47. Οὐδὲν εἶπον ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν συνεῖπον, εἰ μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ τοῦ γνωρί-
μους ἡμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τᾶλλα τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσῆν, ὧν μετεῖναι δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγωνιου-
μένοις ἐλέγομεν. Demetrius Kydones, *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, PG 154, col.
972C-D

48. PG 154, cols. 973B-976D.

49. As with the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum* (see above, note 37), the exact nature of the audience of the *Apologia I* cannot be known; however, its tenor suggests less of a public declamatory context, more of a private and literary/intellectual scope. See again J.R. RYDER, *Career and writings*, chapter 4, passim.

However, there are clearly political aspects to it: if nothing else, Kydones wrote it in the early to mid-1360s, in a period when he occupied a central position in politics and when relations with the West were of great importance. It is difficult, given these circumstances, to regard the *Apologia I* as devoid of political significance.

And indeed, the contents of the *Apologia I* themselves urge a political reading. In particular, there are passages towards the end of the piece in which Kydones makes it clear that he is aware of the political implications of the opinions he is putting forward. One such passage lays out a list of fundamental priorities, in which Kydones declares what the *patris* means to him, using strong and emotive language. The *patris* is everything to him, and he would do everything possible to preserve it—with the proviso that God, the truth and the soul take precedence.⁵⁰ This proviso should not, of course, be seen as devaluing his declaration of patriotism: it is not a question of one thing being good, the other bad, or one thing important, the other unimportant. Rather, one thing is good, another better, one thing important, another more important, without implying rejection of the goodness or the importance of the first thing. Kydones' declaration of patriotism is clear and strong, all the more so for being placed in the same context as matters of ultimate importance. And as Kydones points out, in true Thomistic fashion, worthy of Aquinas' translator, the point is that if all things work in harmony, there is no conflict: providing the *patris* does not make demands which properly pertain to a different sphere, there is no limit to the extent of Kydones' loyalty.

Clearly this passage implies something which is evident throughout the *Apologia I*, and upon which the piece is predicated: that there are indeed those who question Kydones' loyalty and think it impossible for him to hold the kind of opinions he does and still be a patriotic

50. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, μετὰ γε τὸν Θεόν, τιμιώτατον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ ἀγιώτατον, καὶ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἐμοὶ προσηκόντων ταύτην ἄγω προτιμωτέραν ὡς ἂν πάντων ὧν ἔχω καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐμοῦ, μετὰ γε τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐστίαν. καὶ πολλῶν ἂν δυσχερῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μένων ἡδίων ἀνασχοίμην ἢ παρ' ἄλλοις διατρέβων δεξαίμην τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύειν ... δεῖ γὰρ ταῖς ἐλάττωσι τῶν ἀρχῶν οὕτω τὸ προσήκον τηρεῖν ὡς μὴ τῶν μειζόνων δὲ δίκαιον ἀφαιρεῖν· μέγιστον δὲ Θεὸς καὶ ἀλήθεια, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ τούτων ἕνεκα κτισθεῖσα ψυχὴ. τοῦτοις οὖν δὲ δίκαιον περισώζων, πρόθυμον ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰλλα τῇ πατρίδι διάκονον ὑπισχνοῦμαι παρέξειν. D. KYDONES, *Apologia I* (= G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* [Studi e Testi, 56], Vatican City 1931, pp. 359–403), at p. 400, ll. 2–7 and 9–13.

'Byzantine'. And Kydones does then go further and address specifically the question of the compatibility of his ideas with 'Byzantine' loyalty. In doing this, he uses the same basic motif of connections between 'Latins' and 'Byzantines' as in the *Oratio pro subsidio Latino-rum*, but in a slightly different form, emphasising much more the ecclesiological side of things: 'Byzantines' and 'Latins' are not natural enemies, but from the beginning have been members of the same Church, co-citizens, as it were.⁵¹ This in turn puts a different complexion on the theological disputes: they can be equated not to battles between inveterate enemies with no connection between them, but are far more like civil war⁵² — an evil only too familiar to Kydones and his contemporaries. And in civil war, according to Kydones, the point is that both sides regard themselves as striving for the common good: the other side is not a 'natural' enemy; the dispute is born out of differences of opinion as to what will best serve the common good.⁵³ So it is with Kydones' approach to theology: he propounds one set of opinions because he considers that they best serve the common good — but he should not for that reason be regarded as an enemy by his opponents.⁵⁴

This passage once again returns us to the idea of East and West being equated, and thus to potential charges of Kydones diluting ideas of identity and loyalty in such a way as to make his loyalties suspect. However, this is to miss the point underlined in the earlier passage from the *Apologia I*: although undoubtedly connected, there are nevertheless distinctions to be made between the more spiritual realm

51. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἄνωθεν καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις Λατίνων διηρημένοις φύσει καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ κληῖρον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδεξάμεθα πόλεμον ... καὶ δεῖ διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι παντὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔχθραν τηρεῖν. τὸναντιὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ μιᾶς πόλεως ἄμφω τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὄντες πολῖται, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσι χρώμενοι, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑπακούοντες. *Ibid.*, p. 401, ll. 39-52, 55-61.

52. ὥστε μὴ πολέμῳ, φιλονεικίᾳ δέ τινα μᾶλλον ἢ στάσει τὴν νῦν διαφορὰν εἰκέναι. *Ibid.*, p. 401, ll. 47f.

53. πόλεως δὲ οὕτω νοσοῦσης οὐ δῆπου μερίτας καὶ πολεμίους καθαρῶς τῆς πατρίδος ἀλλήλους οἱ πολῖται νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν ἄμφω μὲν πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συνοῖσον ὁρῶντες, καὶ λυσιτελέστερα τῇ πόλει λέγειν ἄμφω φιλοτιμούμενοι, μέμφονται ἀλλήλοις ὧν δὴ καὶ μέμφονται, οὐ μὴν ὥσπερ τοὺς φύσει πολεμίους ἀλλήλους μισοῦσιν. *Ibid.*, p. 401, ll. 48-52.

54. ὥστε καμὲ πολίτην ὄντα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος μέρος οὐδεὶς ἂν δικαίως μισήσειεν, εἰ στάσεως γενομένης τοὺς ἐτέρους, οὐς δικαίωτερα καὶ λυσιτελέστερα τῷ κοινῷ πείθεσθαι λέγειν, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθαιρούμεν οἰόμενος καὶ τούτοις ἰδίᾳ συνοίσειεν ἂν οἷς λέγω πεισθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀρέσκει, ἔχθρὸς μὲν οὐδ' οὕτως τοῦ κοινοῦ δικαίως ἂν νομισθείην. *Ibid.*, p. 402, ll. 55-60.

— God, the truth and the soul — and the political claims of the *patris*. In this case, the idea of common ground shared by ‘Byzantines’ and ‘Latins’, despite the allusion made to the political realm in Kydones’ reference to civil war, has to do with theological discourse, not worldly political allegiance. Kydones’ opponents may seek to blur the distinctions, but Kydones does not want to allow them to. There may indeed be political aspects to the connection between ‘Latins’ and ‘Byzantines’, but in this passage the connections are intellectual: Kydones first asserts that his *political* allegiance is to his *patris*, then defends his intellectual opinions on a different basis. Interestingly, unlike in the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, Kydones does not here use the term *patris* when describing the connections between ‘Latins’ and ‘Byzantines’, instead using *ekklesia* and *polis*. *Patris* in the *Apologia I* fulfils a specific role and is limited to its primary point of reference, unlike in the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, where its use is deliberately extended to include the ‘Latins’, in order to make a particular point.

And as with the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, examination of the wider content of the *Apologia I* also helps in evaluating the force being given to different terms and concepts. Like the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, the *Apologia I* emphasises identity and context shared by speaker and audience. On a very basic level, although propounding acceptance of Western doctrines, Kydones speaks consistently of himself and his audience in the first person plural: everything, with one exception, is ‘we’ and ‘us’. Kydones consistently identifies with his ‘Byzantine’ audience; the ‘Latins’ are ‘they’ and ‘them’. This is unsurprising, but nevertheless important. Kydones may agree with the ‘Latins’; but he portrays his agreement with them as the agreement of a ‘Byzantine’, a product of the Greek world and adherent of its traditions, with an argument propounded by another party. Taking things a step further, Kydones specifically states that his opinions do not involve ‘rejecting’ the Greek Christian traditions;⁵⁵ rather, his ideas are expressed in terms of identifying what that tradition is and then extending it to include acceptance of the Western Church. He presents himself as belonging within the Greek Christian tradition just as much as his audience.

55. οὐδὲ φανερώς εἶπον τῶν μὲν παρ’ ἡμῖν λεγομένων ἀφεκτέον εἶναι, δεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιάν ‘Ρώμην τρέχειν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰσομένους, ὡς ἂν τις τῆς νέας ταύτης καὶ ἡμετέρας παντελῶς καταγνοῖς. *Ibid.*, p. 402, ll. 71-74.

On a more political level, there are constant reminders throughout the *Apologia I* that Kydones' activities fall within the remit of a member of the 'Byzantine' government. Even his original decision to learn Latin is presented as such: he directly links it with his official duties, encouraged by the emperor.⁵⁶ His translation of Latin material into Greek is described as promoted and encouraged by the emperor.⁵⁷ The passage in which he declares his loyalty to the *patris* is the culmination of this, but by no means stands in isolation: the overall structure of the *Apologia I* has Kydones declaring his particular opinions against a backdrop in which he, an influential Byzantine political figure, identifies thoroughly with his audience in all other ways. The juxtaposition of his role in 'Byzantine' government with his ideas is quite deliberate.

What Kydones seems to be doing in the *Apologia I* is not simply arguing in favour of his ideas — not simply trying to convince his audience to agree with him, as one might assume. Certainly, he is presenting his ideas; but the tenor of the piece scarcely suggests that he expects or even hopes his audience will be convinced and come to share his opinions. No doubt he would have been pleased if they did; but this scarcely seems to be his expectation. Rather, the piece seems to have as much to do with arguing that Kydones' ideas are compatible with 'Byzantine' identity and loyalty, as with arguing in favour of his ideas *per se*: it is not a question of 'divided loyalties', because 'Byzantine' loyalty, in Kydones' presentation, should be able to embrace divergences of opinion. In other words, Kydones is arguing for a kind of freedom of conscience within a framework of shared political loyalty.

Moreover, the idea that Kydones is arguing for 'freedom of conscience' is borne out by another of his writings, of a slightly later date, insofar as its dating can be determined. Kydones' *Second Apologia*, written c. 1371, addresses a friend who disagrees with Kydones. In the opening section, Kydones directly calls upon this friend to respect freedom of conscience;⁵⁸ and in the closing passages he asks him at least to recognise that Kydones is engaged in a genuine quest for the

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 360ff.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 363, ll. 17-27.

58. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ἀνέλοιτο ζῆν, τοῦτο ἀφείλου, λέγω τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλευθερίαν ... D. KYDONES, *Second Apologia* (= MERCATI, *Notizie*, pp. 403-425), at p. 403, ll. 14-16.

truth, even though he considers him to be wrong.⁵⁹ This text gives support to the idea that Kydones was indeed working more generally with ideas of this kind.

Identifying Kydones' focus in the *Apologia I* as an argument for freedom of conscience rather than primarily as an effort to convert potentially has interesting implications for analysing the impact of pro-western groupings on 'Byzantine' society. When considering the influence of Catholic-orientated 'Byzantines', the question of their influence is normally linked with their probable numbers. Clearly, evidence does not suggest that there were a great number of 'converts'; therefore the implication would be that their impact on their society was limited, and that they have little to tell us about 'Byzantine' developments. But perhaps the question could be more profitably looked at in a different way, from the point of view of the relationship between those 'converts' and their contemporaries. How did pro-western 'Byzantines' relate to their own society? Did they reject it; did it reject them? Or was the relationship more complex and varied, and thus more of an integral part of Late Byzantine society than is often admitted?

Clearly, in the case of Kydones, going by what he wrote, he went out of his way *not* to express himself in terms of rejection of his society. He identifies very much with his contemporaries; his pro-western enthusiasms are presented as an extension of the 'Byzantine' identity, in no way contradictory of it — even as a fulfilment of it. Moreover, what is known externally of his career supports the idea that he was very consciously and determinedly loyal to his compatriots. In terms of the attitude of society, on the other hand, his career also seems to imply that, although there did exist tensions, his society by no means rejected him: for decades he maintained a position of eminence and respect. The fact that he had enemies, some of whom extremely vociferous, does not detract from this, but can be seen as the normal functioning of a diverse society.⁶⁰ It could even be seen as indicating

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 423-424.

60. According to the historian Doukas, at the siege of Constantinople in 1453 the future patriarch Gennadios Scholarios occupied himself with teaching and writing against the 'Unionists' (i.e., adherents of the unionist council of Ferrara/Florence) and more specifically against Thomas Aquinas and Demetrius Kydones. Michael DOUKAS, *Historia byzantina*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1834, ch. 37, p. 264.

the strength of Kydones' position; had he been particularly weak, there would have been no need to refute or combat him. It is possible, therefore, to view Kydones' career itself as an indication that the kind of freedom of conscience which he was arguing for in the *Apologia I* was accepted, whether as a pragmatic necessity or as an ideal in itself, by a good number of his contemporaries. In other words, 'Byzantine' society at the time of Kydones may better be characterised as a society capable of playing host to a range of opinions rather than as primarily based on a 'largely anti-western, anti-intellectual monolithic orthodoxy', as popular preconceptions might suggest.

PALAMAS TRANSFORMED. PALAMITE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN GOD'S 'ESSENCE' AND 'ENERGIES' IN LATE BYZANTIUM

John A. DEMETRACOPOULOS

Half a century ago, E. von Ivánka¹ made the following suggestion. The Neo-Palamists of the twentieth century² departed from Byzantine Palamism, for they construed the distinction between the 'essence' and 'energies' of God not as a metaphysical statement objectively applied to God *per se* (or, to put it otherwise, as a statement valid *a parte rei*), as Palamas did, but as an only seeming compromise on divine simplicity that unavoidably emerges when an *ens finitum et*

1. E. VON IVÁNKA, "Le fondement patristique de la doctrine palamite", in: S. KYRIAKIDÈS, A. XYGOPOULOS, P. ZÉPOS (eds.), *Πρακτικά τοῦ Θ' διεθνoῦς βυζαντινολογικοῦ συνεδρίου (Θεσσαλονίκη, 12-19 Ἀπριλίου 1953)*, Vol. II, Athens 1956, pp. 127-132; IDEM, *Platonismo cristiano. Recezione e Trasformazione del Platonismo nella Patristica (Plato Christianus. Übernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus durch die Väter, Einsiedeln 1964). Presentazione di G. REALE. Introduzione di W. BEIERWALTES. Traduzione di E. PEROLI*, Milan 1992, pp. 337-338; 345. Cf. H.-G. BECK, "Humanismus und Palamismus", in: *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines à Ochrid (1961)*, Vol. I, Belgrade 1963, pp. 63-82, esp. 76.

2. IVÁNKA had named V. LOSSKY (*Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'Orient chrétien*, Paris 1944, pp. 67; 74-75) and C. KERN ("Les éléments de la théologie de Grégoire Palamas", in: *Irénikon* 20 (1947), pp. 6-33 (Part I) and 164-193 (Part II); see esp. 164 and 188-189). KERN seems to have misunderstood the description of Palamas' doctrine of God in S. GUICHARDAN, *Le problème de la simplicité divine en Orient et Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Grégoire Palamas, Duns Scot, Georges Scholarios. Étude de théologie comparée*, Lyon 1933, p. 96 (cited by Kern). One can now add, *inter alios*, one of the editors of Palamas' works, G.I. MANTZARIDES (cf. the critique of his interpretation of Palamas' aforesaid distinction by I. BULOVIČ in his: *Τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι διακρίσεως τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Μάρκον Ἐφέσου τὸν Ἑὐγενικόν*, Thessaloniki 1983, p. 146, n. 23). M. Jugie seems to have been the first to notice that the Byzantine Palamites were not strict followers of their hero; I devote a special note (pp. 370-371, n. 329) to this. On the distinction between Palamas and the Neo-Palamists cf. J. NADAL CAÑELLAS, *La résistance d'Akindynos à Grégoire Palamas. Enquête historique, avec traduction et commentaire de quatre traités édités récemment. Vol. I: Traduction de quatre traités de la "Refutation du Dialogue entre un Orthodoxe et un Barlaamite" de Grégoire Palamas (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents, tome 50)*, Leuven 2006, pp. XVIII-XIX.

multiplex such as the human mind tries to grasp the *infinitum et simplex* being of God. I would like to suggest that, in fact, what Ivánka described as “neo-Palamism” had already appeared from the mid-fourteenth century. The idea that the distinction between ‘essence’ and ‘energies’ is just a *postulatum* necessary for the human mind to grasp God was *grosso modo* shared not only by several anti-Palamite thinkers of Late Byzantium, who thereby refuted Palamas’ *distinctio realis*, but also by most Palamites, who thereby compromised Palamas’ distinction in a way that Palamas would hardly have approved — indeed, that he had actually reproved in his polemics against Gregory Acindynos. On the one hand, the anti-Palamites liked this idea, because it served their abasement of the ontological *status* of the divine ‘energies’. On the other, the Palamites felt it necessary to soften the harsh Palamite distinction between God’s ‘essence’ and ‘energies’ as well as between the various ‘energies’ themselves and adopted the Patristic idea that God is simple *ex parte objecti* but multiple *ex parte subjecti* (κατ’ ἐπὶ νοῖαν or λόγῳ, i.e., conceptually or by reason); and they interpreted Palamas’ distinctions this way. Further, in so doing, most thinkers on both sides were influenced by Demetrios and Prochoros Cydones’ translations of Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa contra Gentiles*, *Summa theologiae*, and *De potentia*.³

Since the sum total of the thinkers in both camps is too large to allow for a full treatment of their views in a single article, I shall limit myself to what the pro-Palamites meant when saying that God’s ‘essence’ and ‘energies’ are distinguished κατ’ ἐπὶ νοῖαν. I will also omit George Scholarios Gennadios II, since his interpretation of the Palamite distinction under discussion is so idiosyncratic that it can hardly be taken for Palamite at all.⁴

As will be seen, Palamites had (just like the anti-Palamites) the possibility to use two lights to settle the problem of the simplicity and

3. For a descriptive overview of the history of Byzantine Thomism see A. FYRIGOS, “Tomismo e anti-Tomismo a Bisanzio (con una nota sulla *Defensio S. Thomae adversus Nilum Cabasilam* di Demetrio Cidone)”, in: A. MOLLE (ed.), *Tommaso d’Aquino e il mondo bizantino*, Venafro 2004, pp. 27-72.

4. Cf., *inter alios*, BECK, “Humanismus...” (cf. *supra*, n. 1), p. 75: “...auch er [sc. Gennadios Scholarios] ein Palamit, ob nun ‘mitigé’ oder nicht”. I hope to explore Scholarios’ genuinely anti-Barlaamite but only nominally Palamite stance elsewhere. Let me only say here that, once one takes into account the history of Palamism up to Scholarios, his mitigated Palamism is not as astonishing as it has thus far appeared.

multiplicity of God, the light of their own tradition (*lux ex Oriente*), namely the Greek Patristic ways of application of *ἐπίνοια* to God, and some *lux ex Occidente* through the Greek translation of Aquinas' above-mentioned writings. After making some remarks on Palamas' distinction between God's 'essence' and 'energies', I shall try to show that the various ways in which the Palamites later qualified distinction's being drawn *κατ' ἐπίνοιαν* were not as Palamite as their professed or official Palamism would at first sight suggest and that this was due to the way they used both the Greek and the Latin *lux*.

1. THE BACKGROUND

1.1. *Lux ex Oriente: The Greek Patristic Tradition*

The fullest Patristic exposition of what *ἐπίνοια* means and how it can serve the Christian intellectual's task to describe and account for God's unity and multiplicity occurs in Book I of Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium*.⁵ Basil, drawing upon Stoic logic,⁶ said that distinguishing *κατ' ἐπίνοιαν* or *λόγῳ* means dividing by our mind a being into *i*) its parts, *ii*) its categorical properties (substance, quality, quantity, etc.), and *iii*) its previous and subsequent states or acts, judging

5. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* (a.D. 363/366) I,6, 19-29; 41-51; 54-57; I,7, 1-29 (edd. B. SESBOÜÉ, G.-M. DE DURAND, L. DOUTRELEAU, *Basile de Césarée. Contre Eunome, suivi de Eunome, Apologie. Introduction, traduction et notes. Tome I* [Sources chrétiennes, vol. 299], Paris 1982, pp. 184-190). On the three definitions of *ἐπίνοια* in Basil's text see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "The Sources of Content and Use of *Epinoia* in Basil of Caesarea's *Contra Eunomium* I: Stoicism and Plotinus" (in Modern Greek), in: *Βυζαντινά* 20 (1999), pp. 7-42, esp. 10-27.

6. As I showed elsewhere: J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "The Sources of Content" (cf. *supra*, n. 5); "Glossogony or Epistemology? Eunomius of Cyzicus' and Basil of Caesarea's Stoic Concept of *Epinoia* and its Misrepresentation by Gregory of Nyssa", in: L. KARFIKOVA, T. BOHM, S. DOUGLAS, J. ZACHHUBER, V.H. DRECOLL (eds.), *Proceedings of the 10th International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa: "Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium II: Philosophy and Theology of Language"* (Olomouc, 15-18 September 2004; Center for Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Texts) (Supplements to "Vigiliae Christianae"), Leiden 2006, pp. 387-397, esp. Appendix (pp. 395-397). Cf. IDEM, "Alcuin and the Realm of Application of Aristotle's Categories", in: J. MEIRINHÓS and A. PACHECO (eds.), *Intellect et Imagination dans la Philosophie Médiévale. Actes du XI^e Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (S.I.E.P.M.). Porto du 26 au 31 août 2002* (Rencontres de philosophie médiévale, vol. 11), Vol. I, Turnhout 2004, pp. 1733-1742 (esp. 1736-1738).

from its present state. Basil borrows from the Stoic logical tradition the example of grain ("σῖτος"). Grain, though being one "subject", has various parts, has also many "qualities" (size, colour, etc.), and takes on various forms, formerly being a "seed", then turning into "bread" to eat, and so on. In this sense, it can consistently be described as both one and many. This is the case with God, too; God is 'one' in virtue of His essence, and yet 'many' things on account of His permanent qualities as well as His temporal activities.⁷ In Stoic logic (if not even earlier), the various things predicated of a subject in that sense were also called "ἑτερόνυμα" ("beings with various names" denoting their various aspects).⁸ To use some scholastic terms of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this covers the *distinctio realis minor* and the *distinctio rationis cum fundamento in re*.

This doctrine is also expounded in a pseudo-Athanasian writing,⁹ and was hastily integrated into John of Damascus' *Dialectica*,¹⁰ thus acquiring great authority for subsequent Byzantine theologians, as

7. I reproduce the exposition of Basil's definitions of ἐπίνοια from my "Glossogony or Epistemology?" (cf. *supra*, n. 6), p. 390.

8. As I incidentally showed in my "Glossogony or Epistemology?" (cf. *supra*, n. 6), p. 389. I intend to explore the Ancient Greek origins and the Late Antique and Byzantine history of the four-fold distinction "ἑτερόνυμα - συνώνυμα - ἑτερόνυμα - πολυνώνυμα" in an Appendix of my forthcoming monograph: *Ἐννόμιος Κυζίκου: οἱ φιλοσοφικὲς συνιστώσες τῆς σκέψης του. Μὴ ἀποκατάσταση* (Athens). On the identity of ἐπίνοια with ἑτερόνυμα see the passages from the Aristotelian commentators of Late Antiquity collected in DEMETRACOPOULOS, "The Sources of Content" (cf. *supra*, n. 5), pp. 23-24.

9. PS.-ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *De sancta Trinitate dialogi* I (PG 28: 1144D). This passage was attributed by some to Maximus Confessor; see, e.g., PROCHOROS CYDONES' *Περὶ καταφατικῶν καὶ ἀποφατικῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Κυρίου θεοφανείας* (Vat. gr. 678, f. 50^v). In this pseudo-Athanasian writing, there is an echo of Basil of Caesarea's second definition of ἐπίνοια, albeit in a Trinitarian context (PG 28: 1136D-1137A). Cf. also DIDYMUS CAECUS' *Commentarii in "Psalms"* 22-26.10, ad 26,7, ed. M. GRONEWALD, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar. Teil 2* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, vol. 4), Bonn 1968, p. 109,18-20; Origen and Basil of Caesarea are the background to this passage.

10. JOHN OF DAMASCUS (ob. ca. 750), *Dialectica* LXV,84-97 (based on BASIL OF CAESAREA's *Adversus Eunomium* I,6-7 and GREGORY OF NYSSA's *Contra Eunomium* II,180; ed. W. JAEGER, *Gregorii Nysseni opera. Vol. I: Contra Eunomium I-II*, Leiden 1960, pp. 276,29-277,7 and elsewhere); ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. I: Institutio elementaris. Capita philosophica*, Berlin 1969, p. 135. Cf. MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Opusc. theol.* CVII, ll. 140-142, ed. P. GAUTIER, *Michaelis Pselli theologia*, Leipzig 1989, p. 427; NICEPHOROS BLEMMYDES, *Ἐπιτομὴ λογική*, ch. 5: "Περὶ ἐπινόιας", PG 142: 725A-C.

well as (in a rather dull way) into a scholium of Ps.-Maximus Confessor's *Scholia in (Ps.-)Dionysium Areopagitam*.¹¹

Obviously enough, this solution to the problem of God's simplicity and multiplicity preserved effectively the unity of God's being. It is not clear, however, if it did so at the expense of His simplicity, for it left room for a class of *absolute* divine attributes ('goodness', 'power', 'justice', etc.) which, typically belonging to the Stoic category of *quality* (ποιόν), cannot be construed as identical with His essence. This is suggested by another famous Basilian passage: "The operations are various, and the essence simple; what we say is that we know our God from His operations, but do not undertake to approach near to His essence itself. His operations come down to us, but His essence remains beyond our reach".¹² Contrary to a widespread Palamite and pro-Palamite reading of this passage,¹³ it should be noted that Basil

11. PS.-MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Scholia in Dionysii Areopagitae librum "De divinis nominibus"*, ad V,8 (ed. B.-R. SUCHLA, *Corpus dionysiacum. I: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De divinis nominibus* [Patristische Texte und Studien, vol. 33], Berlin 1990, p. 186,3), PG 4: 325A; 325C (based on Basil's first definition). The former of these two ps.-Maximian passages was noticed by GUICHARDAN, *Le problème* (cf. *supra*, n. 2), p. 44. Cf. also PS.-MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *op. cit.*, ad V,5 (PG 4: 317D), based on Basil's first and second definition of ἐπίνοια (passage noticed by D. PETAVIUS, *Dogmata theologica. Editio nova... curante J.-B. FOURNIALS. Tomus primus, in quo de Deo Deique proprietatibus agitur*, Paris 1865 ('1644), cols. 110b-111a).

12. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Epistle 234*, 1, 27-31, ed. Y. COURTONNE, *Saint Basile. Lettres. Texte établi et traduit. Tome III*, Paris 1966, p. 42; translation by B. JACKSON, in: P. SCHAFF and H. WACE (ausp.), *The Treatise "De Spiritu Sancto", The Nine Homilies in Hexaemeron, and the Letters of Saint Basil the Great. Translated with Notes*, in: *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series. Translated into English with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes. Vol. 8: S. Basil. Letters and Selected Works*, New York 1894, pp. 620-621, slightly modified.

13. See, e.g., GREGORY PALAMAS, *Capita CL*, 111, ed. P.K. CHRESTOU, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, Vol. V, Thessaloniki 1992, p. 96,20-22 = ed. R.E. SINKIEWICZ, *Saint Gregory Palamas. The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters. Introduction, Critical Edition and Translation*, Toronto 1988, pp. 208-210; *Against Gregoras II*, 49, ed. P.K. CHRESTOU, in: P.K. CHRESTOU (ausp.), *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, Vol. IV, Thessaloniki 1988, p. 300,7-11; *Περὶ θεῶν ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς μεθέξεως* 19, ed. G.I. MANTZARIDES, in: P.K. CHRESTOU (ausp.), *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, Vol. II, Thessaloniki 1966 ('1994), p. 111,4-8; PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, *Against Gregoras VIII*, ll. 1453-1457, ed. D.B. KAIMAKES, *Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου δογματικὰ ἔργα*. Vol. I (Θεσσαλονικεῖς βυζαντινοὶ συγγραφεῖς, vol. 3), Thessaloniki 1983, p. 303; DAVID DISHYPATOS, *Λόγος κατὰ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδόνου πρὸς Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν*, ed. D.G. TSAMES, *Δαβὶδ Δισυπάτου Λόγος κατὰ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδόνου πρὸς Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν* (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται, vol. 10), Thessaloniki 1973, pp. 48,11-14; 78,7-11; JOSEPH BRYENNIOS, *Λόγος διδασκαλικαῖς χρήσεσι καὶ Γραφικαῖς ῥήσεσι παριστῶν ὅτι καὶ ἡ θεία ἐνέργεια καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις θεωρουμένη ἔλλαμψις καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ Θαβωρίῳ παραδειχθεῖσα χάρις ἄκτιστος, περὶ*

does not say that we know God's 'energies', but that we know Him "from His activities", that is, we can infer His existence as well as some of His properties from His actions. In other words, according to Basil, there are three levels in God: *i*) essence, which is absolutely inaccessible (or, better, is defined as what is inaccessible in God); *ii*) properties, which can be known by means of His actions; and *iii*) actions, which testify to His existence as well as His properties.

In fact, Basil was not the first to use ἐπίνουα as a means of describing God; as I have shown elsewhere,¹⁴ his *Adversus Eunomium* I,6-7 briefly presented above (pp. 265-266) relies upon a passage from Plotinus, where it is said that the second One is not in fact many things, but It just appears to us to be many things, because of the various "ἐπίνουαί" we use in order to grasp It.¹⁵ So, it is not quite clear whether Basil, by stating that the divine names are "ἐπίνουαί", speaks of a *distinctio a parte rei* between the 'divine names' (according to the Stoic model) or of a *distinctio a parte mentis* (according to Plotinus' model).¹⁶

θείας ἐνεργείας, ed. E. BOULGARIS, *Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, Vol. II, Leipzig 1768 (repr., Thessaloniki 1990; with an Introduction by EJR. DELEDEMOS), p. 101,12-16. Cf., *inter alios*, L.C. CONTOS, "The Essence-Energies Structure of Saint Gregory Palamas with a Brief Examination of Its Patristic Foundation", in: *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 12/3 (1967), pp. 283-294, esp. 286; P. SCAZZOSO, *La teologia di S. Gregorio Palamas (1296-1359) (in rapporto alle fonti e nel suo significato odierno)*. Prefazione C.G. BONIS, Milan 1970, p. 89; J.-C. LARCHET, *La théologie des énergies divines. Des origines à Saint Jean Damascène*, Paris 2010, pp. 155-156.

14. See DEMETRACOPOULOS, "The Sources of Content" (cf. *supra*, n. 5), pp. 21-40.

15. PLOTINUS, *Enneads* V,9,5; VI,2,3.

16. Ἐπίνουα was used in Patristic literature in two other contexts, too, i.e., the Trinity and Christology. In the former, it served the purpose of properly describing the distinctness of the persons of the Holy Trinity, which is 'conceptual', for all the unity of God's essence, which is 'real'. See, e.g., the lengthy exposition of Ps.-CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA's *De Trinitate* 10 (PG 77: 1141B-1145B), which was integrated fully and *verbatim* in JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Expositio fidei*, 8,223-297; ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II: Expositio fidei / Ἐκθεσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως*, Berlin 1972, pp. 28-31; passage not noted in the *apparatus fontium*; CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA's *Commentarii in "Johannem"* I, 3 and 5 and II,1 (ed. P.E. PUSEY, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis Evangelium*, Vol. I, Oxford 1872 (repr. Brussels 1965), pp. 44; 72; 191); *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali Trinitate* 4 (PG 75: 44C; cf. *op. cit.* 11 and 12; PG 75: 141B-C and 184A). In the latter, it was used to properly describe the way the two natures of Christ must be declared both as fully true, if taken separately, and united in the second person of the Holy Trinity. See, e.g., Ps.-CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA's *De Trinitate* 25 and 26 (PG 77: 1169A and 1172A; passages fully and *verbatim* integrated in JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Expositio fidei* 91,105-107 and 144-145, ed. KOTTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-217; cf. also JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Contra Jacobitas* 29-30, ed. KOTTER, *op. cit.*, Band IV, Berlin-New York 1981, p. 120). Still, some theologians

1.2. *Lux ex Occidente: Thomas Aquinas*

Late Byzantium, however, unlike the early and middle periods, had access to some major texts of Latin-speaking Christendom as well. Three of them, i.e. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles*, translated in 1354 by Demetrios Cydones, *Summa theologiae*, translated by Demetrios and Prochoros Cydones, probably in 1355/58, and *De potentia*, translated before 1359/1361, referred to the same question, namely, that of reconciling the simplicity and multiplicity of *Deus unus* with His various qualities and acts, and offered a different solution. According to Aquinas, there are two sorts of 'things' predicated of God: *i)* 'essence', which is absolutely simple and identical both with His 'power' and the rest of His 'absolute' names ('eternity', 'goodness', 'wisdom', 'justice', etc.); these names differ from each other as well as from God's 'essence' only "conceptually, not really" ("κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐπινοίας τρόπον, ... οὐ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ πράγματος"¹⁷); *ii)* the 'relative'

were reluctant to use this term in the context of Christology. For instance, THEODOTUS OF ANCYRA (*post* 381-*ante* 446), in a speech he delivered in the 4th Ecumenical Council, regarded the conceptual distinction of the two natures of Christ as a threat to Christ's unity ('Ομιλία λεχθεῖσα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, Vol. I,1,2, Berlin 1927, pp. 83,37-84,6; 87,6; 87,19-20; 89,22-28; 89,34-90,2). Further, SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN held a similarly fideist line by rejecting both "really" and "conceptually" distinguishing between the persons of the Holy Trinity (*Hymni* XXI,23-34, ed. J. KODER, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Hymnes. Tome II: Hymnes 16-40. Texte critique et index par J. KODER. Traduction et notes par L. NEYRAND* [Sources chrétiennes, vol. 174], Paris 1971, p. 132; cf. the repeated general apophatic declarations in SYMEON's 1st and 2nd *Theological Oration*, ed. J. DARROUZÈS, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Traités théologiques et éthiques. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes. Tome I: Théol. I-III - Éth. I-III* [Sources chrétiennes, vol. 122], Paris 1966, pp. 96-152). As we will see, many heroes of the Palamite controversy did not fail to argue for their own and against their opponents' views of the distinction under discussion on the grounds of the patristic views of how Christians are supposed to understand the distinction between the persons of the Trinity and between the two natures of Christ. More Greek patristic passages where ἐπινοία and λόγος (taken as a *distinctio realis cum fundamento in re*) are used as means of distinguishing the two natures of Christ have been collected by GUICHARDAN, *Le problème* (cf. *supra*, n. 2), pp. 45-46.

17. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* II,10 (Qualiter potentia in Deo dicatur / Πῶς ἂν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἡ δύναμις λέγοιτο): "1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἡ δὲ θεία ἐνέργεια οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ (II,9), φανερόν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ὡς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἡ δύναμις οὐχ ὡς ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐνεργείας λέγεται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀρχὴ τοῦ γεγενημένου. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡ δύναμις ἀποσκοπεῖν εἰς ἕτερον ποιεῖ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον (ἔστι γὰρ ἡ ἐνεργητικὴ δύναμις ἀρχὴ εἰς ἕτερον, ὡς ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά [ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V,12,1-2, 1019a15-20] φησιν ὁ Φιλόσοφος), φανερόν ἐστι ἡ 'δύναμις' κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ γεγενημένα παράθεσιν λέγεται ἐν τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ

divine names ('creator', 'merciful', etc.); in these cases, "our mind invents various names to refer to its various... concepts [of God]" ("κατὰ διαφόρους... νοήσεις ὁ νοῦς διάφορα εὕρισκει ὀνόματα..."¹⁸). Properly speaking, these names do not refer to God Himself, but to the results of His action in the world. So they differ from each other inasmuch as they denote just different aspects of His activity, not various realities (in whatever sense) within God Himself.

Aquinas adds that it would be false to suppose that the 'relation' of God with the world is an in-between 'reality', for if this were the case, we would have to pose a second 'relation' of God with this 'reality', in order to explain its existence, and so on *in infinitum*. This leaves room only for taking God's relative 'names' as ἐπίνοιαι,¹⁹ that is, as predicates that hold true to the extent that the human mind is able to describe the relations between God and created beings. Aquinas distinguishes between three sorts of conceptual predicates:

i) predicates referring to objectively existent realities ("qualities" and "quantities") within a being;

ii) predicates referring to a relation between two beings either mutually (e.g., 'father – child') or unilaterally (e.g., 'knowledge' –

παράθεσιν πρὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐπινοίας τρόπον, καθόσον ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς διαφόροις νοήσεσιν ἐκάτερον θεωρεῖ, τὴν θεῖαν δηλαδὴ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτῆς. "Ὅθεν, εἰ καὶ τινες ἐνέργειαι ἀρμόζουσι τῷ Θεῷ πρὸς μὴδὲν πεποιημένον μεταβαίνουσαι, ἀλλὰ μένουσαι ἐν τῷ ἐνεργοῦντι, κατ' ἐκείνας 'δύναμεις' ἐν τῷ Θεῷ οὐ λεχθήσεται, εἰ μὴ τὸν κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τρόπον, οὐ μὴν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀλήθειαν. 'Ἐνέργειαι δὲ τοιαῦται εἰσι τὸ νοεῖν καὶ θέλειν. 'Ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄρα δύναμις, εἰ βουλοίμεθα λέγειν ἰδίως, οὐ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνεργείας ἀποσκοπεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα μόνα. 'Ὁ νοῦς ἄρα καὶ ἡ θέλησις οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ὡς δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνέργειαι μόνον. 2. Φανερόν δὲ ἔτι ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τῶν τῷ Θεῷ ἀπονεμομένων, ὥσπερ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ θέλειν καὶ προάγειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, οὐκ εἰσὶ διάφορα πράγματα· ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τούτων ἐκάστη ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἓν καὶ ταῦτόν. "Ὅπως δὲ τὸ πολλαπλοῦν τῶν σημασιῶν οὐ λυμάνεται τῇ τοῦ ἐνὸς πράγματος ἀληθείᾳ, ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ (I,31; 35) δεδειγμένων φανερόν εἶναι δύναται" (Vat. gr. 610, f. 105^v).

18. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* I,35,2 (cf. *infra*, p. 296).

19. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* II,13,1-3: "Ὁ δὲ δύναται δὲ λέγεσθαι ὡς αἱ προειρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ ὑφ' ἐστῆσιν ἔξω, ὥσπερ τινὰ πράγματα ἐκτὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. 'Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ ἔσχατον ἀγαθόν, ἀνάγκη ἂν ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀναφορὰς ἐκείνας τὰς πράγματα οὕσας ἀναφορὰς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐτέρας εὑρεῖν· καὶ εἰ κακεῖναι πάλιν πράγματα εἶεν, ἀνάγκη πάλιν τρίτας σχέσεις εὑρεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἀπειρον. Οὐκ ἄρα αἱ σχέσεις, αἷς ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀνάγεται πράγματα, εἰσὶ τινὰ πράγματα ἔξω τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑφεστώτα. Οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν τὰς ἀναφορὰς, αἷς ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα ἀναφέρεται, εἶναι τινὰ πράγματα ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ. ...Καταλείπεται ταύτας ἀπονέμεσθαι τούτῳ κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπινοίας" (Vat. gr. 610, f. 106^v). See also *De potentia*, 3,3 (cf. *infra*, pp. 314-315).

'knowable'; 'being on the right...' – 'being on the left...') depending on each other;

iii) predicates that spring solely from the human mind, such as the various self-identical truisms (*a* is *a*).

The various names predicated of God with respect to His creature fall under case (ii), especially its second clause, i.e., the unilateral relation. For the former pole (God) can exist without the latter (creature) but not *vice versa*; therefore, this relation denotes something relevant only to the latter.²⁰

In this respect, Aquinas was a source apt to be used for anti-Palamite purposes. At the same time, however, Aquinas did not classify this relation under case (iii), which means that he ascribed a degree of reality to this relation. Further, Aquinas stressed that taking refuge in various "names" to describe the absolutely simple God is merely the result of man's being inferior to God (even more, an essentially corporeal being) and thus doomed to grasp Him "analogically", that is, truly yet imperfectly, especially *in statu viae*. This idea appeared to be in keeping with the traditional Byzantine apophaticism;²¹ accordingly, as we will see, it was fervently embraced by some Palamite thinkers, who created a mixture of the Greek Patristic with the Thomistic idea of explaining divine multiplicity in terms of its being conceived *κατ' ἐπίνοιαν*. Apparently, Demetrios Cydones' rendering of Aquinas' 'intentio' and 'ratio' (in this context) as 'ἐπίνοια' and 'λόγῳ' played an important role for some Palamites to re-state their Palamism with smoother, more acceptable, Thomistic colours.²² Since

20. This is a brief exposition of Thomas' doctrine, based on passages from his two *Summae* and the *De potentia*. A fuller exposition of his thought on the issue is offered in ch. 6 ("Relations") of R.W. SCHMIDT's *The Domain of Logic according to Saint Thomas Aquinas*, The Hague 1966, pp. 130-174 (and *passim*).

21. Cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *De potentia*, 7,5 ad 14: "...ἐκ τοῦ τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν τῇ θεῷ οὐσίᾳ μὴ παρισυσθῆναι, τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ θεῷ οὐσία διαμένει, τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν ὑπερβαῖνον, καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἄγνωστος ἡμῖν· καὶ διατοῦτο ἐκεῖνο ἐστὶν ἔσχατον τῆς ἀνθρωπείας γνώσεως περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ γινῶναι ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοοῦντα τὸν Θεόν, ἐφόσον ἴσμεν [obviously, the translator read "cognoscimus"] τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς πᾶν ὃ περὶ αὐτοῦ νοοῦμεν ὑπερβαῖνον" (*Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 187^v). Most probably, the translation of the *De potentia* was made by Prochoros Cydones; see G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Studi e Testi, vol. 56), Vatican City 1931, pp. 36-37.

22. If I am right in suggesting that BASIL OF CAESAREA's *Adversus Eunomium* I,6-7 and the Latin *Paraphrasis Themistianae* (350/380) of Aristotle's *Categories* (traditionally known

Aquinas did not know Greek, and since, as far as I know, no Latin translation of Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* had ever been produced up to the time of Aquinas,²³ Aquinas elaborated his doctrine of the 'divine names' without using Basil's ἐπίνοια, which he never referred to, either explicitly or implicitly, in his *Summae*. Thus, the above Greek rendering should rather be ascribed to Cydones' philosophical and theological ingenuity.

2. GREGORY PALAMAS' SHARP DISTINCTION BETWEEN GOD'S 'ESSENCE' AND 'ENERGIES'

Gregory Palamas (1296-1357) introduced a peculiar *distinctio realis* between the "essence" or "nature" of God and His "powers" or "energies".²⁴

as PS.-AUGUSTINE's *Categoriae decem*), §§27-29, have a common (Greek) source (by now lost) (DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Glossogony or Epistemology?"; cf. *supra*, n. 6), then it seems that Cydones, unconsciously but with remarkable success, retroversed the Latin rendering of the ancient Greek ἐπίνοια as *intentio*. His rendering was to become established in Late Byzantium; see, e.g., THEODORE GAZES' *Antirrheticon* 13-14 and 35-39, ed. L. MOHLER, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann. Funde und Forschungen. III. Band. Aus Bessarions Gelehrtenkreis. Abhandlungen, Reden, Briefe von Bessarion, Theodoros Gazes, Michael Apostolios, Andronikos Kallistos, Georgios Trapezuntios, Niccolò Perotti, Niccolò Capranica*, Paderborn 1942 (repr. 1967), pp. 211,18-212,21 and 218,36-220,2; on the place of *intentio* and ἐπίνοια in the intellectual discussions between Theodore Gaza, Bessarion and John Argyropoulos, see J. MONFASANI, "Greek and Latin Learning in Theodore Gaza's *Antirrheticon*", in: M. PADE (ed.), *Renaissance Readings of the Corpus Aristotelicum*, Copenhagen 2001, pp. 61-78 = study V in: IDEM, *Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy. Studies on Humanism and Philosophy in the 15th Century*, Ashgate 2004, esp. 72-74; IDEM, "Theodore Gaza as a Philosopher: a Preliminary Survey", in: R. MAISANO and A. ROLLO (eds.), *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 26-29 giugno 1997)*, Naples 2002, pp. 269-281 (= study IV in: MONFASANI, *Greeks and Latins*), esp. 280.

23. See the recent survey of the "Greek Philosophical Works Translated into Latin" by M. TRIZIO, Appendix B2 in: R. PASNAU (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 797-801, esp. 800, s.v. "Basil of Caesarea". Some passages from Basil's *Adversus Eunomium* which occur in Aquinas' *Contra errores Graecorum* might well have derived from various intermediary sources. In general, no traces of direct influence by Basil's doctrine of the 'divine names' on Aquinas are discernible. On Aquinas and Greek Patristic literature see Á. B.Y. DURÁN's effort, "El nominalismo Arriano y la filosofía cristiana: Eunomio y San Basilio", in: *Augustinus* 5 (1960), pp. 206-226, to present Aquinas' doctrine of the divine names as identical to Basil's and contrary to Eunomius'. This fails *e limine*, since it defectively presents Basil's and fully misrepresents Eunomius' thought. In fact, Eunomius' doctrine is much closer to Aquinas than Basil's.

24. See, e.g., GREGORY PALAMAS, *Against Acindynos II*, 19,91: "Καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀκτιστος διατελεῖ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας διενήνοχεν"; edd. L. CONTOYIANNES

Although he declared that "it is impossible to think of any sort of incision or division between God's essence and energy",²⁵ he went so far as to distinguish between "ὑπερκείμενη οὐσία τοῦ Θεοῦ" (God's "essence", which is remote) and "θεότης ὑφειμένη" ("the inferior rank of God's being"), that is, God's "energies". He insisted so much on the real character of this distinction that he contended that it is at least as real as the distinction between the Persons of the Holy Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Spirit).²⁶ Indeed, he qualified that

- B. PHANOURGAKES, in: P.K. CHRESTOU (ausp.), *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, Vol. III, Thessaloniki 1970, p. 149,18-19. See also GREGORY PALAMAS, *Triads III*, 2 (1340), 11, ed. P.K. CHRESTOU, in: CHRESTOU (ausp.), *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Thessaloniki 1962, p. 665,15; *Προσχωρῶς ἡ θεία ἔγνωσις καὶ διάκρισις* 10, ed. MANTZARIDES, in: CHRESTOU, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 76,15-17; *Περὶ θείων ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς μεθέξεως* 6, 21, ed. MANTZARIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 101,13-14; 112,27-28; *Διάλογος ὁρθοδόξου μετὰ Βαρλααμίτου* 52, ed. MANTZARIDES, *op. cit.*, p. 214,5-7; *Ὅτι Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκύνδυνος εἰσὶν οἱ διχοτομοῦντες κακῶς ὄντως καὶ ἀθέως εἰς δύο ἀνίστους θεότητας τὴν μίαν* 7; 13; 14, ed. MANTZARIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 267,11-12; 273,3-5; 273,30-31; *Πρὸς Δανιὴλ Αἰὼν* 6, ed. N.A. MATSOUKAS in: CHRESTOU, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 379,28-31; *Against Acindynos I*, 6,23, 7,31; II, 12,54; VI, 20,75 et al., edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES, *op. cit.*, pp. 55,28-56,1; 61,31; 124,22-23; 443,4-5. Palamas equates *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* in God on the basis of some Greek patristic passages, mainly on BASIL OF CAESAREA'S *De Spiritu sancto* IX,22,31-33, ed. B. PRUCHE, *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit. Introduction, texte, traduction et notes. Réimpression de la deuxième édition revue et augmentée* (Sources chrétiennes, vol. 17bis), Paris 2002 (21968), p. 326, and JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Expositio fidei* 37,2-13 ("Περὶ ἐνεργείας"), ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 16), p. 93. Still, he distinguishes between *δύναμις* taken as the internal and eternal properties of God and *ἐνέργεια* as their external and yet equally uncreated and eternal manifestation. Besides, some patristic passages cited by Palamas seem to imply a threefold distinction; see, e.g., MAXIMUS CONFESSOR'S *Capita theologica et oeconomica* II,1 (PG 90: 1125C), cited in *Διάλογος ὁρθοδόξου μετὰ Βαρλααμίτου* 16; 51, ed. MANTZARIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 178,17; 213,17-214,1; PS.-ATHANASIOS OF ALEXANDRIA, *In Annuntiationem Deiparae* (PG 28: 920B), cited in *Against Acindynos* II,21,100, edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES, *op. cit.*, p. 157,11. Cf. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Orationes de Beatitudinibus* VII, ed. J.F. CALLAHAN, *Gregorii Nysseni opera. Vol. VII, Pars 2: De oratione Dominica. De Beatitudinibus*, Leiden-New York-Cologne 1992, p. 150,25-27. On the nature of this distinction cf. G. KAPRIEV, *Philosophie in Byzanz*, Würzburg 2005, pp. 286-289.

25. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Against Acindynos II*, 12,54, edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 24), p. 124,25-27.

26. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Capita CL* (probably 1347/48), 75, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 77,26-27 = ed. SINKIEWICZ (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 170; *Against Gregoras II* (1355/57), 41, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 294,32-295,4; *Against Acindynos* II,8,29; III,19,85; VI,14,53, edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 105,24-29; 222,31-33; 426,8-12; *Εἰς τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐκ τῶν "Θησαυρῶν" τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου* 8, ed. PHANOURGAKES, in: CHRESTOU (ausp.), *op. cit.*, Vol. IV (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 107,10-22; *Capita CL*, 113, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 98,4-15 = ed. SINKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 212; *Πρὸς Ἀρσένιον* 1, ed. MATSOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 24), p. 316,4-11.

there should not be any wonder for us that, in God's case, essence and energy are in some sense one and are one God, and at the same time essence is the cause of the energies and, in virtue of its being their cause, is superior to them. For the Father and the Son, too, are one thing and one God, and yet "the Father is greater" (Joh. 14,28) than the Son in terms of His being the cause. And if there [sc. in the case of the Holy Trinity], for all the self-subsistence of the Son and for all His being co-substantial [with the Father], "the Father is" nevertheless "greater" [than the Son], *all the more* will the essence be superior to the energies, since these two things are neither the same nor different in substance, as these properties [sc. being of the same or of different substance] regard self-subsistent realities and no energy at all is self-subsistent.²⁷

Obviously, Palamas regarded the division between God's essence and energies as radically different and thus greater than (in fact, as we will see, infinite) that between the persons of the Holy Trinity.

As for the nature of these non-self-subsistent realities and their connection with the essence, Palamas declared that God's natural properties ("φυσικά προσόντα"), although they are neither "substances" ("οὐσίαι") or "natures" ("φύσεις") nor "accidents" ("συμβεβηκότα"),²⁸ are nevertheless "realities" ("πράγματα")²⁹ and might be called "quasi-accidents" or "accidents in some sense" ("συμβεβηκότα πως"); "συμβεβηκότα ἔστιν ὅπως".³⁰ To him, the multiplicity of God,

27. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Περὶ θείων ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς μεθέξεως* 19: "Τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν, εἰ ἐν ἐστὶ πως οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια ἐπὶ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς ἐστὶ Θεός, εἴτα ἡ οὐσία αἰτία τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς αἰτία ὑπέρεκκεται αὐτῶν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς ἐστὶ Θεός, ἀλλ' αἷτιος καὶ "μελῶν" τοῦ Υἱοῦ τῷ αἰτίῳ ὁ "Πατὴρ". Εἰ δ' ἐκεῖ, καίτοι ἀνυποστάτου καὶ ὁμοουσίου ὄντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὅμως ὡς αἷτιος "μελῶν ὁ Πατὴρ", πολλῶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ὑπερέξει ἡ οὐσία, μὴθ' "ὁμοουσίῶν" μὴθ' "ἐτερουσίῶν"; cf. JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Institutio elementaris* 6, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), p. 23, αὐτῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν τῶν γὰρ ἀνυποστάτων ταῦτα, οὐδεμία δὲ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἀνυπόστατος ἐστὶν", ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 111,10-20.

28. On the Greek and Latin (Augustinian) background to Palamas' rejection of seeing God's properties as "accidentia"/"συμβεβηκότα" in the logical sense of the term see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Augustine and Gregory Palamas: Aristotle's Categories and the Psychological Images of the Holy Trinity* (in Modern Greek: *Αὐγουστίνος καὶ Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς: τὰ προβλήματα τῶν ἀριστοτελικῶν κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῆς τριαδικῆς ψυχοθεολογίας*; with three Appendices), Athens 1997, p. 54. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Περὶ θείων ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς μεθέξεως* 29, ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 116,11.

29. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Letter to Athanasius of Cyzicus* 42; 44, ed. MATSOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 450,31-451,1; 453,1-4; *Against Gregoras* II,21, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 280,35-281,13.

30. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Capita* CL, 127; 135, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 107,9; 111,22 = ed. SINKIEWICZ (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 230,10; 240,9-10; *Against Acindynos* VI,73; 77-78, edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 24),

although grasped by a created being, is as real as His unity both in regard to the essence-persons and the essence-energies multiplicity. Palamas argues at length against Gregory Acindynos' idea that "we humans speak of the uncreated powers and energies of God in the plural because of the partitional character of our knowledge, i.e., because we are capable neither of discussing nor of thinking of the non-partitioned realities".³¹ In a public dispute with Nicephoros Gregoras, Palamas stated with remarkable clarity: "The fact that it is we who conceive of Him both in terms of division and unity does not mean that He is not really so".³² In this sense, Palamas' distinction between God's 'essence' and 'energies', for all his numerous apologetic declarations of accepting God's unity, is a sort of 'distinc-

pp. 441,6-19; 443,25-445,24. This phrase was borrowed from CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA's *Thesaurus* XXXI (PG 75: 445D-448A: "τρόπον τινὰ συμβέβηκε"; 449A (passage *infra*, n. 51); cf. J.S. NADAL (CANELLAS), "La critique par Akindynos de l'herméneutique patristique de Palamas", in: *Istina* 3 (1974), pp. 297-328, esp. 305; DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Αἰγυσιῖνος* (cf. *supra*, n. 28), p. 143, n. 154); and GREGORY NAZIANZEN's *Oratio* XXXI, 6,7-11, edd. P. GALLAY and M. JOURJON, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 27-31: Discours théologiques. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (Sources chrétiennes, vol. 250), Paris 1978, p. 286.

31. "...διὰ τὸ μεριστὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώσεως τὰς ἀκτίστους δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ πληθυντικῶς ἐκφέρομεν, μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀμερίστως διαλέγεσθαι μηδὲ νοεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀμερίστων", *apud* GREGORY PALAMAS, *Against Acindynos* VI,14,49, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 424,5-8; cf. *op. cit.* VI,14,51; 15,54; ed. CHRESTOU, pp. 425,6-9; 426,30-427,3; cf. GREGORY ACINDYNOS, *Ἐτέρᾳ ἐκθεσίς καὶ ἀνασκήνη τῶν τοῦ Παλαμᾶ πονηροτάτων αἰρέσεων* 119; ed. J. NADAL CANELLAS, *Les Traités contradictoires de Grégoire Acindyne contre Grégoire Palamas. IV: Textes critiques complémentaires*, forthcoming (my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. J. Nadal Cañellas for allowing me access to his forthcoming edition of this Acindynian writing). This is the way John Cyparissiotis, too, accounts for the compositional character of human speech about God; JOHN CYPARISSIOTES, *Κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμικοῦ τόμον διακρίσεων καὶ ἐνώσεων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ* VI,6; VIII,22; ed. K.E. LIAKOURAS, *Ἰωάννου Κυπαρισσιώτου, Κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμικοῦ τόμον διακρίσεων καὶ ἐνώσεων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ. Τὸ κείμενον νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενον (editio princeps). Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ διδακτορίᾳ*, Athens 1991, pp. 298,22-26; 474,9-25; *Περὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ θείας ἐνεργείας διαφορᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ταύτην παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἀνευρεῖν* 3, ed. B.L. DENTAKES, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κυπαρισσιώτου Περὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ θείας ἐνεργείας διαφορᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ταύτην παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἀνευρεῖν, νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενον (editio princeps)* ('Ἠσυχαστικά καὶ φιλοσοφικά μελέται, vol. 10), Athens 1976, pp. 49,1-60,5.

32. GEORGE FACRASES, *Ἐπίτομος κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν διήγησις τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ παλατίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένης διαλέξεως τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Θεσσαλονίκης κῆρ Γρηγορίου καὶ Γρηγοῦ τοῦ φιλοσόφου* 15: "Οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ διαιρετῶς νοεῖται καὶ ἠνωμένως παρ' ἡμῶν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει κατὰ ἀλήθειαν", ed. CHRESTOU, in: CHRESTOU (ausp.), Vol. IV (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 213,26-29 = ed. M. CANDAL, "Fuentes Palamíticas. Diálogo de Jorge Facrasi sobre el contradictorio de Palamas con Nicéforo Gregoras", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 16 (1950), pp. 303-357, esp. 344,23-25.

tio realis' hardly compatible with God's simplicity.³³ Palamas, based directly on Gregory Nazianzen and Augustine, conceived of God's simplicity in a compromised way, that is, in terms of another divine property, i.e., impassibility: "it is not acting and energy but being acted upon and passivity which causes composition".³⁴

33. It is not always taken into account that defending unity is not sufficient for one to vindicate simplicity effectively. For example, PALAMAS' *Περὶ θείας καὶ θεοποιου μεθέξεως ἢ περὶ τῆς θείας καὶ ὑπερφυῶνς ἀπλότητος* 7, ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 142,12-16, does not entitle one to state that "Palamas affirmed the divine simplicity as strongly as anyone could wish", D. COFFEY, "The Palamite Doctrine of God: a New Perspective", in: *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 32/4 (1988), pp. 329-358, esp. 334. In this writing, Palamas, relying on Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* II,29,20-33, edd. B. SESBOÜÉ, G.-M. DE DURAND, L. DOUTRELEAU, *Basile de Césarée. Contre Eunome, suivi de Eunome, Apologie. Introduction, traduction et notes*, tome II (Sources chrétiennes, vol. 305), Paris 1983, pp. 122-124, explicitly states that he would not be prepared to defend simplicity throughout; GREGORY PALAMAS, *op. cit.* 28-29, ed. MANTZARIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 161,17-162,14. Of course, I do not imply that the doctrine of God's absolute simplicity belongs to the essential core of Christian theology; cf. the correct remarks of M. STROHM, "Die Lehre von der Einfachheit Gottes. Ein dogmatischer Streitpunkt zwischen Griechen und Lateinern", in: *Kyrios* 7 (1967), pp. 215-228. In the final analysis, from the historical point of view, such a core includes very few things, if any.

34. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Capita CL*, 145, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 116,8-9 = ed. SINKEWICZ (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 250. See also *Περὶ θείων ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς μεθέξεως* 6, ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 100,29-30; *Περὶ θείας καὶ θεοποιου μεθέξεως* 25; 26, ed. MANTZARIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 158,11-14; 159,6-8; *Πρὸς Δανιὴλ Ἀβνὸν* 8, ed. MATSOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 381,26-382,10; *Πρὸς τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐν μοναχοῦς Διονύσιον* 4, ed. MATSOUKAS, *op. cit.*, p. 496,31-33. This idea goes back to Plato (*Respublica* II, 380D-E). On Gregory and Augustine as the source of Palamas' idea see DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Ἀγνοουστίνος* (cf. *supra*, n. 28), pp. 33-34. Augustine himself had quoted from Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration XXIX*. That Palamas drew upon Augustine's *De Trinitate* has been "virtually simultaneously" established more than a decade ago by R. FLOGAUS, "Der heimliche Blick nach Westen. Zur Rezeption von Augustins *De Trinitate* durch Gregorios Palamas", in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 46 (1996), pp. 275-297, and myself, *Ἀγνοουστίνος* (cf. *supra*, n. 28), pp. 52-54; 85-94; 181-192; cf., *inter alia*, R.E. SINKEWICZ, "Gregory Palamas", in: C.G. CONTICELLO and V. CONTICELLO (eds.), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition. II: XIII^e-XIX^e siècles*, Turnhout 2002, pp. 131-188, esp. 163. Still, not all of Palamas' borrowings from Augustine's *De Trinitate* have been detected as yet. From a forthcoming additional list I have composed, I am picking out, just as an example, the dependence of GREGORY PALAMAS' *Capita CL*, 40, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 58,3-7 = ed. SINKEWICZ (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 128, on AUGUSTINE's *De Trinitate* XIV,14,18, ll. 14-25 in Maximos Planoudes' translation, edd. M. PAPATHOMOPOULOS, I. TSAVARI, G. RIGOTTI, *Ἀγνοουστίνου Περὶ Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα, ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετέφραγε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανοῦδης. Εἰσαγωγή, ἑλληνικὸ καὶ λατινικὸ κείμενο, γλωσσάριο. Editio princeps*. Vol. II, Athens 1995, p. 823.

As Gregory Acindynos³⁵ and Nicephoros Gregoras³⁶ (1293-1361) noticed in Palamas' own time, Palamas' explicit distinction between "lower deity" and "God's transcendental essence"³⁷ as well as his plural use of θεότης³⁸ is redolent of Proclus' metaphysical tenet that each level of the hierarchical structure of beings derives its ontological grade from its essence, whereas it produces the lower level by granting, in terms of its superior, existence, substance, qualities, and energy to its inferior.³⁹ Of course, we need not take the criticism of Palamas'

35. Acindynos describes Palamas' doctrine as a revival of the Platonic theory of Ideas; see, e.g., his *Πνευματικὴ διαθήκη* 9, ll. 39-41, edd. J. NADAL CANELLAS and D. BENETOS; I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Juan Nadal Cafiellas (Rome) and the Lecturer Dr. Dionysios Benetos (Athens) for kindly allowing me access to their forthcoming edition of Gregory Acindynos' *Opera minora* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca; Turnhout, Leuven University Press; the reader should be warned that the line numbers indicated above may not eventually coincide with those to appear in the volume in print; yet the divergence is not expected to be so great as to render the above passages unidentifiable). Further, Acindynos (*Ἐτέρα ἔκθεσις καὶ ἀνασκευὴ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμῆ πονηροτάτων αἰρέσεων* 22 and 125, ed. NADAL CANELLAS, *Les Traités contradictoires...*; cf. *supra*, n. 31), parallels Palamas' doctrine with PROCLUS' *Commentary on "Timaeus"* II, ed. E. DIEHL, *Procli Diadochi In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, Vol. I, Leipzig 1903, p. 361,22-25, and *Commentary on "Parmenides"* II, ed. C.G. STEEL, *Procli In Platonis Parmenidem commentaria. Tomus I, libros I-III continens*, Oxford 2007, p. 147 = ed. V. COUSIN, *Procli philosophi Platonici opera inedita. Pars III*, Paris 1864 (repr. Hildesheim 1961), p. 743,6-8, as well as with PROCLUS' *Theologia Platonica* IV,14, edd. H.D. SAFFREY and L.G. WESTERINK, *Proclus. Théologie Platonicienne. Livre IV. Texte établi et traduit*, Paris 1981, p. 44,16-19.

36. NICEPHOROS GREGORAS, *Historia Byzantina* XXIII (= *Oratio dogmatica* I), 2, ed. L. SCHOPEN, *Νικηφόρου τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία. Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, Pars XIX,2: Nicephorus Gregoras, Vol. II*, Bonn 1830, pp. 1100,21-1101,3; XXXV (= *Oratio dogmatica* VI), 14-15, ed. I. BEKKER, *Νικηφόρου τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία. Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, Pars XIX,3: Nicephorus Gregoras, Vol. III*, Bonn 1855, pp. 481,5-482,14. Cf. VON IVÁNKA, *Platonismo* (cf. *supra*, n. 1), p. 318; G. PODSKALSKY, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung*, Munich 1977, p. 163.

37. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Epistle to Acindynos* III (a.D. 1341), 15: "Ἐστὶν ἄρα θεότης ὑπεμμένη κατὰ τοὺς θεοσόφους θεολόγους, ὡς κἀνταῦθ' εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος (Ps.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *Epistle* II, 1; edd. G. HEIL and A.M. RITTER, *Corpus dionysiacum. II: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia. De ecclesiastica hierarchia. De mystica theologia. Epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien, vol. 36], Berlin-New York 1991, p. 158,4), δῶρον οὐσα τῆς ὑπερκειμένης οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ", ed. J. MEYENDORFF, in: P.K. CHRESTOU (ausp.), Vol. I (cf. *supra*, n. 24), p. 306,18-20). Cf. the list of passages offered by D. STIERNON, "Bulletin sur le Palamisme", in: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 30 (1972), pp. 231-337, esp. 240.

38. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Πρὸς Ἀρσένιον* 4, ed. MATSOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 24), p. 317,27-28.

39. Cf. JOHN CYPARISSIOTES, *Κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμικοῦ τόμου διακρίσεων καὶ ἐνώσεων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ* V,19, ed. LIAKOURAS (cf. *supra*, n. 31), p. 276,19-22.

adversaries at face value. Indeed, the passages they invoked do not correspond with concrete passages in any of Palamas' writings. Still, the Palamite terms "lower deity" or "deities" and "God's transcendental essence" do appear in Proclus' writings,⁴⁰ and are used by Palamas in a non-Dionysian, if not anti-Dionysian, way.⁴¹

Palamas' metaphysical Platonism, though noticed by several scholars, has been described as "inconsapevole".⁴² Still, as we will see later on (pp. 355-356), Palamas consciously and directly integrated some of Syrianus' and Proclus' metaphysical tenets (as stated in some concrete passages of these Neoplatonists) in his description of the structure of divine reality (as well as some of Simplicius' or Priscianus Lydus' epistemological tenets in his description of the participation of man in the divine realm). This being the case, it is all too natural that Palamas, in his bulky literary production, full of Patristic quotations and allusions, subscribed to the passage from Basil's *Adversus Eunomium* on ἐπίνοια only once⁴³ and that, even in that single case,

40. See, e.g., PROCLUS' *Institutio theologia* 18; 150, ed. E.R. DODDS, *Πρόκλου Διαδόχου Στοιχειώσις θεολογική. Proclus. The Elements of Theology. A Revised Text with Translation, Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford 1963, pp. 20,5-7; 132,6-15.

41. Ps.-Dionysius applies the terms ὑφεϊμένον and ὑπερκείμενον only to angels and human souls, not to God; cf., e.g., Ps.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De caelesti hierarchia* IV,4; edd. HEIL-RITTER (cf. *supra*, n. 37), p. 22,17-18; *De divinis nominibus* V,8; ed. SUCHLA [cf. *supra*, n. 11], p. 186,5-7. That Palamas' doctrine cannot successfully be traced back to the *corpus dionysiacum* and that one must, therefore, take Proclus as a major source of Palamas' speculative theology is indicated by a Ps.-Dionysian passage from the *De divinis nominibus* V,2, which sounds like an anticipant rejection of Palamas' doctrine (ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 181,16-19; passage interpreted as incompatible with Palamas' theological thought by VON IVÁNKA, *Platonismo* [cf. *supra*, n. 1], p. 343). Further, later on, GEORGE PACHYMERES (1242-ca. 1310), in his *Commentary on the "De Divinis nominibus"*, said that calling God 'being *per se*', 'life *per se*', and 'wisdom *per se*' should not be construed as implying that such a distinction is really existent in God; quite the contrary, this distinction can be attributed to God Himself neither *simpliciter* ("ἁπλῶς") nor even conceptually ("κατ' ἐπίνοιαν"), but only in reference to God's creatures (on V,5; PG 3: 840A-B). Cf. Ps.-MAXIMUS CONFESSOR's comment on Ps.-DIONYSIUS' *Epist. IX* (PG 3: 497A4-6). On the Neoplatonic character of Palamas' doctrine of energies see also VON IVÁNKA, *Platonismo*, pp. 308-310; 325-326; G. PODSKALSKY, "Gottesschau und Inkarnation", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 35 (1969), pp. 5-44, esp. 40-41; J. NADAL CAÑELLAS, "Gregorio Akíndinos", in: CONTICELLO-CONTICELLO (eds.), *La théologie byzantine* (cf. *supra*, n. 34), pp. 189-314, esp. 239-240; 253.

42. VON IVÁNKA, *Platonismo* (cf. *supra*, n. 1), pp. 308-310.

43. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Διάλογος ὁρθοδόξου μετὰ Βαρλααμίτου* 38-42, ed. G.I. MAN-TZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 200,24-206,25; Basil's passage appears in p. 200,25-27. Palamas is also attested to have used the *distinctio rationis* in the record of one of his

he avoided stating that God's "energies" are distinguished both from each other and from God's "essence" κατ' ἐπίνοιαν;⁴⁴ instead, he just picked up a sentence from Basil's passage, which says that "there are many truly different names of God".⁴⁵

Further, the greatest hindrance for Palamas to describe his distinction as 'conceptual' was that, borrowing a phrase of Maximus Confessor which was to become misleadingly famous,⁴⁶ he explicitly posed an infinite gap between God's 'essence' and 'energies'; the former, he stated, "stands infinitely infinite times higher" (ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως

public disputes with Nicephoros Gregoras by GEORGE FACRASES, *Ἐπίτομος κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν διήγησις τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ παλατίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένης διαλέξεως τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Θεσσαλονίκης κῆρ Γρηγορίου καὶ Γρηγοῤῥᾶ τοῦ φιλοσόφου* 26; ed. P.K. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 32), p. 229,12-25 = ed. CANDAL, "Fuentes" (cf. *supra*, n. 32), p. 356,27-28: "...τοῦ λόγου χωρίζοντος τὰ ἀχώριστα..." (with reference to the distinction between "νοῦς" (substance) and "διάνοια" (the activity of this substance), which is used as a model of the distinction between God's 'essence' and 'energies'); cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Λόγος διασαφῶν ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ τῇ τοῦ Βαρθολαῖ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου δόξαν καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀντιλεγόντων αὐτοῖς* 4; ed. PHANOURGAKES, in: CHRESTOU (ausp.), Vol. III (cf. *supra*, n. 24), p. 90,9-13; *Against Gregoras* IV,12; ed. CHRESTOU, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 347,26-27.

44. Contrary to what is the case with the anti-Palamites, who had no problem citing the relevant passage in full. See, e.g., GREGORY ACINDYNOS, *Ἐτέρα ἐκθεσις καὶ ἀνασκευὴ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμᾶ πονηροτάτων αἰρέσεων* 84, ed. NADAL CAÑELLAS (cf. *supra*, n. 31); PROCHOROS CYDONES, *Περὶ καταφατικῆς καὶ ἀποφατικῆς τρόπου ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Κυρίου θεοφανείας* (Vat. gr. 678, f. 56^v).

45. Palamas uses ἐπίνοια in his *Προσαχῶς ἡ θεία ἔνωσις καὶ διάκρισις* 9, ed. MAN-TZARIDES, in: CHRESTOU (ausp.), Vol. II (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 76,6-9, but in a different sense, roughly equivalent to the Stoic ἀναλογισμός (leading oneself from a result to its cause and forming an idea of the nature of its cause). A. LÉVY, *Le créé et l'incréé: Maxime le Confesseur et Thomas d'Aquin. Aux sources de la querelle palamienne* (Bibliothèque thomiste, vol. LVIX), Paris 2006, p. 33, holds that Palamas described his distinction as "conceptual". Still, the passage he quotes from "un des grands traités de Grégoire Palamas" is in fact from a writing by Philotheos Kokkinos (cf. *infra*, pp. 284-285, n. 59).

46. MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Capita theologica et oeconomica* I,49: "Πάντων τῶν ὄντων καὶ μετεχόντων καὶ μεθεκτῶν ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερεξήρηται. Πᾶν γὰρ εἴ τι τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον ἔχει κατηγορούμενον, ἔργον Θεοῦ τυγχάνει, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ γένεσιν ἦρκεται τοῦ εἶναι χρονικῶς, τὸ δὲ κατὰ χάριν τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐμπέφυκεν οἷά τις δύναμις ἐμφυτος «τὸν ἐν πᾶσιν ὄντα Θεὸν» (Eph. 4,6) διαπρυσίως κηρύττουσα" (PG 90: 1101A). Cf. *op. cit.* I,7: "Ἀρχὴ πᾶσα καὶ μεσότης καὶ τέλος εἰς ἅπαν τὴν σχετικὴν δι' ὅλου κατηγορίαν οὐκ ἡρνηται. Θεὸς δὲ καθόλου πάσης σχέσεως ὑπάρχων ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως ἀνώτερος, οὔτε ἀρχὴ οὔτε μεσότης οὔτε τέλος εἰκότως ἐστίν" (PG 90: 1085B). As H. KOCH, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen. Eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung*, Mainz 1900, p. 78, n. 2, notes, this phrase, which is Proclean in origin, is contained in Ps.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE'S *De divinis nominibus* VIII,2-3, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 201,1-21 (cf. H.U. VON BALTHASAR, *Kosmische Liturgie. Maximus der Bekenner: Höhe und Krise des griechischen Weltbildes*, Einsiedeln 1961, p. 604; NADAL CAÑELLAS, "Gregorio Akindinos" [cf. *supra*, n. 41], p. 306, n. 135). This passage played an important role in the Palamite controversy.

ὑπερεξήρηται) than the latter.⁴⁷ Making such a bold statement amounted to *e limine* cancelling any possibility of coherently expressing the distinction at hand.⁴⁸

So Palamas, at first sight, opted for a Stoic rather than Plotinian interpretation of Basil's text (see *supra*, pp. 265-266), which implies a "distinctio realis" between God *per se* and His 'energies'. Still, he did so in a Procline way, which sharpened this conceptual Stoic distinction so much that he substantivised it.

3. THE LENIENCE OF GREGORY PALAMAS' DISTINCTION BETWEEN 'ESSENCE' AND 'ENERGIES' BY HIS BYZANTINE ADHERENTS

Surprisingly, Palamas' attitude towards the Greek Patristic distinction *κατ' ἐπίνοιαν* does not foreshadow the relevant stand of Palamite thinkers either during his lifetime or afterwards. *Ἐπίνοια*, though practically absent from Palamas' writings, occupies a central place in the works of almost all the authors of the Palamite party during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is in this sense that, as I said in the beginning (p. 264), most Byzantine Palamists in fact fall under what E. Ivánka called "Neo-Palamism".

47. See, for instance, GREGORY PALAMAS' *Triads* III,2, 7; 8; 21; III,3,14, ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 662,18-19; 663,26-27; 673,8-11; 692,19-23; *Περὶ θεῶν ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς μεθέξεως* 41, ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 127,9-10; *Διάλεξις ὁρθοδόξου μετὰ Βασιλαίου* 24, ed. MANTZARIDES, *op. cit.* (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 186,26-27; *Epistle to Arsenios* 8, ed. MATSOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 320,30-321,2; *Epistle to John Gabras* 5, ed. MATSOUKAS, *op. cit.*, p. 332,12-13. I shall not defend here my interpretation of Maximus' passage under discussion; the reader should simply recall that Palamas' interpretation was not the only one and that, as we will see, an anti-Palamite interpretation was shared by some of the Palamites, too. A discussion of the way Palamas and Acindynos construed this passage is offered by J. VAN ROSSUM, *Palamism and Church Tradition: Palamism, Its Use of Patristic Tradition, and Its Relationship With Thomistic Thought* (type-written Doct. Diss., Theological Faculty of Fordham University), New York 1985, pp. 68-80; my thanks to Prof. Dr. John Monfasani for providing me a copy of this dissertation.

48. This accounts for the difficulties Palamas faced in treating the problem of the logical status of this distinction. To save God's simplicity, Palamas took from time to time (and from work to work) refuge in three different views of the ontological weight of accidents: *i*) no accident makes *eo ipso* its substance composite; *ii*) no 'natural accident', i.e., *proprium*, makes its substance composite; and *iii*) in the created world, all accidents, in so far as they are by definition transient, make their substances composite; this, however, does not hold true for God's quasi-accidents, because He is by nature simple and immutable; see DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Ἀγνουστίνος* (cf. *supra*, n. 28), pp. 55-63.

3.1. *The Patristic Line: David Dishypatos and Matthaïos Blastaris*

During Palamas' own lifetime and, most probably, before Nicephoros Gregoras' involvement in the Palamite quarrel (1351), two minor theologians, David Dishypatos (ob. 1347) and Matthaïos Blastaris (ca. 1290-ca. 1350), took pains to compose some tracts in support of Palamas. Dishypatos reproduced Palamas' rough analogical argument that, just as distinguishing between the persons of the Holy Trinity does not entail composition in God, distinguishing between God's essence and energies leaves God's unity untouched.⁴⁹ Dishypatos also explicitly reproduced Basil of Caesarea's anti-Eunomean use of *ἐπὶ νοῦα* (cf. *supra*, pp. 265-266). His intention was to present the Christian postulate that the various "divine names", for all the simplicity of the subject they are predicated of, should not be confused with each other or with their subject as logically acceptable.⁵⁰

Matthaïos Blastaris pleaded for Palamas' case by taking recourse to some theological tenets of the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria. Cyril, in his effort to refute the Arianistic background of those who denied the full divinity of the divine nature of Christ, distinguished between God's essence and His properties (such as His being 'ungenerated') by calling the latter ones "naturally adjacent properties" or "quasi-accidents" and apologized for not using philosophically more accurate terms by appealing to the impossibility for man's language to describe adequately what lies above his realm.⁵¹ As we have seen (p. 274), this is how Palamas himself had described God's 'energies': by nature inherent yet really distinct from His 'essence'; and Cyril was one of his declared sources. It sounds plausible that Blastaris knew of Palamas' Cyrillian debt and defended his theology by following the

49. DAVID DISHYPATOS, *Ἱστορία διὰ βραχέων ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν συνέστη ἡ κατὰ τὸν Βαβλάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνον πονηρὰ αἵρεσις*, ll. 77-86, ed. M. CANDAL, "Origen ideológico del palamismo en un documento de David Disipato", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 15 (1949), pp. 85-125, esp. 120.

50. DAVID DISHYPATOS, *Λόγος κατὰ Βαβλάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου πρὸς Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν*, ed. TSAMES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 44, 23-45, 13 (cf. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* I, 8, 19-22; edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. [cf. *supra*, n. 5], p. 194). Cf. JOSEPH CALOTHETOS' (ob. post 1355) *Oration IV* (*Λόγος ἀντιθετικὸς πρὸς τοὺς Βαβλαμίτας*), 26-31, ll. 512-680, ed. D.G. TSAMES, *Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου Λόγοι* ('Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς. Παράρτημα ἀρ. 19 τοῦ ΙΘ' τόμου), Thessaloniki 1975, pp. 137-142.

51. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Thesaurus* XXXI (PG 75: 448D-449A).

same line—with the one, albeit remarkable, difference that Blastaris⁵² even reproduced Cyril's idea that God's "adjacent qualities" should be construed as differing from God's essence only "κατ' ἐπίνοιαν", which Palamas had preferred to leave out.

Dishypatos and Blastaris did not add anything of their own to the speculative aspect of the Palamite quarrel. Still, their initiative to involve Basil of Caesarea's theological use of ἐπίνοια in this quarrel and to subscribe to Cyril of Alexandria's theological use of ἐπίνοια paved a distinct way for Byzantine and post-Byzantine Palamites to come.

3.2. *Appealing to Basil of Caesarea's "Conceptual" yet Real Distinction between the Persons of the Holy Trinity*

Philotheos Kokkinos (1295/97-1379), the biographer of Palamas, Patriarch of Constantinople (1353-54; 1364-77) and the principal agent of the establishment of Palamas' theology as officially sanctioned as well as of Palamas himself as a saint,⁵³ was assigned the task of officially expressing Palamas' theological doctrine. In the *Synodal Tome of 1351*,⁵⁴ which came from his pen as well as Neilos Cabasi-

52. MATTHAEUS BLASTARIS, *Περὶ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἢ περὶ τοῦ θείου φωτός* (probably 1346/47), ll. 577-601, ed. P.V. PASCHOS, "Ὁ Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης περὶ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἢ περὶ τοῦ θείου φωτός", in: *Ἀντίφωνον τῷ μητροπολίτῃ Μεσσηνίας Χρυσόστομῳ Θέμελῃ*, Vol. II, Kalamata 2006, pp. 291-326 (text on pp. 295-326; the edition is full of mistakes and defective in almost every respect), in particular 310-311. Blastaris abridged the passage from Cyril referred to in the preceding note.

53. See A. RIGO, "La canonizzazione di Gregorio Palama (1368) ed alcune altre questioni", in: *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 30 (1993), pp. 155-202 (esp. 163-164; 170-172; 176-178; 202).

54. *Synodal Tome of 1351*, 27: "...Τῷ λογισμῷ χωρίζειν ταῦτα... Τῷ μὲν γὰρ "οὐκ ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν θέσεως συνίστασθαι" φάναι, "ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθίᾳ συμβαίνειν", ἐξ ἀφύκτου καὶ πολλῆς καὶ φυσικῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ λαμπρᾶς ἀληθείας ἔδειξεν οὖσαν τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει ταύτῃ διαφορὰν τῶν αἰτιατῶν τε καὶ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν μηδέποτε ἐγχωροῦσαν, ἀλλ' αἰ τοῦτοις ἀναγκαίως αὐτὴν ἐνθεωρουμένην· τῷ δὲ "μὴ διαστήματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ χωρίζειν ταῦτα" (BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* I,20,27-28; edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. [cf. *supra*, n. 5], p. 246) ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ δευτέρῳ διαφορὰν μόνῳ τῷ νῷ θεωρεῖν φαίνεται δήπου τὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως πρᾶγμα σφόδρα κατασφαλισμένον" (PG 151: 737B-C; 739A-B = I.N. KARMİRES, *Τὰ δογματικά καὶ συμβολικά μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, vol. I, Athens 1952, pp. 325-326; 327).

55. See MERCATI, *Notizie* (cf. *supra*, n. 21), p. 246. Cf. D.A. TSENTIKOPOULOS, *Φιλόθεος Κόκκινος: βίος καὶ ἔργο. Διδακτορικὴ διατριβὴ ὑποβληθεῖσα στὸ Τμήμα Ποιμαντικῆς καὶ Κοινωνικῆς Θεολογίας τοῦ Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 2001, p. 161; G. NIGGL, *Prolegomena zu den Werken des Patriarchen Philotheos von Konstantinopel (1353-1354 und 1364-1376)*. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1955, p. 40.

las',⁵⁵ Kokkinos explicitly described the distinction between God's 'essence' and 'energies' as acceptable if drawn "by reason alone" (μόνῳ τῷ λογισμῷ) or "only mentally" (μόνῳ τῷ νῷ).⁵⁶ At the same time, however, he refrained from referring to Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* I,6-8, which contains an elaborate framework for a doctrine of the 'divine names'. Instead, he preferred to adopt a passage from *Adversus Eunomium* I,20, where it is stated that distinguishing between Father (cause) and Son (result) reflects a real difference within the Trinity, even if God's unity is not thereby harmed, since this distinction does not reflect a separation. Kokkinos applies this sort of distinction to God's 'essence' (taken as cause) and 'energies' (taken as result). This way of pleading for Palamas' distinction was somewhat close to Palamas' analogical appeal to the distinction between the Persons of the Holy Trinity (v. *supra*, pp. 273-274).

This is also the spirit of a relevant passage from Kokkinos' unedited *Fourteen Chapters against Barlaam and Acindynos*, which was probably written no later than 1351⁵⁷ (which means that Philotheos' writing belongs to the pre-Thomistic phase of the Palamite quarrel):

To see that essence and energy are not in every aspect one and the same thing, but are united and inseparable and yet are distinguished only conceptually, pay attention to how the saints state that these things are two and testify both to their unity and distinctiveness. ... Hence we do not state that there are two deities or Gods, as they [sc. the anti-Palamites] slander us; instead, what we state on the basis of what we have learnt from the saints is that this Deity, which is participated in by those who are deified, is not a proper essence or substance, but a natural power and energy present within God Himself, the Holy Trinity, absolutely inseparable and indivisible [from Him], the difference [between them] being only conceptual... The holy Fathers and Doctors, as we have already said, even if they say that God's essence is one thing and His energy is another thing, conceive of the energy—and they write thus—as inseparable and indivisible from the essence, as proceeding

56. Palamites of the mid-14th century, such as Kokkinos and Neilos Cabasilas, applied to their own concerns the concept of ἐπένοια as used in the Trinitarian and Christological debates of the 4th (and 5th) century; see VAN ROSSUM, *Palamism and Church Tradition* (cf. *supra*, n. 47), pp. 100-102.

57. In ch. 7 (*Athon. Laur.* 1932, f. 124^v2-5), a passage from the *Synodal Tome of 1351* (45; PG 151: 753C = KARMIRIS, *Tὰ δογματικά* [cf. *supra*, n. 54], p. 337; cf. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, *Against Gregoras VI*, 551-553; ed. KAIMAKES [cf. *supra*, n. 13], p. 183) is cited and the target of Kokkinos' attack is not Gregoras (1293-1361), who got involved in the Palamite quarrel in 1351, but the two previous major anti-Palamites, i.e., Gregory Acindynos and, to an extent, Barlaam, who both died in 1348.

from it and as having existence and being present only in this very essence, since the separation (or, better, the difference) is construed only conceptually. Thus, in the case of those things which have their existence in other things, but do not subsist or exist autonomously in themselves, one does not speak of composition, as we have said.⁵⁸

Some years later, however, Kokkinos, instigated by Nicephoros Gregoras' harsh attack on Palamas' theology, shifted somewhat the tenor of his Palamism: "According to the theologians and the Fathers, the divine essence and the divine energy are two things in the sense that it is proclaimed that they differ from each other not really, but conceptually, and that these two things are one thing, their unity in its turn being taken and proclaimed as existent not conceptually but really".⁵⁹

58. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, *Κεφάλαια τῆς αἵρέσεως Ἀκινδύνου καὶ Βαβλαάμ - Συντεταγμένους καὶ σαφῆς ἔλεγχος τῆς κακοδοξίας Βαβλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου*, ἅπερ ὁ Βαβλαάμ καὶ ὁ Ἀκινδύνος ἐφρόνησαν καὶ συνεγράψαντο αἰρετικά καὶ βλάσφημα δόγματα τὰ ἀνωτέρω γραφέντα τεσσαρακάδεκα, 4; 8; 9: "Ὅτι δὲ οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια οὐκ εἰσὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶ μὲν ἡνωμένοι καὶ ἀχώριστοι, χωρίζονται δὲ ἐπινοία μόνῃ κατὰ διαφόρους λόγους, ἄκουσον πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ ἄγιοι ὅτι [καὶ] δύο εἰσὶ καὶ μαρτυροῦσι καὶ τὴν ἑνωσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ διακεκριμένον. ... Ἐντεῦθεν οὐδὲ δύο θεότητας ἢ Θεοὺς λέγομεν, ὥς ἐκεῖνοι συκοφαντοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν θεότητα ταύτην τὴν μετεχομένην ὑπὸ τῶν θεουμένων λέγομεν, παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαθόντες, οὐκ ἰδίαν οὐσίαν τινὰ ἢ ὑπόστασιν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν φυσικὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ, τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι, θεωρουμένην, ἀχώριστον πάντῃ καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον, ἐπινοία μόνῃ καὶ τάξει νοοῦντες τὴν διαφοράν... Οἱ δὲ ἄγιοι Πατέρες καὶ διδάσκαλοι, καθὰ καὶ ἡδὴ εἵπομεν, εἰ καὶ ἄλλο λέγουσι τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλο τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀχώριστον καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον νοοῦσι καὶ γράφουσιν, ὥς εἴρηται, τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς οὐσίας, ἐκ ταύτης οὖσαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ θεωρουμένην, τῆς διαιρέσεως (μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς) κατ' ἐπίνοιαν μόνῃ θεωρουμένης. Ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γούν, 'τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ τὸ εἶναι' [sc. in the case of the *accidentia*; JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Dialectica; recensio fusior*, 40,3-6 = *recensio brevior*, 23,3-6, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), p. 106], ἀλλὰ μὴ συνεστῶσι μὴδὲ οὖσιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, οὐδέποτε λέγεται σύνθεσις, ὥς προεῖπομεν" (*Athon. Laur.* 1932, ff. 121^r; 127^r; 128^v-129^v; on the manuscript tradition of this writing see two unpublished Doct. Diss.: NIGGL, *Prolegomena* [cf. *supra*, n. 55], pp. 28-31; TSENTIKOPOULOS, *Φιλόθεος Κόκκινος* [cf. *supra*, n. 55], pp. 238-240). Speaking of a conceptual distinction between the persons of the Holy Trinity in contrast with the real unity of the divine essence was by then quite normal; see, e.g., MACARIOS CHRYSOCEPHALOS, *Oratio panegyrica XIII (In transfigurationem Christi)*: "Μία οὐσία θεωρεῖται, ἀπλὴ καὶ ἀσύνθετος, καὶ μία γνωρίζεται θεότης, ἡ Τριάς... πρᾶγματι τὴν ἑνωσιν ἔχουσα καὶ ἐπινοία τὴν διαίρεσιν δεχομένη"; Μακαρίου τοῦ Χρυσσοκεφάλου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Φιλαδελφείας, λόγοι πανηγυρικοὶ ιδ'. Εἰσαγωγή Εἰρ. Δεληδήμου, Thessaloniki 1989, p. 401.

59. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, *Πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν φιλόσοφον Γρηγορᾶν λόγος ἀντιρρητικὸς πέμπτος περὶ ἡνωμένης καὶ διακεκριμένης θεολογίας καὶ περὶ διαφορᾶς ἰδικῶς αὐθις θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἡνωμένου, καὶ ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἑνωσις αὐτῶν πρᾶγματι θεωρεῖται κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους, ἡ δὲ διαφορὰ ἐπινοία (a.D. 1354-55), ll. 1320-1324: "Δύο, ἥτοι ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, εἰσὶν ἡ θεία οὐσία καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια, οὐ πρᾶγματι κατὰ τοὺς*

Obviously enough, what is stressed here is unity; and this is done at the expense of diversity, in a way that would hardly be acceptable for Palamas, who had constantly posed unity and diversity on equal terms, if not in terms more favourable to the latter.

Kokkinos' early predilection for Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* I,²⁰ was shared by Philotheos of Selybria (*ante* 1325/31-post 1389),⁶⁰ who reproduced this patristic passage along with the famous Athanasian Trinitarian simile of the fire and its light,⁶¹ the forerunner

θεολόγους Πατέρας, ἀλλ' ἐπινοία τῆς διαφορᾶς αὐτῶν νοουμένης ἅμα καὶ λεγομένης, καὶ ἐν εἰσιν αὖθις αἱ αὐταί, οὐκ ἐπινοία, ἀλλὰ πράγματι τῆς ἐνώσεως αὐτῶν θεωρουμένης καὶ λεγομένης"; ed. KAIMAKES (cf. *supra*, 13), pp. 164-165. More passages from Philotheos' *œuvre* where the distinction under discussion is described as drawn "κατ' ἐπινοίαν" were collected by K.E. LIAKOURAS (*Ἡ περὶ τῶν ἀκτίστων θεῶν ἐνεργειῶν διδασκαλία τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου, Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, Athens 1999, pp. 49-52; 93), who, however, fails to find a consistent way of surpassing the shock he suffered at the very fact that Philotheos' Palamism was expressed by means of ἐπινοία. Indeed, on the one hand, he tends to construe this term as implying the Neo-Palamite interpretation of the distinction between essence and energies as the result of the inherent incapacity of the human mind to grasp God; on the other, he states that this distinction reflects an objective reality in God's being; things are left so, and the only explanation offered for this antinomy is that Philotheos' use of ἐπινοία occurs "just some times" in his writings. Even Philotheos' reproduction of long relevant passages from BASIL OF CAESAREA's *Adversus Eunomium* I and II passes unnoticed.

60. PHILOTHEUS OF SELYBRIA, *Διάλογος περὶ θεολογίας δογματικῆς* (a.D. ca. 1366), ll. 1571-1574; 2036-2045 (Gregory Palamas' *persona* is speaking); ll. 2555-2557 (Philotheos' *persona* is speaking); ed. M.C. VAKALOPOULOU, *Φιλόθεος Σηλυβρίας. Βίος καὶ συγγραφικὸ ἔργο. Διδακτορικὴ διατριβή*, Athens 1992, pp. 239; 258; 282: "...τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ἀμεθέκτου παντάπασιν οὐσης, μεθεκτῆς δὲ τῆς ἐνεργείας, ὑπονοήσεται τις ὁπώσούνη καὶ διαφορὰν τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ κατὰ τὸ αἶτιον, ὡς αἰτία αὐτῇ ταύτης. ... Οὕτω (sc. in accordance with Athanasius of Alexandria's Trinitarian simile of the fire and its light) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας φυσικῶς καὶ οὐσιωδῶς προϋούσης τὸ 'ἐν' καὶ τὸ 'διάφορον' ἡμῖν ἐκκληπτέον, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἡνωμένον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ αἶτιον καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ αἰτίου. "Πρότερον" γὰρ "τὸ αἶτιον λέγομεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἰτιατόν, οὐ διαστήματι χωρίζοντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ" καὶ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ "τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ προεπινοοῦντες τὸ αἶτιον" (BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* I, 20, 26-29; edd. B. SESBOÜÉ et al. [cf. *supra*, n. 5], p. 246). Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος τῷ αἰτίῳ φαμέν ὑπερέχειν τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸν Πατέρα, οὕτω καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς φυσικῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας ὑπερκεῖσθαι ἀποφαίνεται τὰ θεῖα λόγια. ... Ὑπέρκειται ἡ οὐσία τῆς ἐνεργείας τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ ὡς αἰτία αὐτῇ ταύτης καὶ οἶονεῖ βίζα καὶ πηγὴ" (cf. *Synodal Tome of 1351*, 27-28; PG 151: 737B-739A = KARMIRES, *Τὰ δογματικά* [cf. *supra*, n. 54], pp. 326-327).

61. PS.-ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Oratio quarta contra Arianos*, 10 (PG 26: 472C-D); passage quoted in the *Synodal Tome of 1351*, 27 (PG 151: 737D-738A = KARMIRES, *Τὰ δογματικά* [cf. *supra*, n. 54], p. 326) (cf. PS.-ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *op. cit.* 2; PG 26: 469C). The simile occurs in the genuine Athanasian writing *De decretis Nicaenae Synodi* 23-24, ed. H.G. OPITZ, *Athanasius Werke*, Vol. 2,1, Berlin 1940, pp. 19, 10-20, 29 = PG 27: 456C-457B). Cf. PS.-ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA's *Quaestiones aliae* (PG 28: 776B-777C). This is a simile ultimately inspired by Hebr. 3,2.

of Basil of Caesarea's 'conceptual' distinction between Father as cause and Son as His result.

This predilection was also shared by Neilos Cabasilas (ca. 1295-1363), the successor of Palamas on the archiepiscopal throne of Thessaloniki till his death. For it is this Basilian passage which lies behind Cabasilas' statement that

number implies difference, not division, in the sense that reason divides some things which in reality are inseparable. That substance is one thing whereas hypostasis is another does not entail that substance exists in separation from hypostasis; nor does the fact that essence and energy are not the same entail that the divine energy is separated from the divine essence; on the contrary, the distinction between them is conceptual, whereas their unity is real and indivisible.⁶²

This line of defence of Palamas' theology is in keeping with what Neilos had stated as the co-author (along with Kokkinos) of the *Synodal Tome of 1351* (v. *supra*, p. 282).⁶³

62. NILUS CABASILAS, *Oratio brevis de Gregorii Nysseni dicto; "Increatum nihil nisi..."*, 12: "Ο ἀριθμὸς διαφορὰν εἰσάγει, οὐ διαίρεσιν, τῇ ἐπινοῇ δηλαδὴ "τοῦ λόγου χωρίζοντος τὰ ἀχώριστα" (GREGORY NAZIANZEN, *Oratio XXIII*, 11, PG 35: 1164A; cf. PS.-BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* V, PG 29: 737B). Οὐ γὰρ διότι ἄλλο ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἕτερον ἡ ὑπόστασις, χωρὶς ἂν εἴη ἡ οὐσία τῆς ὑποστάσεως, οὐδὲ διότι οὐ ταῦτὸν οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια, διέστη (cf. BASIL OF CAESAREA's qualification: "οὐ διαστήματι χωρίζοντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ προεπινοοῦντες τὸ αἶτιον"; cf. *supra*, n. 60) τῆς θείας οὐσίας ἡ θεία ἐνέργεια, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν διάκρισις ἐπινοῇ, ἡ δὲ ἔνωσις πραγματικῇ, ἀχώριστος [an πράγματι καὶ ἀχώριστος?]; ed. M. CANDAL, "La Regla teológica (Λόγος σύντομος) de Nilo Cabasila", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 23 (1957), pp. 240-257, esp. 254, 255-256, 1. Cf. NILUS CABASILAS' *Against the Acindynists' Interpretation of St. Cyril's Dictum*, II. 21-30: "Οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἡνωμένον τῆς θεολογίας τῷ διακεκριμένῳ πόλεμον (ex edit. πόλεων corr.) φέρεται. ... Τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν Θεόν, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ Πνεῦμα τῇ οὐσίᾳ δώσωμεν, φυλάττομεν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις τὴν ἑτερότητα. ... Τῆς οὐσίας τῆς θείας καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας... κατ' ἄλλο μὲν τὸ 'ἐν' ἐκλαμβάνων, κατ' ἄλλο δὲ τὸ 'μὴ ἐν'· τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκτίστου καὶ ἀπεριγράπτου καὶ ἀχωρήτου καὶ συμφυοῦς, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μετεχομένου"; ed. T. KISLAS, *Nil Cabasilas et son traité sur le Saint-Esprit. Introduction, édition critique, traduction et notes* (thèse de doctorat, Université de Strasbourg-II) (unpublished), 1998, pp. 699-700.

63. VAN ROSSUM, *Palamism and Church Tradition* (cf. *supra*, n. 47), pp. 34-38, describes Neilos Cabasilas (along with the Byzantine *princeps Thomistarum*, Scholarios!) as "a latent Palamite Thomist", establishing his non-anti-Thomism on his non-mentioning of Aquinas in his main pro-Palamite writing, the *Regula theologica*, and trying to show his pro-Thomism by appealing to his "being inclined to philosophical speculation". The latter argument, apart from being insufficiently based on two theological passages deserving no special philosophical praise, falsely assumes that "being inclined to philosophical speculation" in matters of theology is a mark of Thomism. This is false not only as far as Thomas' theological methodology is concerned, but also, up to an extent, as far as Neilos' view of

Joseph Bryennios (ca. 1350-ca. 1431) is a case very similar to Neilos Cabasilas. In an oration devoted to the nature of the Tabor light, probably written in 1418,⁶⁴ Bryennios defends the Palamite distinction against the objection that it clashes with God's simplicity by quoting tacitly yet verbatim a passage from Gregory Palamas himself:

If 'essence' and 'energy' fully coincide as far as God is concerned, then one of these names is just a *nomen nudum*, whose meaning does not correspond to a distinct concept. ...

It is not true that the beings we see they are characterized by diversity and distinction are *eo ipso* composite; for every substance has also

Thomas' theological methodology is concerned; for Neilos himself cites some passages from Thomas in order to show that using syllogisms in theological matters is far from safe. As for the former, it can easily be explained not only in terms of the fact that it was by then just optional for a polemicist to mention his target but also in terms of the fact that it would be quite improper for Neilos to mention Aquinas in his defence of Palamism; as the *Summa contra Gentiles* was translated in 1354, the *Summa theologiae* probably in 1358, and the *De potentia* and the *De articulis fidei* some time before 1359/61 (all of them cited by Neilos in his anti-Latin pieces; cf. *infra*, p. 313, n. 140, not one single anti-Palamite writing in a Thomist spirit (such as those by Demetrios Cydones, Prochoros Cydones, John Cyparissiotis, and Manuel Calecas) had been, in all probability, produced as yet. Besides, the issue of the proper place of syllogism in theology has nothing to do with the essence-energies problem, which, contrary to the former (rather ineptly and opportunistically treated by Palamas), is the speculative core of Palamas' doctrine. Incidentally, A. GOLTSOU's position (*Νείλον Καβάσιλα Κατὰ Ἰταλῶν πρόχειρον*. Post-Graduate Diss., Theological Faculty of the University of Thessaloniki, 1988, p. 17) that Neilos Cabasilas knew Latin and read Aquinas in the original is based on a tendentious interpretation of Demetrios Cydones' report of his passing of Aquinas' writings to his former mentor Neilos and Neilos' reactions (cf. *infra*, p. 325, n. 185).

64. JOSEPH BRYENNIOS, *Λόγος διδασκαλικαῖς χρήσεσι καὶ Γραφικαῖς ῥήσεσι παριστῶν ὅτι καὶ ἡ θεία ἐνέργεια καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις θεωρουμένη ἑλλαμψις καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ Θαβωρίῳ παραδειχθεῖσα χάρις ἄκτιστος περὶ θείας ἐνεργείας*. As far as I know, no date has ever been proposed for this *Oration*. If one takes for granted R.J. LOENERTZ's suggestion, "Pour la chronologie des œuvres de Joseph Bryennios", in: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 7 (1949), pp. 12-32, esp. 30, that Bryennios' 2nd *Oration on the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary* and 2nd *Oration on the Crucifixion* were delivered on 24 and 25 March 1418, one would guess that an *Oration* on the nature of the Tabor light that precedes in order the above *Orations* and presents itself as a succinct exposition of the Church's doctrine elaborated for the Orthodox' sake against someone's errors ("...σύνοψιν ἀκριβῆ τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις ὑμῖν διεξέλωμεν"; ed. BOULGARIS, Vol. II [cf. *supra*, n. 13], p. 98,14) was delivered on the occasion of the Feast of Orthodoxy of the same year, celebrated shortly before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (25 March). The latter of the two *Orations* that precede these is on the Good Friday (9 April 1417), which means that an *Oration* on the Tabor light, since it is presumably attached to the Feast of Orthodoxy, cannot form part of the set of the orations of 1417, but of the set of the orations of 1418.

potency as well as energy, even if it is simple, and we will not say that the simple nature is composite... for the reason that potency is conceptually distinguished from substance and substance, in its turn, is conceptually distinguished from energy; for even so, a substance is one and simple. How would one dare speak about the truly simple and non-composite nature as being composed of its natural energies or of its hypostatic properties? ... This obviously holds true for the case of our soul; indeed, "if someone of us is astronomer and musician, and let it be assumed that this same person is a geometer as well..., should his soul be taken as composite because of this?..."⁶⁵

Obviously, Bryennios draws the essence-energy distinction in terms of the Greek patristic 'conceptual' distinction used by David Dishypatos (cf. *supra*, p. 281), Neilos Cabasilas (cf. *supra*, p. 286), and Philotheos Kokkinos (cf. *supra*, pp. 282-285), which stands midway

65. JOSEPH BRYENNIOΣ, *Λόγος περὶ θείας ἐνεργείας*, ed. BOULGARIS, Vol. II (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 105-106: "Εἰ γὰρ ἀδιάφορα παντάπασιν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ 'οὐσία' καὶ 'ἐνέργεια', δυοῖν θάτερον "διάκονός" ἐστὶ "ψόφος" ὀνόματος (GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Contra Eunomium* III, 5,28; 9,4, ed. W. JAEGER, *Gregorii Nysseni opera. Vol. II: Contra Eunomium liber III - Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii*, Leiden 1960, pp. 170,11-12; 265,17-18) κατ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδίας ἐννοίας τὸ σημαινόμενον ἔχοντος" (GREGORY PALAMAS, *Περὶ θείων ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς μεθέξεως* 6, ed. MANTZARIDES [cf. *supra*, n. 13], p. 101,4-7). ... Οὐδ' ἐπὶ πάντων [ex editionis πάντα correxi; cf. ed. BOULGARIS, Vol. II (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 105,7], ἐν οἷς θεωρεῖται ποικιλία τε καὶ διάκρισις, ἥδη καὶ σύνθεσις παρεισάγεται· πᾶσα γὰρ οὐσία ἔχει καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ἀπλῆ τις εἴη, καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο σύνθετον ἐροῦμεν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἀπλῆν..., ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ διακρίνεται τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ἢ δυνάμεις, τῆς δὲ δυνάμεως ἢ ἐνεργείας· μία γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀπλῆ οὐσία. Πῶς ἂν τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπλῆς τῶν καὶ ἀσυνθέτου φύσεως τολμήσῃ λέγειν ὅτι σύνθεσις ἐκ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἢ ὑποστατικῶν ἰδιότητων εἰσάγεται; ... Καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δὲ ψυχῆς τοῦτο πρόδηλον· "εἰ γὰρ τις ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἀστρονόμος καὶ μουσικός, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος καὶ γεωμέτρης..., σύνθετος διὰ τοῦτο ἢ ψυχῇ λογισθήσεται;..." (verbatim citation from GREGORY OF NYSSA's *Contra Eunomium* II,501-503, ed. JAEGER [cf. *supra*, n. 10], p. 372,16-373,8). This line of argument derives from Gregory Palamas; see DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Αἰγουστίνος* (cf. *supra*, n. 28), pp. 60-62; cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Against Acindynos* II,19,96, edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 24), p. 153,6-29; Θεοφάνης ἢ περὶ θεότητος καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀμεθέκτου καὶ μεθεκτοῦ 26, ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 253,9-12. Bryennios cites the full passage from Gregory of Nyssa in his *Λόγος Α' περὶ τῆς ὑπερθέου Τριάδος*, ed. E. BOULGARIS, *Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, Vol. I, Leipzig 1768; repr., with an Introduction by EIR. DELEDAMOS, Thessaloniki 1990, p. 38,21-34, written in 1420/21; N.B. TOMADAKES, "Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιος", in: IDEM, *Σύλλαβος βυζαντινῶν μελετῶν καὶ κειμένων*, Athens 1961, pp. 491-611, esp. 585, in the context of his explication of the multiplicity of God (*op. cit.*, pp. 33,20-40,24), where the passages just cited are parts of some longer ones fully reproduced in both *Orations* (Vol. I, pp. 37,36-38,13 = Vol. II, pp. 104,33-105,12; Vol. I, pp. 38,20-34 = Vol. II, pp. 105,36-106,4; Vol. I, pp. 39,9-23 = Vol. II, pp. 105,10-24; the longer version is that in the *Λόγος Α' περὶ τῆς ὑπερθέου Τριάδος*).

between Palamas' *distinctio realis* and the purely mental distinction applied to the essence-energy problem by several anti-Palamites.

Interestingly enough, Bryennios elsewhere, in his *Διάλεξις Α' περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, which was written in 1399/1401,⁶⁶ attacked Thomas Aquinas for identifying what he said in the above passage one should clearly and fearlessly distinguish, namely, God's essence, His potency or power and His energy or operation:⁶⁷

To my view, Thomas [Aquinas] falls short of the right in many an issue...; for instance, he declares that in God 'essence', 'potency' and 'act' are the same...

Further, q. 26 of his [*Summa theologiae*] reads: "in God there is not a potency or act other than His essence".

Bryennios does not reject Aquinas' theology *en bloc*; besides, his attack was launched in the context of his argument against appealing to Aquinas as an authority on the *Filioque* by remarking that Aquinas is not infallible. Still, the fact that he establishes Aquinas' fallibility by enumerating seven serious erroneous theological teachings of his,⁶⁸

66. LOENERTZ, "Pour la chronologie des œuvres" (cf. *supra*, n. 64), p. 30.

67. JOSEPH BRYENNIOΣ, *Διάλεξις Α' περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, ed. BOULGARIS, Vol. I (cf. *supra*, n. 65), p. 355,9-26: "Ἐγὼ τὸν Θωμᾶν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ὁρῶ τοῦ δέοντος διαπίπτοντα... καὶ ταῦτ' ὅντι ἐπὶ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν, δύνάμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν... ἀποφαίνεται (THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* II,8-9)... 'Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατ' τῶν αὐτοῦ· "ἐν τῷ Θεῷ οὐκ ἔστι τις δύναμις ἢ ἐνέργεια παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ" (THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,77,2 co.: "Ἐν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ οὐκ ἔστι τις δύναμις ἢ ἐνέργεια παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ"; *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 101^v)".

68. JOSEPH BRYENNIOΣ, *Διάλεξις Α' περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*: "Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ζητήματι τοῦ πρώτου τῶν αὐτοῦ Θεολογικῶν (sc. *Summa theologiae*, I^a) οὕτω δίδεισι· "τὸ τιθέναι μόνον διὰ τινος ἐλλάμψεως τῆς αὐτοῦ λαμπρότητος τὸν Θεὸν ὁρᾶσθαι, ἀντικρυς ἐστὶ μὴ τιθέναι τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν ὁρᾶσθαι· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν θεῖαν οὐσίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ὁρᾶσθαι πιστεύομεν" (paraphrasis of 12,5 arg. 2, co. and ad 2; *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 26^v). Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ· "ἀνάγκη ἐν τῷ θεῷ νῶν τιθέναι ἰδέας πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ γινωσκομένων" (15,3 s.c. and co.; f. 36^v). 'Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑκτῷ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῶν αὐτοῦ· "ἐν τῷ Θεῷ οὐκ ἔστι τις δύναμις ἢ ἐνέργεια παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ" (77,2 co.; f. 101^v). Καὶ ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ τῶν αὐτοῦ· "ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῦτόν ἐστιν ἢ τε οὐσία καὶ τὸ πρόσσωπον" (39,1 co.; f. 60^v). Καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τριακοστῷ· "πέντε γνωρίσματα ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀγεννησία, πατρότης, υἱότης, κοινὴ πρός τις καὶ ἐκπόρευσις. Τούτων δὲ τέσσαρες μόνον εἰσὶν ἀναφοραὶ (ἢ γὰρ ἀγεννησία οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναφορά) καὶ τέσσαρες μόνον ἰδιότητες (ἢ γὰρ κοινὴ πρός τις οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδιότης, δυσὶν ἐφαρμόζουσα προσώποις), τρία δὲ εἰσι γνωρίσματα προσωπικά, τοῦτέστι καθ' ἃ συνίσταται τὰ πρόσωπα, πατρότης δηλαδή, υἱότης καὶ ἐκπόρευσις (ἢ γὰρ κοινὴ πρός τις καὶ ἢ ἀγεννησία γνωρίσματα λέγονται τῶν προσώπων, οὐ μέντοι προσωπικά)" (32,3 co.; f. 55^v). Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑκτῷ καὶ τριακοστῷ· "εὐρίσκεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀμέσως ἐκπορευόμενον, καθ' ὅσον ἔστιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ

which “no Orthodox should pay any attention to”,⁶⁹ shows that he was not prepared to draw on any material from Thomas to articulate and formulate his own Palamism; indeed, he goes so far as to say that Thomas “is guilty of blasphemy”.⁷⁰

On the other hand, if my tentative dating of Bryennios’ *Oration on the Divine Energy* (cf. *supra*, n. 64) is true, then this *Oration* as well as the *First Oration on the Holy Trinity*, where a conceptual distinction (“λόγῳ”) between essence and energy is accepted, were probably composed almost two decades after Bryennios’ severe critique of Aquinas. Thus, just in case, one should consider the possibility that Bryennios changed his mind on Aquinas’ doctrine of God’s simplicity, especially in view of the fact that Aquinas, in the chapters of the *Summa contra Gentiles* negatively referred to in the earlier of Bryennios’ writings, accepts that a conceptual distinction (“διαφόροις νοήσεσιν”; “τὸν κατ’ ἐπίνοιαν τρόπον”; “τῷ λόγῳ”) between essence, potency, and act can

ἐμμέσως, καθ’ ὅσον ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ” (36,3 ad 1; f. 60^v). Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. “τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον μὴ ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Νεστοριανῶν εἰσενήνεκται· ταύτη δὲ τῇ αἵρέσει ἠκολούθησεν ὁ Νεστοριανὸς Θεοδώρητος καὶ πλείονες ἄλλοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Δαμασκηνός” (36,2 ad 3; f. 58^v); ed. BOULGARIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 355,19-356,4; as one can see, Bryennios’ references are not always exact, not to mention his distortion of Thomas’ thought by the method of extraction. See also JOSEPH BRYENNIOS’ *Λόγος ΙΖ’ περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος* (*op. cit.*, p. 283,8-10).

69. JOSEPH BRYENNIOS, *Διάλεξις Α’ περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, ed. BOULGARIS, *op. cit.*, p. 356,5-6.

70. JOSEPH BRYENNIOS, *Διάλεξις Α’ περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, ed. BOULGARIS, *op. cit.*, p. 355,12: “βλασφημίας ἀλίσκεται”. Bryennios refers to Aquinas in a positive spirit only twice, in *Λόγος ΙΒ’ περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος* and *Λόγος ΙΖ’ περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος*, ed. BOULGARIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 207,31-34; 280,14-20. To these explicit references one can add two implicit cases in *Λόγος Β’ περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος*, ed. BOULGARIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 58,27-59,3, and *Λόγος Ε’ περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος*, ed. BOULGARIS, *op. cit.*, p. 101,26-30, which reflect Aquinas’ conception of the proper relation of theology to philosophy as expounded in the *Summa contra Gentiles* I,1,2 and *Summa theologiae*, I,1,5 ad 2; see a non-critical edition of these passages from Demetrios Cydones’ translation in: J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Plethon and Thomas Aquinas* (in Modern Greek: *Πλήθων καὶ Θωμᾶς Ἀκρινάτης: ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ θωμισμοῦ*) (Greek Byzantium and the Latin West: Philosophy - Studies, vol. 2), Athens 2004, pp. 175; 197. Still, Bryennios might well have been inspired by NEILOS CABASILAS’ *De processione Spiritus sancti* III,2,40-41, ed. E. CANDAL, *Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae de processione Spiritus sancti* (Studi e Testi, vol. 116), Vatican City 1945, pp. 216,14-19; 218,11-17, which reflects the Thomist position on the issue; see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, “Paradoxi Nili Cabasilae Continuatio: Joseph Bryennios’ Borrowings from Neilos Cabasilas’ *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, Barlaam the Calabrian’s *Contra Latinos*, and Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa contra Gentiles* and *Summa Theologiae*”; forthcoming in the *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur*.

be drawn—which *prima facie* seems to be close to Bryennios' statement that these things are distinguished "λόγῳ". Does this appearance correspond to reality? There is no reason for replying in the affirmative. Bryennios was aware that there are many ontological degrees of what is called a 'conceptual' distinction and he was able to see that the Greek patristic distinction between various real aspects of a being is stronger than what Aquinas describes as the mental act of ascribing 'act' to God only *ex parte creaturae*.

So, to conclude, Bryennios' appeal to Gregory of Nyssa to show that the *distinctio rationis* does not entail composition and his traditional, non-sophisticated appeal to the plurality introduced in God by the Trinity, along with his explicit rejection of Aquinas' identification of *essentia*, *potentia*, and *actus* in God, suggest that he was (in contrast, e.g., to Callistos Angelicoudes) clear-minded enough to see that Aquinas' conceptual distinction of these divine names is not identical with the Greek patristic one. Given that he lived after a rather long chain of Thomistic Palamites, Bryennios marks a unique and consistent and, to that extent, remarkable return to the pre-Thomistic vindication of Palamas' distinction, which was based exclusively on Greek patristic grounds. Although he knew Aquinas' *Summae* and the Thomistic Palamism of the second half of the fourteenth century, he rejected both of them.

Regardless of the different nuances in the thought of the above Palamite theologians, they obviously have some points in common. They all hold that God's unity is more "real" (πράγματι) than the distinction between God's 'essence' and 'substance' which is drawn "κατ' ἐπινόειαν" or "ἐπινολῶ". 'Essence' and 'energy' are not two separate entities, in the way two 'primary substances' or two different 'secondary substances' are; to that extent, a *distinctio realis major* in God is not acceptable for them (as it was not for Palamas either). On the other hand, they do accept that 'essence' and 'energy' are two truly different things in God (as a pencil and its colour or its trace on a paper); to that extent, they do accept a *distinctio realis minor*, which, although it does not threaten God's unity, can hardly be reconciled with God's simplicity. To them, only "real separation" (χωρίζειν) would harm God's unity; instead, "separating in the mind" or "distinguishing" (διακρίνειν) is a theologically acceptable notion. This

interpretation of Palamas' distinction was based solely on Greek patristic theology. Still, it seems that the above official promulgators of Palamism went further than Palamas himself would have been prepared to go, because they constantly used *ἐνέργεια* as a means of clarifying the nature and the degree of the difference between God's 'essence' and 'energies', a term which Palamas himself systematically avoided, not because it was prone to misunderstanding (for example, he felt free to use the terms of "lower" and "higher deity"), but, most probably, because he deemed it as undermining the real character of his metaphysical distinction.

4. THOMISTIC PALAMISM

4.1. *John VI Cantacouzenos*: analogia entis

The official victory of Palamite theology in the Byzantine Church was gained not only thanks to the efforts of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos but also thanks to an emperor (1347-54) who was a friend of Palamas and who also had a strong affection for the monastic life, namely, John VI Cantacouzenos (ca. 1292-1383). Cantacouzenos was also a man with some literary taste and an author himself. He produced his own elaboration of the Palamite distinction between God's 'essence' and 'energies' after being challenged by Paul, Latin Patriarch of Constantinople (1366-70),⁷¹ who, after the condemnation of Prochoros Cydones by the *Synodal Tome of 1368*,⁷² was troubled by the way the Orthodox Church officially stated that there is a "real distinction" between God's 'essence' and 'energies'. Paul asked Cantacouzenos to clear up the issue:

Granted that everything that differs in reality from something else differs from it conceptually as well, but not vice versa, please make it clear to us whether essence and energy differ from each other both in reality

71. Cf. V. GRUMEL, *Bibliothèque Byzantine. La Chronologie* (Traité d'études byzantines, vol. 1), Paris 1958, p. 440.

72. See the recent edition of the *Tome* by A. RIGO, "Il monte Athos e la controversia palamitica dal concilio del 1351 al *Tomo sinodale* del 1368: Giacomo Trikanas, Procoro Cidone e Filoteo Kokkinos", in: IDEM (ed.), *Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino* (Orientalia Venetiana, vol. XVI), Florence 2004, pp. 1-177.

and conceptually or only conceptually, namely, only according to the mode of our mind.⁷³

Cantacouzenos' reply reads:

We believe that God's essence has energy, which emanates indivisibly from it and does not lie at a local distance from it, but just differs from it conceptually, in the manner that heat differs from fire and shine from light, to use the examples put forward by the theologians, e.g., by Cyril (of Alexandria) and Basil (of Caesarea), who have verbatim as just mentioned.⁷⁴

In so replying, Cantacouzenos placed himself in what I called in the previous paragraph "the Patristic line" of vindicating Palamas' theology.

This was not, however, his only word on the issue. Cantacouzenos was a friend not only of Palamas but also of Demetrios Cydones, who was also a close collaborator of Cantacouzenos in administration. Enthused by the theological (especially the apologetic) vigor of the *Summa contra Gentiles* of Thomas Aquinas, Cantacouzenos proved to be the main instigator and the first propagator of Demetrios Cydones' translation of this writing, evaluated by the translator himself to be the best of Aquinas' writings.⁷⁵ It is then no surprise that, as we will see presently, Cantacouzenos, in a subsequent letter to Paul, interpreted Palamas' doctrine in the spirit of Thomas' *analogia entis* and turned it into something substantially different from what Palamas had stated on the issue:

Τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν... οὔτε πάντῃ ταυτὸν [1] νομίζω οὔτε πάντῃ οὐ ταυτὸν, οὐ μὴν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ [2] (οὐ [2a] γὰρ δύναται τι εἶναι

73. PAUL, LATIN PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *First Epistle to the Emperor John VI Cantacouzenos*, II. 19-23: "Ἐπεὶ πᾶν τὸ πράγματι διαφέρειν καὶ ἐπινοῖα διαφέρει, οὐ μὴν τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, ἀρεσάτω διακαθῆραι, εἴπερ ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια διαφέρουσιν ἢ πράγματι καὶ ἐπινοῖα ἢ ἐπινοῖα μόνῃ, ἤγουν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας νοήσεως τρόπον μόνον"; edd. E. VOORDECKERS and F. TINNEFELD, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Refutationes duae Prochori Cydonii et Disputatio cum Paulo patriarcha Latino epistulis septem tradita* (CCSG 16), Turnhout 1987, p. 190.

74. JOHANNES VI CANTACOUZENOS, *First Epistle to Paul*, 1,13-18: "Πιστεύομεν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν, ἐνέργειαν ἔχουσιν ἀδιαίρετως ἐξ αὐτῆς προϊούσαν, οὐ δισταμένην, ἀλλ' ὡς διαφέρουσιν ἐπινοῖα, ὥσπερ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡ θερμὴ καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ λαμπρότης, κατὰ τὰ περὶ τούτων παραδείγματα τῶν θεολόγων, τοῦ τε Κυρίλλου καὶ Βασιλείου, οὕτως ἐπὶ λέξεως ἔχοντα"; edd. VOORDECKERS-TINNEFELD (cf. *supra*, n. 73), p. 188.

75. DEMETRIOS CYDONES, *Apologia I*, ed. MERCATI (cf. *supra*, n. 21), p. 362,5-6.

κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον [2b] καὶ ταυτὸν καὶ οὐ ταυτὸν), ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἐνωσιν καὶ τὸ ἀχώριστον καὶ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον [3a] τῷ πράγματι [3b], τὴν διάκρισιν δὲ μόνῃ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ [4]. Ἐπινοία [4] δὲ οὐ “ψευδεῖ” [5] τινι “ἀναπλασμῷ” [6] συνισταμένῳ κατὰ μόνον τὸν νοῦν [7], ἀλλ’ ἀληθεία [8]... “Ὁ γὰρ “ὁ ἡμέτερος” [7a] νοεῖ [9] “νοῦς” [7b]..., καὶ ἀληθές [8] ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ [10]. Οὐ μὴν νοεῖται [9] παρ’ ἡμῶν, ὥς ἐστιν [11] ἐν τῷ Θεῷ [10] (τοῦτο γὰρ “ἀδύνατον” [12a] “πάσῃ γεννητῇ φύσει” [12b]), ἀλλ’ ὅσον [13a] ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν [13b]· ὁ δ’ ὅπερ ἀμηγέπη [14] παρ’ ἡμῶν νοεῖται [9], ἀληθῶς [8] ἐστὶ καὶ προαιωνίως ἐν τῷ Θεῷ [10]. ...
...“Ὅσα παρ’ ἡμῶν [7a], ἐπὶ Θεοῦ [10] νοοῦνται [9], οὐκ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ [7] μόνον ἔχουσι τὸ εἶναι (οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ᾗσαν “ἀναπλάσματα [6] ψευδῆ” [5]), ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ [10] τὸ εἶναι ἔχουσι προαιωνίως...”⁷⁶

The first lines of this passage show that this is an explanatory comment on Gregory Palamas’ *Περὶ θείων ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὰς μεθέξεως* 4-8, where it is stated, in the context of his reluctant acceptance (in fact, an implicit rejection) of Ps.-Basil of Caesarea’s remark that “in the case of the simple and incorporeal nature [i.e., God], ‘energy’ admits of the same definition as ‘essence’”,⁷⁷ that the essence and the energy of God are both “the same” and “not the same”.⁷⁸ To offer his explanation, Cantacouzenos reproduces the central idea as well as some characteristic phrases of the subsequent two passages from Gregory Nazianzen’s *Oratio XXVIII*:

“Θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον”, ὥς τις τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσι θεολόγων ἐφιλοσόφησεν.⁷⁹... Τὸ δὲ τοσοῦτον {11} πρᾶγμα (sc. God) [3b]

76. JOHN VI CANTACOUZENOS, *Third Epistle to Paul*, 5,19-27; 7,29-32, edd. VOORDECKERS-TINNEFELD (cf. *supra*, n. 73), pp. 196; 200 (“In my opinion, the essence and energy of God are neither fully identical nor non-identical with each other, yet not from the same aspect (for nothing can be both identical and non-identical in the same respect), but unity and inseparability stand in reality, whereas distinction stands in conception. Still, by conception I do not mean a fictitious image existing merely in the mind, but a conception of a real thing. ... What our mind conceives of also truly exists in God. Yet, it is not conceived by us as it is in God (for this is impossible for every created nature), but to the extent that we are capable of reaching it; but, in any case, whatever is conceived by us, is truly and eternally in God. ... All things conceived by us in respect with God do not have existence merely in the mind (for in such case they would have been fictitious images), but have existence in God eternally...”). Numbers within brackets [1, 2, 3...] refer to identical wording; numbers within hooks {1, 2, 3...} refer to identical meaning.

77. “Ἐπὶ ἀπλῆς καὶ ἀσωμάτου φύσεως τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον ἐπιδέχεται ἡ ἐνέργεια” (PS.-BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* V, PG 29: 716C) (not BASIL OF CAESAREA’s *Epistle* 189, 8, as indicated by the editor of Palamas’ text).

78. Ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 99,4-103,4 (esp. 100,20-21).

79. As J. PÉPIN, “Grégoire de Nazianze lecteur de la littérature hermétique”, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 36 (1982), pp. 251-260, has found, this is a quotation from PS.-HERMES

τῇ διανοίᾳ περιλαβεῖν [15] πάντως ἀδύνατον [12a] καὶ ἀμήχανον {12a}... ὁμοίως πάσῃ γεννητῇ φύσει⁸⁰ [12b]⁸¹...

Οὕτω κάμνει ἐκβῆναι τὰ σωματικά ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς [7a/b] καὶ γυμνοῖς ὁμιλῆσαι τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις, ἕως σκοπεῖ μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσθενείας {12a} τὰ ὑπὲρ δύνανιν {12a}. Ἐπεὶ ἐφίεται μὲν πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας, καταλαβεῖν [15] δ' ἀδυνατεῖ [12a] δι' ἧς εἶπον αἰτίας. Κάμνουσα δὲ τῷ πόνῳ καὶ οἶον σφαδάζουσα καὶ τὴν ζημίαν οὐ φέρουσα "δεύτερον" ποιεῖται "πλοῦν"⁸²..., πρὸς... διὰ τοῦ κάλλους τῶν ὁρωμένων {16} (Rom. 1,20; Sap. 13,1) καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας Θεὸν γνωρίσαι [17] καὶ ὁδηγῶ τῇ ὁψει τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁψιν χρήσασθαι...,⁸³ ἀλλὰ μὴ ζημιωθῆναι Θεὸν διὰ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας τῶν ὁρωμένων {16}.⁸⁴ ...

TRISMEGISTUS' *Ad Tat, Corpus Hermeticum*, fr. 1 (JOHN STOBAEUS, *Eclogae* II,1,26), ll. 1-2; ed. A.D. NOCK, *Corpus Hermeticum. Texte établi par A.D. NOCK et traduit par A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE. Tome III. Fragments: extraits de Stobée*, 1-22, Paris 1954 (repr. 1972), p. 1, which goes back to PLATO's *Timaeus* 28C. Cf. ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum* VII,42, ed. M. BORRET, *Origène. Contre Celse. Tome IV: livres VII-VIII. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (Sources chrétiennes, vol. 150), Paris 1969, pp. 110-112; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromata* V,12,78,1, edd. O. STÄHLIN, L. FRÜCHTEL, U. TREU, *Clementis Alexandrinus. Zweiter Band. Stromata Buch I-VI*, Berlin 1985, p. 377,25-26. "The whole" Hermetic "passage" "is based on the Platonic contrast between τὸ νοητὸν and τὸ αἰσθητὸν, which is dealt with in the preceding sentences of *Timaeus* (27D-28B)"; W. SCOTT, *Hermetica. The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings Which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. Edited With English Translation and Notes. Vol. III*, Boston 1985, p. 302. This holds true for Nazianzen's and Cantacouzenos' passages as well as for Aquinas' account of the limits of man's knowledge of God *in statu viae*.

80. For this phrase cf. ORIGEN, *Fragmenta ex Commentariis in "Epistulam ad Ephesios"* in *catenis* 15, 19; ed. J.A.F. GREGG, "Documents: The Commentary of Origen upon the *Epistle to the Ephesians*", in: *Journal of Theological Studies* 3 (1902), pp. 233-244, 398-420, 554-576, esp. p. 411.

81. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, *Oratio XXVIII*, 4,1-3; 8-12, edd. GALLAY-JOURJON (cf. *supra*, n. 30), pp. 106-108.

82. PLATO, *Phaedo* 99C.

83. Gregory combines various phrases from some or all of the following passages: CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromata* V,1,6,2, edd. STÄHLIN et al. (cf. *supra*, n. 79), p. 329,16-17; PLOTINUS, *Enneads* III,2,13,18-19; EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Demonstratio Evangelica* IV,8,2, ed. I.A. HEIKEL, *Eusebii Werke. Sechster Band. Die Demonstratio Evangelica* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, vol. 23), Leipzig 1913, p. 161, 23-26; ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, ad 18,4 (PG 27: 557A); BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron* I,11, edd. E.A. DE MENDIETA and S.Y. RUDBERG, *Basilii von Caesarea. Homilien zum Hexaemeron* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge, vol. 2), Berlin 1997, p. 20,4-5.

84. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, *Oratio XXVIII*, 13,23-34, edd. GALLAY-JOURJON (cf. *supra*, n. 30), p. 128: "It is difficult to conceive God, but to define Him in words is an impossibility", as one of the Greek Doctors of Divinity taught... But to comprehend the whole of so great a Subject as this is quite impossible and impracticable... for every created nature... Thus our mind faints to transcend corporeal things, to consort with the Incorporeal, stripped of all clothing of corporeal ideas, as long as it has to look with its inherent weakness at things above its strength. For every rational nature longs for God and for

Cantacouzenos also borrowed from Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* I,6,11-12 the phrase "...ψευδῶν παντελῶς καὶ διακένων ἀναπλασμῶν..."⁸⁵

And yet, Cantacouzenos combined these Greek Patristic authorities with the central idea as well as with some identical or similar expressions from Demetrios Cydones' translation of Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* and of the *Prima Pars* of the *Summa theologiae*, where the question that Patriarch Paul addressed to Cantacouzenos was explicitly posed and answered. Let us see what Cantacouzenos could have read in these Thomistic texts:

...Εἰ καὶ τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ [10] λεγόμενα ὀνόματα τὸ αὐτὸ [1] σημαίνουσι. πρᾶγμα [3b], ὅμως οὐκ ἔστι πολυώνυμα, ἐπειδὴ οὐ [2a] σημαίνουσι τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον [2b]. "Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὰ διάφορα πράγματα ἐνὶ ἀπλῶ {3a} πράγματι [3b], τῷ Θεῷ δηλαδὴ, ὁμοιοῦνται κατὰ διάφορα εἶδη, οὕτως ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς [7a/b] κατὰ διαφόρους νοήσεις {4} ἀμυγέπη [14] τούτῳ ἐξομοιοῦται, καθόσον [13a] διαφόροις τελειότησι τῶν κτισμάτων [16] πρὸς τὸ γινώσκειν [15] αὐτὸν ἐφικνεῖται [13b]. Κἀντεῦθεν ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς [7a/b] περὶ ἐνὸς πλείω περιλαμβάνων [15] οὐκ ἔστι ψευδής [5] οὔτε μάταιος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἐκεῖνο καὶ θεῖον εἶναι {3} τοιοῦτον ἐστίν, ὥστ' αὐτῷ τίνα ἐξομοιοῦσθαι δύνασθαι κατὰ παντοδαπὰ εἶδη... Κατὰ διαφόρους τοίνυν νοήσεις {4} ὁ νοῦς [7] διάφορα εὕρισκει ὀνόματα, ἅτινα τῷ Θεῷ ἀποδίδωσι. Καὶ οὕτως, ἐπειδὴ οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον [2a/b] ἀποδίδωσι ταῦτα, συμβαίνει ταῦτα μὴ εἶναι πολυώνυμα, εἰ καὶ πρᾶγμα [2b] σημαίνει πάντη ἓν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ αὕτη "τοῦ ὀνόματος" σημασία, ὅταν τὸ "ὄνομα" "πρότερον" τὸ περιλαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ "τοῦ νοῦ" σημαίνῃ ἢ τὸ νοούμενον "πρᾶγμα".^{86,87}

the First Cause, but is unable to grasp Him, for the reasons I have mentioned. Faint therefore with the desire, and as it were restive and impatient of the disability, it tries "a second course"... through the beauty and order of visible things to attain that which is above sight; but not to suffer the loss of God through the magnificence of visible things" (translation by C.G. BROWN and J.E. SWALLOW, in: PH. SCHAFF and H. WACE (ausp.), *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series. Translated into English with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes. Vol. 7: S. Cyril of Jerusalem (by H. WACE) / S. Gregory Nazianzen*, New York 1894, pp. 561; 567-568, with some slight changes; the translation contained in *Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning. The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzen. Introduction and Commentary by F.W. NORRIS. Translation by L. WICKHAM & F. WILLIAMS* (Supplements to the Vigiliae Christianae, vol. XIII), Leiden-New York-Copenhagen 1991, pp. 226; 231-232, is full of mistakes).

85. Edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. (cf. *supra*, n. 5), p. 184. In the same epistle, CANTACOUZENOS (*Third Epistle to Paul*, 6,9-96; edd. VOORDECKERS-TINNEFELD [cf. *supra*, n. 73], pp. 197-199) quotes almost fully chapters 6-8 of Book I of BASIL OF CAESAREA'S *Adversus Eunomium*.

86. ARISTOTLE, *De interpretatione* 1, 16a3-7 (thought stands mediate between names and things).

87. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* I,35 (Quod plura nomina dicta de Deo non sunt synonyma / "Ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ ὀνόματα τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνουσι

...Ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς [7a/b] περὶ τοῦ ἀπλουστάτου Θεοῦ οὐ μάτην ἀποφάνσεις εἰδοποιεῖ τῷ συντιθέναι καὶ διαιρεῖν, εἰ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς πάντῃ ἐστὶν ἀπλοῦς. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ διαφόροις νοήσεσιν {4} εἰς τὴν θείαν ἀνάγεται γνώσιν [17] ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν [7a/b], τὸ ἐκ πάντων μέντοι νοούμενον πάντῃ [1a] ἐστὶν ἐν {1b}. Ὁ γὰρ νοῦς οὐ καὶ τὸν τρόπον, ὃν νοεῖ, τοῖς νοουμένοις ἀποδίδωσι πράγμασιν... Οὕτω καὶ ὅταν λέγῃ ὅτι 'ὁ Θεὸς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός' ἢ 'ἀγαθότης', ἢ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει ταύτῃ ποιικιλία πρὸς τὸν νοῦν [7b] ἀναφέρεται, ἢ δὲ ἐνότης πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον πρᾶγμα [3]. Ὁμοίως καὶ ὅταν λέγῃ ὅτι 'ἀγαθότης ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ'· αἰ γὰρ ἢ μὲν διπλόη τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀρμόζει τῷ νῷ [7b], ἢ δὲ ἐνότης πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα [3b] ἀναφέρεται.⁸⁸

...Οὕτω γὰρ σημαίνει τὰ ὀνόματα τὸν Θεόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς [7a/b] τοῦτον γινώσκει [15]. Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νοῦς [7a/b], τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκων [17] ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων {16}, οὕτως αὐτὸν γινώσκει [17], ὥσπερ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ κτίσματα {16} παριστᾷ.⁸⁹ ...

...Τὸν Θεόν... ἐκ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰ κτιστὰ ὄντα⁹⁰ {16} προϋουσῶν τελειότητων γινώσκωμεν [17]· αἱ δὲ τελειότητες καθ' ὑπερέχοντα τινὰ τρόπον ἔνεισι [10a] τῷ Θεῷ [10b] ἢ ἐν τοῖς κτίσμασιν {16}. Ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος

πρᾶγμα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον); *Vat. gr. 610*, ff. 41^r-42^r ("Though the names predicated of God signify the same thing, still they are not synonymous, because they do not signify the same point of view. For just as diverse realities are by diverse forms assimilated to the one simple reality, which is God, so our mind by diverse concepts is in some sort assimilated to Him, inasmuch as, by several different points of view, taken from the perfections of creatures, it is brought to the knowledge of Him. And therefore our mind is not at fault in forming many concepts of one thing; because that simple divine being is such that things can be assimilated to it in many diverse forms. According to these diverse conceptions the mind invents diverse names, and assigns them to God..."; translation from J. RICKABY, *An Annotated Translation (With Some Abridgment) of the "Summa contra Gentiles" of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, London 1905; <http://www2.nd.edu/Departments/Maritain/text/gc/htm>, modified in accordance with the Byzantine translation).

88. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* I,36 (Qualiter intellectus noster de Deo propositionem formet / "Ὅτι αἱ προτάσεις, ἃς περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἡμέτερος εἰδοποιεῖ νοῦς, οὐκ εἰσὶ μάταιοι); *Vat. gr. 610*, ff. 41^r-42^r ("...For all the absolute simplicity of God, our mind does not form propositions, concerning God in vain, putting together and putting asunder. For though our mind arrives by way of diverse concepts to the knowledge of God..., still what it understands from all those concepts is absolutely one; for our mind does not attribute the manner of its understanding to the objects understood... On the same principle, sometimes our mind forms a statement about God with some mark of diversity by inserting a preposition, as when it is said, 'goodness is in God'; herein is marked a diversity, proper to the mind, and a unity, which should be attributed to the thing" (*ibid.*; translation modified).

89. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I,13,2 Resp.; *Vat. gr. 609*, f. 29^r ("Names signify God according to the way in which our mind knows Him. But when our mind knows God from creatures, it knows Him according to the way in which creatures represent Him"; translation by A.J. FREDDOSO, *New English Translation of St. Thomas Aquinas's "Summa Theologiae" ("Summa Theologica")*, Notre Dame 2009; <http://www.nd.edu/~afreddos/summa-translation/TOC.htm>, adapted to the Byzantine translation).

90. Haec verba litteris confusis in codice scripta sunt.

νοῦς [7a/b] τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ταύτας καταλαμβάνει [15], ὃν εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς κτίσμασι [16]· καὶ ὥσπερ ταύτας καταλαμβάνει, οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων σημαίνει. Δύο τοίνυν ἔστι θεωρῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ἀποδιδομένοις ὀνόμασι τῷ Θεῷ, αὐτάς τὰς σημαινόμενας τελειότητας, οἷον τὴν ἀγαθότητα, τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, καὶ τὸν τῆς σημασίας τρόπον. Ὅσον μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸ δηλούμενον ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἰδίως τῷ Θεῷ ταῦτα ἀρμόζουσι καὶ ἰδιαίτερον ἢ τοῖς κτίσμασι, καὶ πρότερον περὶ Θεοῦ λέγονται. Ὅσον δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς σημασίας τρόπον, οὐ λέγονται ἰδίως· τοῦτον γὰρ ἔχουσι τῆς σημασίας τὸν τρόπον, ὃς ἀρμόζει τοῖς κτίσμασι.⁹¹

Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νοῦς [7a/b], ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων {16} γνώσκων [15] τὸν Θεόν, πρὸς τὸ νοεῖν αὐτὸν νοήσεις {4} οἰκειάς ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ προϋούσαις εἰς τὰ κτίσματα τελειότησιν ἀνατυποῖ· αἱ δὲ τελειότητες ἐνι-αίως καὶ ἀπλῶς προϋφαστάσιν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ [10a/b]. Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ταῖς διαφόροις τελειότησι τῶν κτισμάτων ἀρχὴ ἀπλή καὶ μία ἀνταποκρίνεται, ἣν αἱ διάφοροι αὐταὶ τελειότητες ποικίλως καὶ πολλαχῶς παριστῶσιν, οὕτω πολλαῖς καὶ διαφόροις νοήσεσι {4} τοῦ ἡμετέρου νοῦ [7a/b] ἐν {3a} ἀνταποκρίνεται πάντῃ ἀπλοῦν {3a}.⁹²

...Τῇ μὲν οὖν κατὰ λόγον [1] διαφορᾷ τὸ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου καὶ ὑποκειμένου πληθος ἀνταποκρίνεται, τὴν δὲ ταυτότητα [1] τοῦ πράγμα-τος [3b] δι' αὐτῆς τῆς συνθέσεως⁹³ ὁ νοῦς [7b] σημαίνει. Ὁ Θεὸς δέ, καθ' ἑαυτὸν {11} θεωρούμενος, παντάπασιν [1a] ἔστιν εἷς καὶ ἀπλοῦς {1b}· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς [7a/b] κατὰ διαφόρους ἐννοίας {4} αὐτὸν γνώσκει [15], διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι [12a] αὐτὸν καθ' αὐτὸν {11} θεωρεῖν. Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ διαφόροις ἐννοίαις {4} αὐτὸν νοεῖ [9], νοεῖ⁹⁴ [9] μέντοι πάσαις

91. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I,13,3 Resp.; *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 29^v ("...We know God... from the perfections that proceed from Him to creatures. To be sure, these perfections exist in God in a more eminent manner than in creatures. However, our mind apprehends them in the way in which they exist in creatures, and it signifies them by names in accordance with how it apprehends them. Therefore, there are two things to consider regarding the names we attribute to God, viz., the perfections that are signified, e.g., 'goodness', 'life' etc., and the mode of signifying. With regard to what is denoted by names of this sort, these perfections belong properly to God — indeed, they belong more properly to Him than to the creatures themselves, and they are said of God in the primary sense. On the other hand, as regards the mode of signifying, these names are not said of God properly, since they have a mode of signifying that belongs to creatures" (translation by A.J. FREDDOSO, slightly modified; cf. *supra*, n. 89).

92. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I,13,4 Resp.; *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 29^v ("But our mind, since it knows God from creatures, in order to understand God forms concepts proportioned to the perfections that proceed from God to creatures. These perfections preexist in God in a simple and unified way. Therefore, just as to the diverse perfections of the creatures a unified and altogether simple principle corresponds, which these diverse perfections represent variously and in many ways, so to the several diverse concepts of our mind corresponds a single and absolutely simple being" (translation by A.J. FREDDOSO, adapted; cf. *supra*, n. 89). Cf. this article cited in full *infra*, pp. 302-303, n. 103.

93. Cf. ARISTOTLE, *De Interpretatione* 1, 16a2 et al.

ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐννοίαις {4} ἀνταποκρινόμενον ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν [1] καὶ ἀπλοῦν {3a} πρᾶγμα [3b]. Τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ κατὰ τὸν λόγον {4} πλῆθος τὸ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου καὶ ὑποκειμένου πλῆθος παριστᾷ, ἡ δὲ σύνθεσις παρίστησι τὴν ἐνότητα.⁹⁵

...Ὅταν τι τελειότητος ὄνομα περὶ κτίσματος {16} λέγεται, σημαίνει τὴν τελειότητα ταύτην ὡς διακεκριμένην τῶν ἄλλων· οἷον, ὅταν τὸ 'σοφός' λέγωμεν περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, σημαίνομεν τινὰ τελειότητα διακεκριμένην τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐσίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων. Ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα λέγωμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ [10], οὐ βουλόμεθα σημῆναί τι διακεκριμένον τῆς οὐσίας ἢ τῆς δυνάμεως ἢ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ οὕτως, ὅταν μὲν τὸ 'σοφός' ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγεται, περιγράφει τρόπον τινὰ καὶ περιλαμβάνει [15] τὸ σημαίνονμενον πρᾶγμα [3b], οὐ μὴν ὅταν λέγεται ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ [10], ἀλλὰ καταλαμβάνει τὸ σημαίνονμενον πρᾶγμα [3b] ὥσπερ ἀπερίληπτον καὶ ὑπερεκτεινόμενον τῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος σημασίας. Ὅθεν δῆλον ὡς οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον [2a/b] τὸ 'σοφός' ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατηγορεῖται. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Οὐδὲν ἄρα ὄνομα συνωνύμως τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν κτισμάτων {16} κατηγορεῖται. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀντικρυς ὁμωνύμως, ὅπερ τινὲς βούλονται. Οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων {16} δυνατὸν ἦν γινώσκεισθαι [17] ἢ ἀποδείκνυσθαι περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ [10], ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ταύτωνυμίαν σόφισμα⁹⁶ συνέπιπτεν ἂν. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐναντίον ἐστὶ... τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ λέγοντι ἐν τῷ α' τῆς Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους· "τὰ ἀόρατα τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς ποιήμασι {16} νοούμενα [6] καθορᾶται" (Rom. 1,20). Δεῖ ἄρα λέγειν ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Θεοῦ [10] καὶ τῆς κτίσεως {16} λέγονται. ... Καὶ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος μέσος ἐστὶ τῶν τε καθαρῶς ὁμωνύμων καὶ τῶν συνωνύμων ἀπλῶς.⁹⁷

94. In textu Latino "cognoscit" legis, quod prout 'γινώσκει' in versione Graeca reddi expectares.

95. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I,13,12 Resp.; *Vat. gr.* 609, ff. 31^v-32^r ("...And the plurality of subject and predicate corresponds to this conceptual diversity, whereas the mind signifies the identity of the thing through the very composition of subject and predicate. Now God, considered in Himself, is altogether one and simple. But our mind knows Him by means of diverse conceptions, because it is unable to see Him as He is in Himself. Still, even though it understands Him under diverse concepts, it nonetheless knows that one and same reality, absolutely speaking, corresponds to all these conceptions. Therefore, the mind represents the conceptual plurality by means of the plurality of subject and predicate, whereas it represents the unity by means of the composition of predicate and subject"; translation by A.J. FREDOSO; cf. *supra*, n. 89).

96. ARISTOTLE, *Sophistici elenchi* 4 (165b30-a6); 7 (169a22-27).

97. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,13,5 Resp.; *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 29^{r-v} ("...When a name pertaining to perfection is said of creature, it signifies that perfection as something distinct from other perfections. ... By contrast, when we predicate this name of God, we do not mean to signify anything distinct from His essence or from His power or from His *esse*. And so when the name 'wise' is said of a man, it in some sense circumscribes and comprehends the thing that is signified. But this not the case when 'wise' is said of God; instead, the thing signified is left as something that is uncomprehended and that exceeds

Numbers 12a/b and 7a/b show that Cantacouzenos had read Nazianzen's passages. Numbers 7a/b and 15, along with Rom. 1,20, which are common in Gregory and Thomas, made Cantacouzenos recall Thomas Aquinas' passages; and numbers 13a/b and 14 (along with 7a/b) demonstrate that Cantacouzenos did read them. True, 13a/b ("ὅσον ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν", in the sense of "to the extent that the human nature is able to reach") does occur a few times in Gregory Nazianzen, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nyssa. Still, in contrast with Aquinas' phrase ("ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς..., καθόσον... ἐφικνεῖται"), none of these occurrences forms part of a discussion of the question of the 'divine names'. Further, Cantacouzenos and Aquinas (but not the Cappadocians) attach this sentence to two roughly synonymous verbs, i.e., "νοεῖν" (Cantacouzenos) and "γινώσκειν" (Aquinas). Furthermore, both Cantacouzenos' and Aquinas', but not Gregory's employment of this sentence is accompanied by the usage of the rare word "ἀμυγέπη" [14] ("aliqua", a word rather common in Aquinas) to denote the limited character of man's knowledge of God.

The fact that Cantacouzenos, when writing his passage, had in mind Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* I, and the passage from his first letter to Paul cited in the above, where he refers to the way Cyril of Alexandria and Basil of Caesarea explained the distinction between the persons of the Holy Trinity (see *supra*, p. 293), suggest that Cantacouzenos was thinking of the Greek patristic line of defence of Palamas' distinction between God's essence and energies as pretty admitting of being transcribed in terms of Thomistic theology.

In fact, taking Aquinas' theological epistemology as compatible with the theological epistemology of the Greek Fathers was just as reasonable for him. Cantacouzenos, prescinding from Barlaam the Calabrian's fiercely pejorative treatment of Aquinas as a "possessed" 'rationalist'⁹⁸ and drawing, instead, upon Neilos Cabasilas' appeal to

the signification of the name. ... Hence, no name is predicated univocally of God and creatures. But neither are such names predicated in a purely equivocal way... For if this were so, then it would be impossible to know or demonstrate anything about God from creatures... And this is contrary... to the Apostle, who says in the *Epistle to Romans* (1,20) that "the invisible things of God... are clearly seen, being understood by the created things". Therefore, one should say that names of the sort in question are said of God and creatures analogically. ... This mode falls between pure equivocation and simple univocity"; translation by A.J. FREDDOSO; cf. *supra*, n. 89).

98. BARLAAM THE CALABRIAN, *Contra Latinos A IV*, 11, ll. 93-94, ed. A. FYRIGOS, *Barlaam Calabro. Opere contro i Latini. Introduzione, storia dei testi, edizione critica*,

some Thomistic passages where the limits of human reason are clearly and emphatically shown,⁹⁹ cited some of these same passages,¹⁰⁰ immediately after some Greek patristic ones (just like Neilos), to refute Prochoros Cydonos' strong determination to use syllogisms in theology. Gregory, Thomas, and John all say the same thing. Man, because of his very nature as well as his bodily condition in this life, is unable to fully or directly know God. He only can do so, and this up to an extent, by following a bypass, i.e., by knowing what is reflected from God in his creature. This is a middle state of things. What man knows of God by this path is true, for the beauty and order of nature, which are conceived by our mind, are both real and due to God. Yet, it is not equal to the object known; for this process, being mediate, does not produce an image of what God is *per se* (11): Cantacouzenos: "ὥς ἐστίν"; Thomas Aquinas: "καθ' ἐαυτόν"). An inevitable consequence of this process is the assimilation of the only absolutely simple being, i.e., God, as multiple, inasmuch as the knower, i.e., man, as well as the beings man uses to grasp God, are multiple.

traduzione e indici, Vol. II (Studi e Testi, vol. 348), Vatican City 1998, p. 562; cf. J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Further Evidence on the Ancient, Patristic, and Byzantine Sources of Barlaam the Calabrian's *Contra Latinos*", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 96/2 (2003), pp. 83-122, esp. pp. 111-112, N° 96iii. Cantacouzenos seems rather negatively disposed toward Barlaam's views of the relation between faith and reason in general; for example, I have the impression that Cantacouzenos' *Refutationes duae Prochori Cydonii* I,17,38-40, "Πᾶσα ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφία λέγεται μὲν οὕτω, σοφία, ἐκτὸς δὲ 'σοφία' παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν πιστῶν ὀνομάζεται", edd. VOORDECKERS-TINNEFELD (cf. *supra*, n. 73), pp. 25-26, is an implicit yet deliberate rejection of Barlaam's highly positive evaluation of heathen philosophy in his *Greek Epistle V*, 6, ll. 40-41: "Ἡ πρὸς ἡμῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία λεγομένη, πρὸς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ Παύλου [I Cor. 1,21] 'σοφία Θεοῦ' κεκλημένη..."; ed. A. FYRIGOS, *Dalla controversia palamitica alla polemica esicastica. Con un'edizione critica delle epistole greche di Barlaam*, Pontificia Università Antoniana (Medioevo, vol. 11), Rome 2005, p. 380.

99. NEILOS CABASILAS, "Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι Λατίνοις, συλλογισμοῖς χρωμένοις, ἀποδείξει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον III,2, §§12; 13; 14; 15; 17; 18; 19; 29; 33; 40; 41; 47; 64; 65; 66; 69, ed. CANDAL (cf. *supra*, n. 70), pp. 194-242 *passim*. Neilos cites from THOMAS AQUINAS' *Summa contra Gentiles* I, 3-9 and 30; *Summa theologiae* I, q. 1, a. 5, 6, and 8; *De rationibus fidei ad cantorem Antiochenum* 2 (few passages have escaped the editor's attention).

100. JOHN VI CANTACOUZENOS, *Refutatio I Prochori Cydonii* 16, edd. VOORDECKERS-TINNEFELD (cf. *supra*, n. 73), pp. 22-24. Cantacouzenos cites verbatim *Summa contra Gentiles* I,9,1-6; see a provisional, non-critical edition of Demetrios Cydonos' translation of *Summa contra Gentiles* I,1-9 in DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Πλήθων* (cf. *supra*, n. 70), pp. 188-189.

In Aquinas, this theological epistemology has a metaphysical background commonly known as "analogia entis".¹⁰¹ Cantacouzenos did not use this term. Still, the phrases and ideas he picked up from Aquinas are so closely connected with this concept that the way he contrasts "ὥς ἐστιν" with "ὅσον ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν" can be seen as a philosophically unelaborated yet proper subscription to the Thomistic *analogia entis*. Cantacouzenos could also see this notion in its two-fold dimension, i.e., the ontological and the epistemological one, applied to the angelical knowledge ("κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς τάξεως") by Gregory Nazianzen in the continuation of the passage from his *Oratio XXVIII* cited above (pp. 294-295).¹⁰²

Returning to the beginning of Cantacouzenos' passage (v. *supra*, pp. 293-294), one can clearly see that his saying that he should avoid taking the divine names of 'essence' and 'energy' both as "in every respect the same" (πάντῃ ταυτόν) and as "absolutely different" (πάντῃ οὐ ταυτόν), but rather as something in between, is a latent reproduction of Aquinas' doctrine that one should avoid taking the divine names both as "synonyma" and as "univoca". In the *Summa theologiae*, I^a, q. 13, a. 4, arg. 1, "synonyma nomina" are defined as those which "omnino idem significant". In Demetrios Cydones' translation: "...παντάπασι τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει".¹⁰³ Cf. also Aquinas' *De potentia*,

101. Of the Thomistic works available to Cantacouzenos in Greek translation, the subsequent passages contain Thomas' concept of *analogia* and his application of this concept to the problem of the "nomina divina": *Summa theologiae*, I,4,3 co. and ad 3; 13,5 co.; 44,3 co.; 45,8 ad 3; 93,1 ad 3; I^aII^{ae}, 20,3 ad 3; *Summa contra Gentiles* II,15,2; III, 24,7 and 80,16; *De potentia* 7,7 Resp. The last passage was almost fully reproduced in PROCHOROS CYDONES' *Πραγματεία εἰς τὸ περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας ζήτημα*, II,27, edd. J. FILOVSKI and M.D. PETRUSEVSKI, "Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου πραγματεία εἰς τὸ περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας ζήτημα", *Ziva antika* 23 (1973) (Part I), pp. 317-367, esp. 359-363, which had been refuted by Cantacouzenos; so he had certainly paid some attention to it. In Prochoros' writing, this Thomistic concept is reproduced several times.

102. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, *Oratio XXVIII*, 4,12-19, edd. GALLAY-JOURJON (cf. *supra*, n. 30), p. 198 ("...both to the beings impeded by the darkness of this world and the thick covering of the flesh to the full understanding of the truth and, I would say, for the higher natures and purer Intelligences which because of their nearness to God, and because they are illumined with all His Light, may possibly see, if not the whole, at any rate more perfectly and distinctly than we do; some perhaps more, some less than others, *in proportion* to their rank"; translation by BROWN-SWALLOW, in: *Select Library* (cf. *supra*, n. 84), p. 561, with some changes).

103. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I,13,4 (Utrum nomina dicta de Deo sint nomina synonyma): "Πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα ὀνόματα δόξαιεν ἂν ταὐτὸ σημαίνειν."

q. 7, a. 6 ("Πότερον ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματά εἰσι συνώνυμα"): "Συνώνυμα γὰρ ὀνόματα λέγονται ἃ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντῃ σημαίνουσι".¹⁰⁴ Avoiding both

1. Παντάπασι γὰρ ταῦτὸ σημαίνει τὰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα. Ἡ γὰρ ἀγαθότης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ ἐστίν (I,6,3), ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ σοφία (I,3,6; 4,2). Ταῦτὸν ἄρα ταῦτα πάντα σημαίνει.

2. Εἰ δὲ λέγοιτο ἐν μὲν σημαίνειν ταυτὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, κατὰ διαφόρους δὲ λόγους, εἰς τὸναντιον εἰρήσεται ὅτι ὁ λόγος, ὃ μὴδὲν ἀνταποκρίνεται πρᾶγμα, κενός ἐστιν. Εἰ τοίνυν οἱ μὲν λόγοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ πολλοί, πρᾶγμα δὲ ἓν, δόξειεν ἂν ματαίους εἶναι τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

3. Ἐτι, μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ καὶ τῷ πρᾶγματι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐν ὃν ἡ τὸ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρᾶγματι, πολλαπλοῦν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἓν. Ὡστ' ἀνάγκη μὴ ἐν μὲν εἶναι τῷ πρᾶγματι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ποικίλον. Καὶ οὕτω τὰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα ὀνόματα οὐ διαφόρους σημαίνουσι λόγους· ὥστε ταῦτὸν σημαίνειν.

Ἀλλὰ τὸναντιον· τὰ ταῦτὸ σημαίνοντα ὀνόματα ἀλλήλοις συναπτόμενα ταυτολογίαν ποιεῖ· ὥσπερ εἰ λέγοιτο "λώπιον καὶ ἱμάτιον" (ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* IV,4,14, 1006b25-27; *Torric* I,7, 103a9-10). Εἰ τοίνυν ταῦτὸ σημαίνει πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα ὀνόματα, οὐκ ἂν ἰδίως 'ἀγαθός' ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ Θεὸς ἡδύνατο λέγεσθαι· καίτοι γέγραπται ἐν τῷ λγ' τοῦ Ἱερεμίου· "ἰσχυρότατος, μέγας, δυνατός, Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ὄνομά σοι" (Jer. 39,18-19).

Ἀπολογούμενοις ῥητέον ἂν εἶη ὅτι τὰ οὕτω περὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα ὀνόματα οὐ ταῦτὸν σημαίνει. Ὁ δὲ ῥᾷδιον ἂν ἦν συνιδεῖν, εἰ ἐλέγομεν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα παρειαχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ ἀναιρεῖν ἢ σημαίνειν τὴν πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα σχέσιν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν διάφοροι λόγοι τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων, διαφόρων ὄντων τῶν ἀποφασκομένων ἢ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων τῶν ἅμα τῷ Θεῷ σημεινομένων. Ἀλλ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται (I,13,1), τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα τὴν θεῖαν οὐσίαν σημαίνει, εἰ καὶ ἀτελῶς. Ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι διαφόρους ἔχουσι λόγους κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα (I,13,1; 2). Ὁ γὰρ λόγος, ὃν σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα, ἢ τοῦ νοῦ ἐστὶ σύλληψις, ἣν λαμβάνει περὶ τοῦ πρᾶγματος, ὃ γε σημαίνεται διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος. Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νοῦς, ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων γινώσκων τὸν Θεόν, πρὸς τὸ νοεῖν αὐτὸν νοήσεις οἰκείας ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ προιούσαις εἰς τὰ κτίσματα τελειότησιν ἀνατυποῖ· αἱ δὲ τελειότερες ἐνιαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς προῦφεστώσιν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ (cf. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* I,4, ed. SUCHLA [cf. *supra*, n. 11], p. 115,6-11). Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ταῖς διαφοραῖς τελειότησι τῶν κτισμάτων ἀρχὴ ἀπλῆ καὶ μία ἀνταποκρίνεται, ἣν αἱ διάφοροι αὗται τελειότερες ποικίλως καὶ πολλαχῶς παριστῶσιν, οὕτω πολλαῖς καὶ διαφόροις νοήσεσι τοῦ ἡμετέρου νοῦ ἐν ἀνταποκρίνεται πάντῃ ἀπλοῦν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἀποδιδόμενα τῷ Θεῷ ὀνόματα, εἰ καὶ ἐν πρᾶγμα σημαίνει, διὰ μέντοι τὸ πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις λόγοις τοῦτο σημαίνειν οὐκ εἰσὶ ταυτοσήμαντα.

Ἐντεῦθεν δῆλη καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον λύσις. Ταῦτὸν γὰρ σημαίνοντα ὀνόματα λέγονται, ἅπερ ἐν πρᾶγμα καθ' ἓνα λόγον σημαίνει. Τὰ γὰρ διαφόρους ἐνὸς πρᾶγματος σημαίνοντα λόγους οὐ πρῶτως οὐδὲ καθ' αὐτὰ ἐν σημαίνει· ἐπεὶ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται (I,13,1), μεσιτευσούσης τῆς τοῦ νοῦ συλλήψεως ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος τὸ πρᾶγμα σημαίνεται.

Πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον. Οἱ πλείους λόγοι τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄκυροι καὶ κενοί· ἐπεὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀνταποκρίνεται ἐν τι καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπλοῦν, διὰ πάντων τούτων πολλαχῶς καὶ ἀτελῶς ἐκφαινόμενον.

Πρὸς τὸ τρίτον. Τῆς τελείας ἐστὶν τοῦτο τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνότητος, τὰ πολλαχῶς καὶ διηρημένως ἐνόητα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐνιαίως ὑπάρχειν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβαίνει ἓνα μὲν εἶναι τῷ πρᾶγματι, πλείω δὲ κατὰ τὸν λόγον· ὁ γὰρ ἡμέτερος νοῦς οὕτως πολλαχῶς τοῦτον καταλαμβάνει, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ πρᾶγματα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ παριστῶσιν αὐτόν" (*Vat. gr.* 609, f. 29').

104. *Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 187^v ("Synonyma enim nomina dicuntur quae omnino idem significant").

univocal and equivocal predication leaves, for Aquinas, no other way of predication than analogy—which is, as is evident now, what Cantacouzenos implicitly subscribed to.

Obviously enough, what E. von Ivánka called “Neo-Palamism” (cf. *supra*, p. 263) is in fact just a Byzantine version of Palamism introduced by John Cantacouzenos, which can properly be called “Thomistic Palamism”. The compromised character of this sort of Palamism becomes more clear in view of its blatant similarity with Gregory Acindynos’ idea, strongly opposed by Palamas, that we grasp God by means of diverse concepts not because their multiplicity has a *fundamentum in re*, but because using many concepts is unavoidable for human beings to grasp anything (cf. *supra*, p. 275).

After this reply by Cantacouzenos, Paul reported to Pope Urban V as follows:

Because it was related to our Lord, Pope Urban V, and his cardinals that the Emperor [John VI] Cantacouzenos and the Church of the Greeks accept that there are many divinities, superior and inferior, because they teach that God’s properties differ (from each other) in reality (διαφέρειν πραγματικῶς) and that each of them is a distinct deity that lies at an infinite distance from the divine essence, the aforesaid emperor contacted me to discuss this issue. So, whereas at the beginning he seemed (to me) to hold a wrong belief, since I discerned from what he said that he held a real distinction (πραγματικὴν διάκρισιν) (between God’s properties), after some days he said that he does not hold a real distinction between God’s properties, but just a conceptual one (μόνον λόγῳ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ).¹⁰⁵

One might guess that Paul discerned the Thomistic background and tenor of the emperor’s statement and was content with it. In the last resort, one of the passages in *Summa contra Gentiles* that inspired Cantacouzenos, i.e., Book I, ch. 35 (v. *supra*, p. 296), was included in Prochoros Cydones’ writing that was supposedly refuted by Cantacouzenos, i.e., in the *De essentia et operatione Dei* (Book III, ch. 26).¹⁰⁶ True, given that Cantacouzenos’ discussion of the nature of Palamas’ distinction was produced on the occasion of an official report to the pope, one might even suspect that Cantacouzenos was eager to expound before the Latins a theological doctrine acceptable

105. PAUL, LATIN PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Epistle to the Most Blessed Pope (Urban V) and His Cardinals* (pg 154: 836A-837B).

106. Edd. FILOVSKI-PETRUSEVSKI (cf. *supra*, n. 101), pp. 355-356.

to them. In any case, the fact remains that John VI Cantacouzenos inaugurated a new (and milder than the former one) version of Palamism, i.e., Thomistic Palamism.¹⁰⁷

4.2. *Theophanes of Nicaea: Weaving between the Basilian and the Thomist ἐπίνοια*

Besides John VI Cantacouzenos, Theophanes of Nicaea, too, wrote in 1369/71 a reply to the Latin Patriarch Paul of Constantinople.¹⁰⁸ At first glance, Theophanes' reply looks like a mere repetition of the patristic solution towards Palamas' direction of the *distinctio realis*. Theophanes cites the famous Basilian example of "grain" and says, just as Palamas had said (v. *supra*, p. 274), that God's 'essence' and 'energy' are two "things" ("πράγματα"). Since, however, they cannot actually be separated from each other, they are not different "really" (πραγματικῶς); they are rather distinguished (as Palamas had not said; v. *supra*, pp. 278-279) only "conceptually" (ἐπινολῶ). In distinguishing between "πρᾶγμα" and "πραγματικῶς", Theophanes split what Basil of Caesarea had described as "conceptual distinction" into two cases: *i*) distinguishing between various external aspects of one and the same thing (what in ancient Greek logic were called 'heteronyms'; v. *supra*, p. 266) — a distinction of low ontological weight, which cannot be taken as a distinction between two "things" in any sense of the term; and *ii*) distinguishing between a substance and its attributes, which is of higher ontological weight, since attributes,

107. As far as I know, H.C. BARBOUR (*The Byzantine Thomism of Gennadios Scholarios and His Translation of the Commentary of Armandus de Bellovisu on the "De ente et essentia" of Thomas Aquinas*, Città del Vaticano ["Studi Tomistici" 53], 1993, pp. 32-39) was the first to speak of "Thomism" in regard to the theological thought of John VI Cantacouzenos. Still, he confined this Thomism to the reason – Revelation problem (cf. *supra*, n. 74) and explicitly stated that "the Essence – energies dispute was clearly a point where Palamas and Aquinas can only with greatest difficulty be reconciled" (*op. cit.*, p. 37). Further, the way BARBOUR depicted Byzantine Aristotelianism (*op. cit.*, pp. 15-32, esp. 27; 29) in order to integrate into it his description of the Thomism of Cantacouzenos is highly questionable.

108. On the historical setting of the exchange of letters between John VI Cantacouzenos, Paul, and Theophanes of Nicaea, see I.D. POLEMIS, *Theophanes of Nicaea. His Life and Works* (Wiener Byzantinistischen Studien, vol. XX), Vienna 1996, pp. 62-68, where it is plausibly argued (p. 63) that Theophanes' epistle is a reply to a lost epistle of Paul sent to Cantacouzenos after the two extant ones edited by VOORDECKERS-TINNEFELD (cf. *supra*, n. 73).

although forming a unity with their bearer and requiring its existence, are in no way identical with it and should, therefore, be taken as various "things" different from it. Case *ii* is also clearly different from distinguishing between, e.g., two primary substances (say, two men) (case *iii*). Putting 'essence' and 'energy' in this framework, one should say that they are not one thing (case *i*), but two "πράγματα" (case *ii*), even though they do not differ "πραγματικῶς" (case *iii*). Thus they are both different from and united with each other. Let us see Theophanes' argument in full:¹⁰⁹

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐπινοίας ἢ πράγματι τὴν διαφορὰν εἶναι οἶσθαι τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας, τοῦτο ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, ὅτι ἡ 'ἐπινοία' διπλῆν ἔννοιαν ἔχει· κατὰ τε τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον¹¹⁰ καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ θεῖον Ἰωάννην.¹¹¹ Λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν "ἀναπλασμάτων" μόνων ὄντων τῆς ἡμετέρας "διανοίας", μηδαμῶς δὲ ὑφεστώτων,¹¹² ὥσπερ ἡ μυθοποιία τερατεύεται τοὺς "ἱπποκενταύρους" καὶ τὰς "Χιμαίρας". ἥτις καὶ "φιλὴ ἐπινοία" εἰκότως προσαγορεύεται. Λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συνεπτυγμένων καὶ "πρώταις ἐντεύξεσι" μονοειδῶν "δοκούντων"¹¹³ οἷον ἀνάπτυξις καὶ διαστολὴ κατὰ διάνοιαν γινομένη.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν¹¹⁴ τοῦ προτέρου νοήματος καὶ τῆς "φιλῆς ἐπινοίας" οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν λόγος (τί γὰρ κοινὸν θεολογία τε καὶ "μυθοπλαστικά";¹¹⁵), ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑτέρῳ πάντως ἐπὶ τῶν θείων χρηστέον.

"Ἐτι, ἕτερόν ἐστι 'διαφορὰ' καὶ 'ἐτερότης' καὶ ἕτερον 'διαίρεσις' εἴτουν 'διάστασις' ἡνωμένων τινῶν, ὥστε ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ χωρὶς¹¹⁶ θεωρεῖσθαι. Ὁρᾶται τοίνυν καὶ τὰ διαφέροντα καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ¹¹⁷ καὶ ἐπινοία καὶ πράγματι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν διάφορα τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ,

109. THEOPHANES OF NICAEA, *Ἐπιστολὴ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ* δηλοῦσα τίνα δόξαν ἔχει ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία περὶ τῶν παρὰ Παύλου προσηνεγμένων ζητήσεων, συγγραφεῖσα ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως. I used *Oxon. Barocc. gr. 193* (= O), ff. 85^v-86^r, and *Met. S. Sepulchri 352* (= M), f. 6^r; on the manuscript tradition of this work see POLEMIS, *Theophanes* (cf. *supra*, n. 108), pp. 31-32. My sincere thanks to Dr. Christos Triantafyllopoulos (London) for transcribing M for my sake.

110. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* I,6 *passim*, edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. (cf. *supra*, n. 5), pp. 182-186.

111. Cf. *supra*, p. 266.

112. Palamas had already rejected (by using these words) taking the energies of God as "vain concepts"; GREGORY PALAMAS, *Περὶ θείας καὶ θεοποιουῦ μεθέξεως ἢ περὶ τῆς θείας καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἀπλότητος* 7; ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 161,10-11.

113. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* I,6 (cf. *supra*, n. 5).

114. οὖν om. O.

115. JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Dialectica* 65,92-93, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), p. 135.

116. χωρὶς om. M.

117. θεωρεῖσθαι usque καθ' ἑαυτὰ om. O.

“ὡς ὅταν λέγωμεν τὸν σῆτον καὶ ‘σπέρμα’ καὶ ‘καρπὸν’”¹¹⁸ οὐ γὰρ διαφέρει ταῦτα πραγματικῶς· “ἐν” γὰρ ἐστὶ “τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ”, καθ’ οὗ καὶ ἄμφω κατηγορεῖται τὰ εἰρημένα. Πράγματι δὲ διαφέρει τὰ διαφέροντα, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν “τῷ κύκνῳ” “λευκότης” τοῦ “κύκνου”· πράγματα¹¹⁹ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ “κύκνος” καὶ ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ “λευκότης” διάφορα.¹²⁰ Ὡσαύτως τὰ διαιρούμενα ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ ποτὲ μὲν ἐπινοίᾳ δίσταται, ποτὲ δὲ πράγματι· ἐπινοίᾳ μὲν, ἡνίκα τὴν ἐν τῷ πυρὶ θερμὴν τοῦ πυρὸς διακρίνομεν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάτερον, κατὰ διάνοιαν μόνον ἀναπλάττοντες τοῦτο. Πραγματικῇ δὲ διαίρεσις ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ “τῆς μιᾶς φύσεως” “τῶν ἀνθρώπων” “Πέτρου” καὶ “Παύλου” ὑποστατικὴ διάκρισις· πράγματι γὰρ ὁ Πέτρος τοῦ Παύλου διακέκριται κατὰ “τὰς ὑποστάσεις”¹²¹

Ἡ οὖν θεία ἐνέργεια, ἡ “φυσικὴ καὶ οὐσιώδης” κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς Πατέρας,¹²² πρῶγμα ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ “ἀνάπλασμα διανοίας”. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη φυσικὸν τε καὶ οὐσιώδες, καὶ ταῦτα θεῖον, ἀνύπαρκτον;

Πάλιν δὲ πῶς ἂν εἴη αὐτὸ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ περ ἐξ αὐτῆς λέγεται προίενα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν Πατέρων τῶν τε τῆς ἑκτῆς οἰκουμένης¹²³ συνόδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων; Πῶς γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ προαγάγοι; Ἡ πῶς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ πάντη ταυτοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς τὸ “ἐκάτερον” λεχθείη; Ἀλλ’ ὁ θεῖος Ἀναστάσιος οὕτω φησὶν· “ἐνθα ἂν ἡ ἐνέργεια φανῇ, συνθεωρεῖται ταύτη καὶ ἡ οὐσία, ἐξ ἧς προέρχεται· ἐκάτερον γὰρ ἀπερίγραπτον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παντελῶς ἀλλήλων ἀχώριστα”.¹²⁴ Ὡς μὲν οὖν¹²⁵ “ἐκάτερα” ταῦτα, πάντως ἕτερον ἡ ἐνέργεια παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν· ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο “ἀπερίγραπτον”, πάντως καὶ ὑφεστὼς καὶ ἄκτιστον· πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ “ἀπερίγραπτον” κτιστὸν καὶ μὴ ὑφεστὼς;

Διαφέρει τοίνυν ἀλλήλων ἡ θεία οὐσία τε καὶ ἐνέργεια πράγματι, ἐπεὶ πράγματά ἐστιν, ὡς δέδεικται ἱκανῶς, καὶ ἄμφω· διαιρεῖται δὲ καὶ χωρίζεται ἐκάτερα ἐκάτερας ἐπινοίᾳ μόγι καὶ οὐ πράγματι· “ἀχώριστα” γὰρ ἐστὶν “ἀλλήλων” κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἀναστάσιον,¹²⁶ ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν τῷ πυρὶ

118. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* I,7 *verbatim* (cf. *supra*, n. 5).

119. πράγματι M.

120. ARISTOTLE, *Topics* IV,1, 120b38-39; *Sophistici elenchi* 6, 168b29-31. Cf. ANONYMUS' *In Aristotelis librum "Posteriorum Analyticorum" commentarium*, ed. M. HAYDUCK, *Eustratii in Analyticorum Posteriorum librum secundum commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, vol. XXI,1), Berlin 1907, p. xv,34-36.

121. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Expositio fidei* 8,223-237, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 16), p. 28. It should be added to the apparatus fontium of KOTTER's edition that ll. 223-297 of ch. 8 is but a full reproduction of Ps.-CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA's *De Trinitate* X, PG 77: 1141B-1145B.

122. See, e.g., CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Thesaurus* 32; 33; 34 (PG 75: 497C; 521C; 580A; 593D); *Commentarii in "Johannem"* V,1, ed. PUSEY (cf. *supra*, n. 16), Vol. II, p. 52.

123. οἰκουμένης ἑκτῆς O.

124. ANASTASIOS I OF ANTIOCHIA, *De orthodoxa fide* II,5, ed. J.B. PITRA, *Anastasiana*, Rome 1866, p. 76 = ed. S. SAKKOS (an K. SIAMAKES?), *Ἀναστασίον Α' Ἀντιοχείας ἅπαντα τὰ σωζόμενα γνήσια ἔργα*, Thessaloniki 1976, p. 43 = PG 89: 1332A-B.

125. Ἀλλ' ὡς μὲν O; Ὡς μὲν οὖν M.

126. Cf. *supra*, n. 124.

θέρμη τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὸ ἡλιακὸν φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου. Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ μέρους ἐστὶν ἀλλήλοις ἡνωμένα (τὸ γὰρ ἡλιακὸν φῶς μέρει τινὶ συνάπτεται τῷ δίσκῳ καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ πηγῇ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου πέρασιν συνεκτείνεται), ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους ἡ συνάφεια θεωρεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περ "ἐκότερον" τούτων "ἀπερίγραπτον" ἐστίν, ὅλον ἐν ὅλῳ ἐστί.

As far as the question whether we [sc. the Orthodox] regard the difference between the divine essence and the divine energy as conceptual or real, our position runs as follows. According to both Basil the Great and John of Damascus, 'epinoia' has two meanings. It refers to those things which are just "fictional entities of our mind" and do not subsist at all; for instance, mythology speaks of such monstrous entities as "hippocentaurs" and "Chimaeras". This sort of 'epinoia' is rightly called "bare epinoia". On the other hand, 'epinoia' refers to the mental process of the development and analysis of compact things which at first sight look simple.

Now the former meaning of the term, i.e., the "bare epinoia", will not concern us here at all; for what is common between speaking of God and concocting myths? On the contrary, it is obviously the latter that we should apply to things divine.

Furthermore, 'difference' or 'alterity' (1) is one thing, and 'division' of or 'separation' between (2) some things united with each other in such a way that they are seen as singular entities or beings *per se* is another. Thus, both the things different from each other and the things separated in such a way that they are singular entities or beings *per se* are viewed either as really being so (a) or as being so in the conceptual manner (b). Things are conceptually different (1b) "in cases such as 'grain', which is also called 'seed' and 'fruit'". These things do not differ from each other really, for "they are one in regard to their subject" [sc. insofar as they are grain], which these things [sc. seed and fruit] are predicated of. On the contrary, things different from each other differ really (1a) in cases such as a swan and the whiteness that exists in a swan; for both a swan and its whiteness are things different from each other. Likewise, things divided properly and *per se* sometimes are distinguished conceptually (2b), whereas in other cases they are distinguished really (2a). Things are distinguished conceptually in cases such as our distinguishing the heat inherent in the fire from the fire as a separate entity, imagining this only in our mind. On the other hand, real division consists in the hypostatic division of two individuals belonging to "the same nature", e.g., of "Peter" and "Paul" belonging to "humanity"; for Peter is really distinct from Paul in terms of their being two "individuals".

Now, according to the godly Fathers, the divine energy, which is called 'natural' and 'inherent to' God's 'essence', is a real thing, not a fiction of the mind. Indeed, how can it be natural and inherent to essence (not to mention be divine), if it is non-existent?

On the other hand, how can the energy be God's essence itself, given that it is described by the Fathers both of the Sixth Ecumenical Council and the other ones as proceeding from the essence? How would it be possible for a thing to produce itself? Further, how would it be possible that the phrase 'each of the two' be applied to a thing absolutely identical with itself and one? Contrary to such an approach, St Anastasius speaks this way: "wherever energy exhibits itself, the essence whence the energy springs is conceived, too. For each of these two is incircumscribable and, for this reason, they are absolutely indivisible from each other". Since, therefore, these things are called "each of these two", energy is obviously different from essence; and since this [energy] is "incircumscribable", it is obviously subsistent and uncreated; for how could the "undescribable" be created and non-subsistent?

So, the divine essence and energy differ from each other in reality, because, as has been sufficiently shown, they are both real things; on the other hand, they are divided and separated from one another only conceptually, not really; for, according to the divine Anastasius, "they cannot be separated from each other", just like the heatness in the fire cannot be separated from the fire and the sunlight from the sun. Even more, these things form a unity only partially (indeed, the sunlight is connected with the disk and its source only as far as some part of it, whereas its largest part runs through the end of the world), whereas in the case of the divine essence and energy the connection is not regarded as partial, but, since each of them is "incircumscribable", exists in each other in its totality.

Obviously, Theophanes' elaboration of Basil's conception of ἐπίνοια does not deviate from what Basil had said; rather, it is just a development of it¹²⁷ by means of the fourfold scheme "real difference" vs. "conceptual difference" and "real separation" vs. "conceptual separation".

127. See also THEOPHANES OF NICAEA's *De luce Thaborica* I,5, ll. 202-203: "...ἡ ἐνέργεια τῆς οὐσίας κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διακρίνεται..."; phrase put in the mouth of the Palamites by the *persona* of an hypothetical objector to Theophanes' view of the Tabor light and silently accepted by Theophanes as theologically correct; ed. G.T. ZACHAROPOULOS, *Θεοφάνης Νικαίας (? - ±1380/1): ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ συγγραφικὸν τοῦ ἔργου* (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται, vol. 35) (ad legendum magna cum cautela), Thessaloniki 2003, p. 135 = ed. C. SOTEROPOULOS, *Θεοφάνους Γ' ἐπισκόπου Νικαίας Περὶ Θαβωρίου φωτὸς λόγοι πέντε τὸ πρῶτον νῦν ἐκδιδόμενοι. Εἰσαγωγή - κείμενον*, Athens 1990, p. 181, ll. 214-215; *Epistle I* (a.D. 1364): "...οὗτοι (sc. the anti-Palamites), τὸ ἀπλοῦν τῆς θείας φύσεως προβαλλόμενοι καὶ ταύτῃ μορμολύττειν τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους οἰόμενοι, τὴν τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας διαφορὰν ἀναιρεῖν ὅλως ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἐνεργείαν ὅλως λέγοντες τὸν Θεόν, ἡγουν ζῶν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἣ μηδαμῶς ἔχειν, ἣ, εἴπερ ἔχει, κτιστὴν εἶναι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν στασιάζειν ἀντικρυς αὐτὸν λέγοντες καὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἐκείνου τὴν ἑαυτῆς διάκρισιν μὴ δεχόμενον, μηδαμῶς εἰς κοινωνίαν τῆς δόξης, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα παραπέμπουσιν" (PG 150: 300A).

To him, God's essence and energy are both "really different" and "conceptually separate" from each other, even if these logical concepts, deriving from the realm of creation, fail to do justice to the supreme unity of essence and energy.

Still, using the rare term *πραγματικῶς* in the sense Theophanes does is quite unusual for a Greek author. Thus, it seems that Theophanes echoes here Demetrios Cydones' translation of Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles*, book II, ch. 12-13, where this term occurs in a context similar to that of Theophanes' text.¹²⁸ That Theophanes had read these Thomistic lines is certain, since, as has been firmly established,¹²⁹ he was a reader and eclectic user of Thomas Aquinas — a fact quite natural for a close collaborator of John VI Cantacouzenos. In these Thomistic lines, Theophanes would even have been able to find the idea that the relations between God and creature are "conceptual" in nature. Still, in the passage under discussion, Theophanes did not concede to Aquinas too much. For Theophanes,

128. "Ὅτι αἱ προειρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ πραγματικῶς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ"; "Οὐδὲ δύναται λεχθῆναι ὡς αἱ προειρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ ὑφ' ἐστῆκασιν ἕξω ὥσπερ τινὰ πράγματα ἐκτὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. ... Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ εἰσι καὶ οὐ λέγονται κατ' αὐτοῦ πραγματικῶς, λείπεται ἀποδίδοσθαι αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπινοίας" (cf. *supra*, p. 270, n. 19).

129. See I.D. POLEMIS, *Theophanes* (cf. *supra*, n. 108), pp. 68-70; 87-109; 122-126; IDEM, *Θεοφάνους Νικαίας, Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι ἐδύνατο ἐξ αἰδίου γεγενῆσθαι τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀνατροπὴ ταύτης. Editio princeps. Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενο, μετάφραση, ἐνδεκτικὰ* (Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi: Philosophi Byzantini, vol. 10), Athens 2000, pp. 42-46. With only one exception (THEOPHANES OF NICAIA, *De luce Thaborica* II, 11, ll. 657-658; ed. ZACHAROPOULOS, *Θεοφάνης Νικαίας* [cf. *supra*, n. 127], p. 182; cf. POLEMIS, *Theophanes*, p. 107), ZACHAROPOULOS' fierce reaction (*op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; 320) to Polemis' evidence for Theophanes' dependence on Aquinas is not accompanied by sufficient supporting material, but is merely instigated by confessional motives. True, Theophanes' Thomism is an eclectic one. To mention just one of the cases that have thus far passed unnoticed, Theophanes, in ch. 36 of his *Ἀπόδειξις δι' ἐπιβολῶν τινῶν ἀναγκαίων νομιζομένων ὅτι ἐδύνατο ἐξ αἰδίου γεγενῆσθαι τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀνατροπὴ ταύτης* (ed. POLEMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 39, l. 9), uses unavowedly many of Thomas' characteristic terms, which are quite unusual in Greek (e.g., "εἰδοποιὸν εἶδος" / "species informans" or "species specifica"; see, e.g., *Summa contra Gentiles* III, 51, 3 and 105, 12; cf. *Vat. gr.* 616, ff. 56^r; 122^r), and subscribes to the Thomistic doctrine that the angels are pure (i.e., non-enmattered) forms (see, e.g., *Summa theologiae* I, 50, 1; cf. *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 73^v; *Summa contra Gentiles* II, 50-51; cf. *Vat. gr.* 610, ff. 152^r-153^v); yet he does so in order to establish the non-Thomistic doctrine (see, e.g., *Summa theologiae* I, 61, 3; cf. *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 83^v; *De potentia*, 3, 18; cf. *Coisl. gr.* 96, ff. 92^v-93^r) that the angels were created before the material world. Theophanes tacitly cites JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Expositio fidei* 26, 2-4; ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), p. 75 (cf. *op. cit.* 17, 75-81; ed. B. KOTTER, *op. cit.*, p. 48), referred to by AQUINAS, too, in *De potentia*, 3, 8, arg. 2.

contrary to Aquinas, who, in saying that these relations are just "conceptual", meant that their real basis should be placed only on the side of creatures, stresses that this "ἐπίνοια" corresponds to something real in God. Indeed, Theophanes, in a properly Palamite way, declares that God is not "in every aspect identical with Himself and one" (πάντῃ ταὐτὸν καὶ ἓν). In so doing, he reproduces Palamas' metaphysical statement that no being whatsoever can be 'simple' in the sense his enemies would like to take this term, for all beings by nature have some sort of natural or innate energy.¹³⁰

And yet, this was not Theophanes' last word on the issue. In his scholastically structured treatise *A Chain of Arguments for the Possibility that the World Could Have Been Created ab Aeterno, Deemed by Some as Conclusive - A Refutation of Them* (Ἀπόδειξις δι' ἐπιβολῶν τινῶν ἀναγκαίων νομιζομένων ὅτι ἐδύνατο ἐξ αἰδίου γεγενῆσθαι τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀνατροπὴ ταύτης), in particular in the context of the refutation of the first of nine arguments for the contrary position,¹³¹ Theophanes explores the nature of the relation of God the Creator with His creature — a relation called "κτίσις". Theophanes¹³² mistakes John of Damascus' statement that "γένεσις... κτιστὴ ἐστὶ"¹³³ for "the genesis of beings is something created" ("ἡ... γένεσις τῶν ὄντων κτιστὴ ἐστίν")¹³⁴ and sets out to qualify the createdness of God's energy called "κτίσις" or "κτίζειν" (creating). To him,¹³⁵ "κτίζειν" and its passive correlate, "κτιζέσθαι", are different things ("ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον"); still, "they are one in subject, differing only aspectually; for it is [a sort of] making, which, seen with respect to the maker, refers to him as to its principle, whereas viewed with respect to the thing

130. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Triads III, I*, 24: "Ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ταύτην τῆς μιᾶς ἐκείνης οὐσίας φαίμεν ἀχώριστον, σύνθετος ἢ ὑπερουσιότης ἐκείνη παρὰ τοῦτο ἔσται. Ἡ γὰρ ἂν οὐδεμία ἦν ἀπλὴ οὐσία, εἴ γε τοῦτο ἦν οὐσίαν γὰρ φυσικῆς ἀνευ ἐνεργείας οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν ἂν ἴδοις"; ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 24), p. 637,3-7. Palamas made this statement many times by appealing to some Patristic authorities; see DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Αἰγίουσίνος* (cf. *supra*, n. 28), pp. 55-56.

131. Par. 36 in POLEMIS' edition (cf. *supra*, n. 129), pp. 30-42.

132. Ed. POLEMIS (cf. *supra*, n. 129), p. 35,19-20 (cf. app. font.).

133. "The term 'genesis' refers to the realm of creature" [in contrast with 'γέννησις', which refers to the divine realm] (JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Expositio fidei* 80,12-13, ed. KOTTER [cf. *supra*, n. 16], p. 179).

134. See also *op. cit.*: "...τὸ κτίζειν κτιστὸν δέδεικται εἶναι, σχέσις οὐσα τινῶν"; ed. POLEMIS (cf. *supra*, n. 129), p. 36,13-14.

135. *Op. cit.*, ed. POLEMIS (cf. *supra*, n. 129), p. 36,13-18.

made, it refers to it as result".¹³⁶ This is the first of the three kinds of distinction mentioned in his *Epistle to Paul* which he deemed inappropriate to be applied to the energies of God (v. *supra*, p. 306). This kind of distinction, which is a *distinctio rationis sine fundamento in re*, is the one Aquinas accepts as applicable to *Deus creator* in the passage from the *Summa contra Gentiles* II,13 just cited (p. 310, n. 128).

That Theophanes here has Aquinas in mind is indicated by the fact that he introduces the final elaboration of his opinion on the nature of God's relation with creation by using an argument against construing this relation as a real entity which Aquinas produces in the same chapter. The argument runs that, if this relation were taken as created, it would require postulating another creature, and so on in infinity, which is absurd. Let us see the passages themselves:

Theophanes: Εἰ γὰρ διὰ μέσου κτίσματος ἢ κτίσις παράγοιτο, κάκεινο πάλιν ἑτέρου γ' ἂν δεηθεῖ τοῦ μεσιτεύοντος πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γένεσιν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἄπειρον.¹³⁷

Thomas Aquinas: Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ ἔσχατον ἀγαθόν, ἀνάγκη ἂν ᾗ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀναφορὰς ἐκείνας τὰς πράγματα οὕσας ἀναφορὰς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἑτέρας εὑρεῖν· καὶ εἰ κάκειναι πάλιν πράγματα εἶεν, ἀνάγκη πάλιν τρίτας σχέσεις εὑρεῖν· καὶ οὕτως ἐπ' ἄπειρον. Οὐκ ἄρα αἱ σχέσεις, αἷς ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀνάγεται πράγματα, εἰσὶ τινὰ πράγματα ἕξω τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑφεστώτα.¹³⁸

136. "Ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, τῇ διαθέσει δὲ διενήνοχε· ποίησις γάρ ἐστιν, ἥτις πρὸς μὲν τὸν ποιῶντα ὡς εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀνάγεται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ποιούμενον ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα" (*ibid.*).

137. *Op. cit.*, ed. POLEMIS (cf. *supra*, n. 129), p. 36,20-22 ("If one supposes that creation was produced by means of a created being, then this being would also stand in need of being produced by another, and so on to infinity").

138. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* II,13 ("Ὅτι αἱ σχέσεις, αἷς ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τινὰ πράγματα λέγεται, οὐκ εἰσὶ πράγματα ἐκτὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑφεστώτα" or "Πῶς ἂν αἱ προειρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγοντο"; "That the relations whereby God has a relation to some beings are not things existing outside of God", or "How the aforesaid relations are predicated of God"), par. 2; *Vat. gr. 610*, f. 106^v). POLEMIS (*op. cit.*, p. 36,20-22, app. font. ad loc.) plausibly recalls a strikingly similar passage from GREGORY PALAMAS' *Against Gregoras* I,35: "Εἰ κτιστὰ εἰσιν αἱ τοιαῦται ἐνέργειαι καὶ κτίσμα τὸ δημιουργεῖν ἐστὶν, ἑτέρας ἔδειτο τοιαύτης ἐνεργείας, ὥστε δημιουργηθῆναι, κάκεινὴ πάλιν ἑτέρας, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἄπειρον"; ed. CHRESTOU (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 258,3-6. That Theophanes had read Palamas' writings is certain. However, what crossed my mind as a tantalising suspicion is that Palamas' passage is a direct echo of that of Aquinas. This is historically possible; the translation of the *Summa contra Gentiles* was completed in late 1354, and Palamas' *Against Gregoras* was written in 1355/57; see R.E. SINKIEWICZ, "Gregory Palamas", in: CONTICELLO-CONTICELLO (eds.) (cf. *supra*, n. 34), pp. 137; 145, N° 20. True, a similar argument occurs in some of Palamas' previous writings; *Περὶ θείας καὶ θεοποιού*

The editor of the text has shown that, in facing this issue, Theophanes was considerably influenced by Aquinas.¹³⁹ What I would like to add is that Theophanes may also have taken into account the recent translation (by Prochoros Cydones) of Thomas' *De potentia*,¹⁴⁰ especially q. 3, a. 3 (*Utrum creatio sit aliquid realiter in creatura, et si est, quid sit*), q. 7, a. 8 (*Utrum sit aliqua relatio inter Deum et creaturam*),

μεθέξεως ἢ περὶ τῆς θείας καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς ἀπλότητος 12, ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 77,28-31; *Epistle to John Gabras* 4, ed. MATSOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 12), p. 330,19-27. Still, the wording in these writings (θεῖον, ὄντα, and μετοχή) differs from that in Aquinas and Palamas' *Against Gregoras*; for a passage specifically similar to the earlier Palamite ones see MARCOS EUGENICOS, *Πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν εἰρημένων Μανουήλ τῷ Καλέκῃ κατὰ τοῦ "Συνοδικοῦ τόμου" ἀντιρρητικὸς πρῶτος, ἢ περὶ διακρίσεως θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας*; ed. M. PILAVAKIS, *Markos Eugenikos' "First Antirrhetic against Manuel Calecas about the Essence and Energy"*. *Editio Princeps with Introduction and Commentary* (unpublished Doct. Diss., King's College, University of London), 1987, p. 198,13-15. What makes this hypothesis more intriguing is that, should it be true, it entails the possibility that Theophanes of Nicaea as well as John VI Cantacouzenos, who felt free to produce a version of Thomistic Palamism, did so because they were aware of Palamas' use of this Thomistic passage. This hypothesis can be tested only after the edition of Demetrios Cydones' translation of the *Summa contra Gentiles*, which will enable us to compare it with what Palamas wrote after December 1354 till his death in late 1357 (as well as with what Nicephoros Gregoras wrote from late 1354 till his death in 1361). In any case, Theophanes, John VI Cantacouzenos, and the other Palamites were able to notice the objective similarity between Palamas' and Aquinas' arguments.

139. I.D. POLEMIS, *Theophanes* (cf. *supra*, n. 108), pp. 123-124. For all the objections raised by ZACHAROPOULOS, *Θεοφάνης* (cf. *supra*, n. 127), pp. 63-64, Polemis is right in stating that Theophanes asserts the createdness of the creative activity of God.

140. See S.G. PAPADOPOULOS, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις θωμιστικῶν ἔργων: φιλοθωμιστοὶ καὶ ἀντιθωμιστοὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς βυζαντινῆς θεολογίας*, Athens 1967, pp. 55-56. The *De potentia* was translated not just before 1367/68, i.e., before the date of composition of Prochoros Cydones' *De essentia et operatione Dei*, where several lengthy chapters from it are contained (see a list in my forthcoming: "Prochoros Kydones"; ch. VII,2, par. 2 in: G. KAPRIEV [ed.], *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Begründet von F. ÜBERWEG. Die Philosophie des Mittelalters. Band 1/1: Jüdische und byzantinische Philosophie. Bandteil: Byzantinische Philosophie*, Basel), but even before 1359/61, since some passages from it are contained in NEILOS CABASILAS' *De processione Spiritus sancti* (V,41,1-14 = *De potentia*, 10,4 ad 24; ed. T. KISLAS, *Nil Cabasilas et la procession du Saint-Esprit. Introduction, édition critique, traduction et notes*, Paris 2001, p. 414; cf. p. 436), which was written around 1359/61, as well as in the same author's *Λύσεις τῶν προτάσεων τῶν Λατίνων*, ἐξ ὧν συνάγειν οἴονται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι XII,6,6-13 (= *De potentia*, q. 10, a. 4 ad 14; ed. KISLAS [cf. *supra*, n. 62], p. 575; cf. p. 760; cf. A. SPOURLAKOU-EUTYCHIADOU, "Τὰ 49 κεφάλαια ὑπὲρ τοῦ *Filioque* στὸ ἔργο τοῦ Νεῖλου Καβάσιλα", in: N. PANAGIOTAKES [ed.], *Ἀνθὴ χαρίτων. Μελετήματα ἐόρτια συγγραφέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτρόφων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν τῆς Βενετίας ἐπὶ τῇ πεντακοσιετηρίδι ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδρύσεως τῆς ἐλληνορθόδοξου κοινότητος Βενετίας, ἔτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τεσσαρακονταετηρίδι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνάρξεως τῆς λειτουργίας τοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου*, Venice 1998, pp. 661-695, esp. p. 693, note 146) (on the date of Neilos' anti-Latin writings, see KISLAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-87).

a. 9 (Utrum hujusmodi relationes, quae sunt inter creaturas et Deum, sint realiter in ipsis creaturis), a. 10 (Utrum Deus realiter referatur ad creaturam, ita quod ipsa relatio sit res aliqua in Deo), and a. 11 (Utrum istae relationes temporales sint in Deo secundum rationem),¹⁴¹ where Aquinas produces at length the argument succinctly expounded in the *Summa contra Gentiles*. Especially the two last articles are quite close to the core of the Palamite controversy, and they would hardly escape one's attention — indeed, their direct relevance to the Palamite controversy along with Aquinas' reference to the *Filioque* (q. 8; q. 10, a. 4) can account for Prochoros Cydones' very decision to produce a translation of the *De potentia*. In these articles, Aquinas argues that *creatio* or *create* should not be taken as a reality pertaining to God, but as a “sort of creature”. This is a summary of Aquinas' thought (*De potentia*, q. 3, a. 3, resp. ad 2):¹⁴²

Ῥητέον ὅτι τινὲς ἔφασαν τὴν κτίσιν εἶναι τι ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄντων φύσει μέσον τοῦ κτίστου καὶ τῶν κτιστῶν. Καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον οὐδέτερον τῶν ἄκρων ἐστὶ, συνέβαινε τὴν κτίσιν μήτε κτίστην εἶναι μήτε κτιστόν. Τοῦτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων¹⁴³ πλάνη τις εἶναι ἀποπέφανται. Ἐπεὶ πᾶν ὃν ὁπωδιόποτε τρόπῳ ὑφεστῶς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι εἰ μὴ παρὰ Θεοῦ, καὶ διατοῦτο ἐστὶ κτιστόν. Διὸ δὴ ἕτεροι ἔφασαν ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις οὐ τίθησι πρᾶγμα τι τῷ γε τῶν κτιστῶν μέρει. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ ἀπευκός. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἅπασιν ὅσα πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀναφέρεται, ὧν θάτερον θατέρου ἐξήρηται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνάπαλιν, ἐν τῷ πραγματωδῶς ἐξηρημένῳ ἀναφορὰ πρᾶγματι εὐρίσκειται, ἐν δὲ θατέρῳ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν μόνον· ὥσπερ δὴ καθορίζεται ἐν τε τῇ ‘ἐπιστήμῃ’ καὶ τῷ ‘ἐπιστητῷ’, ὡς φησιν ὁ Φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ ε' τῶν *Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*.¹⁴⁴ Τὰ κτίσματα δὲ ἐνεκά γε τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀναφέρεται ὑπὸ τῷ κτίστη. Καὶ ἐξήρηται αὐτὰ μὲν τούτου, οὐκ ἀνάπαλιν δέ. “Ὅθεν χρὴ τὴν ἀναφορὰν, ἣ τὰ κτίσματα πρὸς τὸν κτίστην ἀναφέρεται, εἶναι πρᾶγματι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν μόνον. Καὶ τοῦτο διαρρήδην ὁ Διδάσκαλος λέγει ἐν τῷ α' τῶν *Ἀξιωματῶν*.¹⁴⁵ Καὶ διατοῦτο ῤητέον ὅτι

141. *Coisl. gr.* 96, ff. 33^v-35^v; 193^v-201^v. 3,3: “Πότερον ἡ κτίσις ἐστὶ τι χρῆμα ἐν τοῖς οὐσιν ἢ οὐ· καὶ, εἴ ἐστι, τί ἐστὶ”; 7,8: “Πότερον ἔστι τις ἀναφορὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν δημιουργημάτων ἢ οὐ”; 7,9: “Πότερον αἱ τοιαῦται ἀναφοραὶ αἱ οὐσαι ἐν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῇ κτίσει εἰσὶ πρᾶγματι ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κτίσμασιν ἢ οὐ”; 7,10: “Πότερον ὁ Θεὸς πρᾶγματι ἀναφέρεται πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν, οὕτως ὥστε αὐτὴν τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἶναι τι πρᾶγμα ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, ἢ οὐ”; and 7,11: “Πότερον αὐταὶ αἱ ἐκ χρόνου ἀναφοραὶ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν ἢ οὐ”.

142. *Coisl. gr.* 96, ff. 34^v-35^v.

143. Cf., e.g., GREGORY NAZIANZEN, *Oratio XXXI*, 6,13-17, edd. GALLAY-JOURJON (cf. *supra*, n. 30), p. 286.

144. ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V,15,9, 1021a29-30; cf. X,6,7, 1056b36-37.

145. PETER LOMBARD, *Sententiae*, I, dist. 30, cap. 1, ed. I. BRADY, Grottaferrata 1971, p. 220, 6-7.

ἡ 'κτίσις' δύναται λαμβάνεσθαι ἐνεργητικῶς τε καὶ παθητικῶς. Εἰ δὴ οὖν ληφθῇ ἐνεργητικῶς, ταύτη μὲν ἐμφαίνει Θεοῦ ἐνέργειαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ, σὺν γέ τινι ἀναφορᾷ πρὸς τὰ κτιστά· ἥτις δὴ ἀναφορὰ οὐκ ἔστι πράγματι, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν μόνον. Εἰ δὲ παθητικῶς ληφθῇ, ἐπεὶ ἡ κτίσις, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται (q. 3, a. 2), ἰδίως ὀνομάζουσιν οὐκ ἔστιν μεταβολή, οὐδ' οἶόν τε λέγεσθαι εἶναι τι ἐν τῷ τοῦ πάθους γένει, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς τελεῖ γένος. ... Αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀναφορὰ κτίσμα τί ἐστι, ληφθέντος κοινῶς τοῦ τοῦ 'κτίσματος' ὀνόματος κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ὄντος ἐκ Θεοῦ. Οὐ δεῖ δὲ προῖέναι ἐπ' ἀπειρον, ὅτι ἡ τῆς 'κτίσεως' ἀναφορὰ οὐκ ἀναφέρεται εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἐτέρᾳ ἀναφορᾷ ἐνυπάρχοντι, ἀλλὰ καθ' αὐτήν· "οὐδεμία γὰρ ἀναφορὰ δι' ἀναφορᾶς ἀνάγεται", ὡς ὁ Ἀβελκινός φησιν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ *Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*.¹⁴⁶ Εἰ δέ γε τὸ τοῦ 'κτίσματος' ὄνομα ληψόμεθα ἰδιαιτέρον ἐπὶ τοῦτου μόνον, ὃ ὑφέστηκεν (ὃ καὶ ἰδίως γίνεταί καὶ κτίζεται, ὥσπερ ἰδίως ἔχει καὶ τὸ εἶναι), τηνικαῦτα δὴ ἡ προειρημένη ἀναφορὰ οὐκ ἔστι τι κτιστόν, ἀλλὰ συνεκτισμένον, ὥσπερ μηδέ ἐστιν ὃν ἰδίως ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ προσπεφυκός. Τὸ δ' ὅμοιον καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων.¹⁴⁷

146. AVICENNA, *Metaphysica* III,10 (ed. S. VAN RIET, Avicenna Latinus. *Liber de philosophia prima sive scientia divina*. I-IV. *Édition critique de la traduction latine médiévale. Introduction doctrinale* par G. VERBEKE, Louvain-Leiden 1977, pp. 180-181).

147. "I answer that some have said that creation is something real among beings between the Creator and the creature. And since the mean is neither of the extremes, it would follow that creation is neither the Creator nor the creature. But the Masters judged this to savour of error, since everything that in any way exists has its existence not otherwise than from God, and consequently is a creature. Wherefore others said that creation itself does not posit anything real, at least on the part of the created beings. But this would also seem unreasonable. Because in all those things that are referred the one to the other, the one depending on the other but not conversely, there is a real relation in the one that is dependent, and in the other there is a conceptual relation, as in the case of 'knowledge' and the 'thing known', as the Philosopher says in *Metaphysics*, V. Now the creature by its very name is referred to the Creator: and depends on the Creator who does not depend on it. Wherefore the relation whereby the creature is referred to the Creator must be a real relation, while in God it is only a conceptual relation. The Master says this expressly in the *Sentences*, Book I. We must accordingly say that 'creation' may be taken actively or passively. Taken actively it denotes the act of God, which is his essence, together with a relation to the creature: and this is not a real but only a conceptual relation. But taken passively, since, as we have already said, it is not properly speaking a change, it must be said to belong, not to the genus of passion, but to that of relation. ... Now this relation is a kind of creature, taking 'creature' in a broad sense for anything that comes from God. Nor is it necessary to proceed to infinity, since the relation of creation is not referred to God by another real relation but by itself: because "no relation is related by another relation", as Avicenna says in his *Metaphysics*. If, however, we take 'creature' in a stricter sense for that only which subsists (which properly speaking is made and created, even as properly speaking it has being), then the aforesaid relation is not a created thing, but is concreated; even as properly speaking it is not a being, but something inherent. The same applies to all accidents" (*Quaestiones Disputatae de Potentia Dei (On the Power of God)* by Thomas Aquinas. Translated by the English Dominican Fathers, Westminster, Maryland 1932 (repr. 1952); html edition by J. KENNY (<http://www.op-stjoseph.org/Students/study/thomas/QDdePotentia.htm>), modified in accordance with the Byzantine translation).

All the salient elements of Theophanes' argument are contained in this Thomistic passage — the rather unfamiliar use of *κτίσις* (normally meaning the sum of the created beings¹⁴⁸) in the sense of *κτίζειν*; the equally strange description of *κτίσις* as a kind of *κτίσμα*; and the position that this kind of being should not be placed in an ontological *intervallum* between God's essence and the creature (as Palamas did), but in the realm of created beings, taken as a "passive movement" of theirs.¹⁴⁹

Further, Theophanes would be content to see in q. 7, a. 9 (resp.) that Aquinas describes the ontological status of God's relations with the world in terms strikingly similar to Basil of Caesarea's description of the relative 'divine names' (at least in the way Prochoros Cydones rendered this article):¹⁵⁰

Ῥητέον ὅτι ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναφορά ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα τι ἐν τῇ κτίσει. Οὐ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ἐπιστητέον ἂν εἴη ὅτι, ὥς φησι τὸ Ὑπόμνημα ἐν τῷ ια' τῶν Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά,¹⁵¹ τὸ εἶναι τῶν πρὸς τι ἁδρανέστερόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας κατηγορίας. Διὸ καὶ τινες ὥηθησαν εἶναι ἐκ τῶν δευτέρων ἐπινοιών. Τὰ γὰρ πρῶτα νοητά εἰσι πράγματα ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς, εἰς δὲ πρῶτον ὁ νοῦς ἐφ' ᾧ νοῆσαι φέρεται. Δεύτερα δὲ νοητά λέγονται αἱ τῷ τοῦ νοεῖν τρόπῳ ἐπόμεναι ἐπιβολαί· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ νοῦς δεύτερον νοεῖ, ἐφόσον εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακάμπει, νοῶν ἑαυτὸν νοοῦντα καὶ τὸν τρόπον, ᾧ νοεῖ. Κατὰ ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν θέσιν ἔψεται πρὸς τι μὴ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνῳ τῷ νῷ· ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ γένους καὶ τοῦ εἶδους ἐπίνοια ἢ τῆς διαφορᾶς. Τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι οὐχ οἶόν τε. Ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ κατηγορίᾳ γίνεται τι, εἰ μὴ τι ὃν εἴη ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς ὑφεστώς. Τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἐπινοίᾳ ὃν ἀντιδιαρεῖται πρὸς τὸ ὃν τὰς δέκα κατανεμεμημένον κατηγορίαις, ὥς φαίνεται ἐν τῷ ε' τῶν Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά.¹⁵² Εἰ τοίνυν τὰ πρὸς τι μὴ εἴη ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἂν τίθοιτο εἷς τι γένος ἐν κατηγορίᾳ.¹⁵³

148. Cf. JOHN OF DAMASCUS' relevant lexical qualification; *Expositio fidei* 59,10-12; ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 16), p. 144.

149. Let it be noted also that even the argument from the impossibility of a *regressus ad infinitum* is contained, too (cf. *supra*, pp. 312-313, n. 138).

150. *Coisl. gr.* 96, ff. 195^v-196^r.

151. AVERROES, *Metaphysica* XII,19. *Aristotelis opera cum Averrois Commentariis*. Vol. VIII. *Aristotelis Metaphysicorum libri XIII cum Averrois Cordubensis in eosdem Commentariis, et Epitome. Theophrasti Metaphysicorum liber...*, Venetiis 1562 (repr. Frankfurt am Main 1962), fol. 306B4-5.

152. ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V,7,4 (1017a23-27).

153. "I answer that relation to God is something real in the creature. To make this clear we must observe that, as the Commentator says in *Metaphysics* XI, of all the predicaments 'relation' has the least ontological weight. That is why some have thought that it should be reckoned among the second-rank concepts; for, indeed, the first-rank concepts are beings existent outside of the soul and the first things to be understood by the mind: whereas the second-rank concepts are certain 'intentions' consequent to our mode of

The obvious similarity of this passage to Basil's *Adversus Eunomium* I ("ἐπιβολαί" of "νοῦς"; "ἐπίνοιαι"; "ἐπίνοιαι" as concepts corresponding to real things in the being perceived and classified according to Aristotle's categories; cf. *supra*, p. 265, n. 5) established, both in Theophanes' consciousness and, probably, in the eyes of his Byzantine readership, a degree of continuity between what he had officially said in his *Letter to Paul* by plainly referring to Basil's text (cf. *supra*, p. 296) and what he argued in a more sophisticated way and on the basis of Aquinas' *De potentia* in his treatise on the non-eternity of the world.

Theophanes had also good reasons to be content with seeing that Aquinas, in accordance with the above, regarded the relation of creation with God as not merely conceptual ("intentio secunda" or "secundum intellectum" / "δευτέρα ἐπίνοια" or "δεύτερον νοητόν") but real ("intentio prima" or "primum intellectum" / "πρώτη ἐπίνοια" or "πρῶτον νοητόν"). Aquinas concluded:¹⁵⁴

Οὕτω τολμῶν χρεῶν τὰ πρὸς τι τάξιν ἔχοντα πράγματα πραγματικῶς ἀναφέρεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἶναι τι χρῆμα ἐν αὐτοῖς. Πάντα δὲ τὰ ὄντα ἀναφέρονται πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ὡς πρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ ὡς πρὸς τέλος. ... Ὅθεν ἔχρῃν τὰ ὄντα πραγματικῶς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἶναι τι χρῆμα ἐν τοῖς κτίσμασιν.¹⁵⁵

Indeed, this view of the ontological status of *create* seemed to put a demarcation line between what Theophanes and some anti-Palamites

understanding: the mind grasps them in a second stage, inasmuch as it reflects on itself and knows both the fact that it understands and the manner of its understanding. According then to this view it would follow that 'relation' has no objective reality, but exists only in the mind, even as the notion of genus or species and of second substances. But this is impossible: because nothing is assigned to a predicament unless it has objective reality: since conceptual being is divided against the being that is divided by the ten predicaments, as is apparent in *Metaphysics*, V. If, therefore, the relatives do not belong to the beings existing outside of the soul, it would not be assigned a place of its own among the predicaments" (translation by the English Dominican Fathers (cf. *supra*, n. 147), modified according to the Byzantine translation).

154. *Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 196^r.

155. "Accordingly things that are ordered to something must be really related to it, and this relation must be some real thing in them. Now all creatures are ordered to God both as to their beginning and as to their end. ... Therefore beings must be really related to God, and this relation must be something real in the creatures" (translation by the English Dominican Fathers, slightly modified; cf. *supra*, n. 147). See also THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I, 45,3: "Utrum creatio sit aliquid in creatura". Cf. M.M. ROSSI, "«Creatio in creatura non est nisi relatio quaedam»: riflessioni su *Summa theologiae*, I, q. 45, a. 3", in: D. LORENZ (ed.), *Istituto San Tommaso. Studi* 1996, Rome 1996, pp. 153-181, esp. p. 170 sqq.

thought on this issue, the latter holding a view that turned the energies of God into purely mental entities and thus made them vanish into thin air. Still, borrowing theological ideas from the *De potentia* was just as risky for the borrower's fidelity to Palamism, for in q. 7, a. 10 (resp.) Theophanes could see Aquinas plainly stating that

ὁ... Θεὸς οὐ ποιεῖ δι' ἐνεργείας μεσιτευούσης, ἢ νοοῖτο ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ προῖοῦσα καὶ εἰς τὴν κτίσιν τελευτῶσα, ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐνέργεια ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτοῦ οὐσία· καὶ ὅ,τι ποτε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστίν, ἐστὶν ἔξω πάντῃ τοῦ γένους τοῦ κτιστοῦ εἶναι, δι' οὗ ἡ κτίσις ἀναφέρεται πρὸς αὐτόν.¹⁵⁶

Even Aquinas' idea that *actio*, taken as a case of *relatio*, contrary to the categories of quality and quantity, does not entail composition or mutation for its bearer, although it stands in line with a similar statement by Gregory Nazianzen (cf. *supra*, p. 276, n. 34) and sounds compatible with Palamism (cf. *supra*, pp. 275-276), is quite anti-Palamite. For Aquinas does not take God's *actio* as a sort of being adjacent to God's being, but just as an abusive way of expressing a fact regarding the created world.¹⁵⁷

What makes things even more complicated is that the passages from Aquinas' *De potentia* which inspired Theophanes (see *supra*, pp. 313-317) had been included in Prochoros Cydones' *De essentia et operatione Dei*, supposedly refuted by John VI Cantacouzenos and Theophanes. In detail, ch. IV,¹⁵⁸ coincides with *De potentia*, q. 3, a. 3, and ch. V,6-9¹⁵⁹ coincides with *De potentia*, q. 7, a. 8-11.

Further, what makes Theophanes' dependence on Aquinas' text even more impressive is the affectionate way he introduces the exposition of 'his' ideas: "Each person, to the degree that this is granted to him by God's grace, to the extent of his intellectual power to grasp such things, and to the extent of his literary skill, might think of this or that solution. As far as I am concerned, I think that one should

156. *Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 199r: "Now God does not work by an intermediary action to be regarded as issuing from God and terminating in the creature: but his action is His substance; and whatever exists in Him is wholly outside the genus of created being whereby the creature is related to him" (translation by the English Dominican Fathers; cf. *supra*, n. 147).

157. THOMAS AQUINAS, *De potentia*, 7,8: "Ὁ δὲ ἀποδίδοται τινι ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς ἄλλο προῖόν, οὐ ποιεῖ σύνθεσιν ἐν αὐτῷ· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ ἐνέργεια σύνθεσιν ποιεῖ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνεργούντος. ... Οὐ γὰρ ἐστι μεταβολὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, εἰ μὴ μεταφορικῶς καὶ καταχρηστικῶς" (*Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 193v).

158. Edd. FILOVSKI-PETRUSEVSKI (cf. *supra*, n. 101), pp. 169-172.

159. *Art. cit.*, pp. 179-192.

not despise the following solution to the question, namely, that...".¹⁶⁰ These lines suggest that Theophanes had in mind a concrete solution offered by a particular author and he privileged this solution against all the others he was aware of; and this solution was that offered in Aquinas' *De potentia*.

Given the Thomistic origins of his argument, it comes as a surprise that Theophanes concludes by describing God's energy as *actus purus*: "μόνον ἀχραιφνής τις ἐνέργεια".¹⁶¹ True, he immediately draws a distinction between this energy and God's "nature" (φύσις), whence this energy emanates;¹⁶² and he also distinguishes between the nature of God, His eternal power or absolute (non-relative) energy, and His relative (i.e., *ad extra* or activated) energy.¹⁶³ Should these distinctions be seen in the light of what he said in his *Epistle to the Archbishop Paul* (cf. *supra*, pp. 307; 310), i.e., as *πραγματική* (not merely conceptual), or in the light of what he says in the treatise under discussion? I would vote for the latter. These distinctions form part of this treatise. Further, they can perfectly be placed in Theophanes' Thomist doctrine of *create* as, properly speaking, a concomitant quality of the created beings and only conceptually having to do with God. Thus it seems that Theophanes construed these distinctions in the sense that Thomas himself allowed them to be drawn, i.e., "κατ' ἐπίνοιαν":

God is the first measure of all beings. He is to them as the object is to our knowledge, that is to say, its measure. Though the object is spoken of in relation to the knowledge of it, nevertheless the relation really is not in the object known, but only in the knowledge of it. The object is said to be in the relation, not because it is itself related, but because something else is related to it.¹⁶⁴ ... Since then it has been shown that

160. *Op. cit.* 36, ed. POLEMIS (cf. *supra*, n. 129), p. 37,1-4.

161. *Ibid.* (*op. cit.*, p. 42,18).

162. *Ibid.* (*op. cit.*, p. 42,19-20).

163. *Op. cit.* 36; 37 (*op. cit.*, pp. 42,24-43,6). Theophanes was also concerned to present his views as consonant with those of Cantacouzenos; that is why he inserted into his letter some of the patristic passages cited in Cantacouzenos' letters; see POLEMIS, *Theophanes* (cf. *supra*, n. 108), p. 69.

164. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* II,12 (Quod relationes dictae de Deo ad creaturas non sunt realiter in Deo / "Ὅτι αἱ εἰρημέναι περὶ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα ἀναφοραὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ πραγματικῶς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ"), 2 (translation by J. RICKABY; cf. *supra*, n. 87):

1. Αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀποτελέσματα οὐσαι τοιαῦται ἀναφοραὶ πραγματικῶς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ εἶναι οὐ δύνανται.

2. α' Ὡς μὲν γὰρ συμβεβηκότα ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ εἶναι οὐ δύνανται, οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότος, ὥς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ (I,23) δέδεικται. Ἄλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὴ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Θεοῦ

they [i.e., the relations between God and the creature] are not in Him and yet are predicated of Him, the only possible conclusion is that they are attributed to Him merely by our mode of thought (κατὰ τὸν τρόπον μόνον τῆς ἐπινοίας), inasmuch as other things are in relation with him.¹⁶⁵

εἶναι δύναται. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ “πρὸς τί εἰσιν, ἅτινα κατὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῶν πρὸς τί πως ἔχουσιν”, ὡς ὁ Φιλόσοφος ἐν ταῖς Κατηγορίαις (ARISTOTLE, *Categories* 7, 6a36-37) φησὶν, ἀνάγκη ἂν ᾖ τὴν αὐτὴν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅ,τι ποτ’ ἐστὶ, πρὸς ἕτερον λέγεσθαι. “Ὁ δὲ ‘τοῦθ’ ὅπερ ἐστὶ, πρὸς ἕτερον λέγεται” (*ibid.*), ἐκείνου κατὰ τινὰ τρόπον ἡρτηται, μὴτ’ εἶναι μῆτε νοεῖσθαι χωρὶς ἐκείνου δυνάμενον. Ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἂν ᾖ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν ἐξωτερικοῦ τινος ἐτέρου ἡρτησθαι. Οὐκ ἄρα αἱ τοιαῦται ἀναφοραὶ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ εἰσιν ὡς τινὰ πράγματα.

3. β’ Ἐτι, δέδεικται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ (I,28,8; I,42,6; I,62,5) ὅτι “πάντων ὄντων μέτρον ἐστὶν” ὁ Θεός (cf. Sap. 11,20; cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,3,5 arg. 2; 10,4 arg. 3; 13,5 arg. 3 (where this position is explicitly attributed to ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* IX,1); Ps.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* II,10, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), pp. 134,15; 147,9; *Liber de causis* XV,135, ed. A. PATTIN, *Le Liber de causis. Edition établie à l’aide de 90 manuscrits avec introduction et notes*, Leiden 1966, p. 82,97-100; ex PROCLI *Institutio theologica* 92 and 117, ed. DODDS (cf. *supra*, n. 40), pp. 83; 102,28). Δρᾶ τοίνυν ὁ Θεός εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ὄντα ὥσπερ τὸ “ἐπιστητὸν” πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν “ἐπιστήμην” (cf. ARISTOTLE, *Categories* 7, 6b33-35), ὅτι ταύτης μέτρον ἐστὶν ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα “εἶναι ἢ μὴ εἶναι” “ὁ λόγος” ἢ “ἡ δόξα” “ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ ψευδής” κατὰ τὸν Φιλόσοφον ἐν ταῖς Κατηγορίαις (ARISTOTLE, *Categories* 5, 4a23-28; 4a34-b2; cf. *De interpretatione* 9, 19a33). Τὸ δὲ “ἐπιστητὸν”, εἰ καὶ ἀναφορικῶς λέγεται πρὸς τὴν “ἐπιστήμην” (ARISTOTLE, *Categories* 7, 6b33-35; *Metaphysics* V,14,1, 1020b31), ὁμῶς ἡ σχέσις, ὡς πρᾶγμα, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιστητῷ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ. “Ὅθεν κατὰ τὸν Φιλόσοφον ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ τὸ “ἐπιστητὸν” λέγεται ἀναφορικῶς οὐχ ὅτι τοῦτο πρὸς ἕτερον ἀναφέρεται, ἀλλ’ ὅτι “ἕτερον ἀναφέρεται πρὸς αὐτό” (ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V,14,8, 1021a29-30). Αἱ εἰρημέναι ἄρα ἀναφοραὶ πραγματικῶς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ οὐκ εἰσιν.

4. γ’ Ἐτι, αἱ εἰρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ λέγονται περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ μόνον τῇ παραθέσει τῶν ἐνεργειᾶ ὄντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δυνάμει, ἐπειδὴ κακείνων ἔχει τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνα παραθέσει καὶ “πρῶτον ὄν” (I,13-14; II,6) λέγεται καὶ “ἐσχατον ἀγαθόν” (I,41). Ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνεργείᾳ ὄντος πρὸς τὸ δυνάμει μόνον ὄν οὐκ εἰσὶ σχέσεις πραγματικάι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ, εἴπετο ἂν εἶναι ἀπείρους ἐνεργείᾳ σχέσεις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, τῶν μειζόνων ἀριθμῶν τοῦ δύο ἀπείρων ὄντων δυνάμει, ὧν πάντων αὐτὸς πρότερος. Ὁ δὲ Θεός οὐχ ἐτέρως ἀναφέρεται πρὸς τὰ ἐνεργείᾳ ὄντα ἢ πρὸς τὰ ἐν δυνάμει· ἐπεὶ οὐ μεταβάλλεται τῷ παράγειν τινὰ (I,13,24; 14,4). Οὐκ ἄρα πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀναφέρεται ἀναφορᾷ πραγματικῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑφεστῶσα.

5. δ’ Ἐτι, ὃ ἂν ἐκ νέου ἐπλή τινί, ἀνάγκη ἐκεῖνο μεταβάλλεσθαι ἢ καθ’ αὐτὸ ἢ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. “Σχέσεις” δὲ “τινές” ἐκ νέου “λέγονται” “κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ”, ὥσπερ ὅτι “Κύριος” ἢ “διοικητής” ἐστὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, οὗ “νῦν ἤρξατο εἶναι” (AUGUSTINUS, *De Trinitate* V,16,17). Εἰ τοίνυν κατηγοροῖτο σχέσεις τις πραγματικῶς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ὑφεστῶσα, εἴπετο ἂν τι ἐκ νέου τῷ Θεῷ ἐπιέναι, καὶ οὕτω μετεβάλλετο ἂν ἢ καθ’ αὐτὸ ἢ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. Οὗ τὸ ἐναντίον δέδεικται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ (*ibid.*) (Vat. gr. 610, ff. 105^v-106^r).

165. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra Gentiles* II,13 (Quomodo praedicatae relationes de Deo dicantur / “Ὅτι αἱ σχέσεις, αἷς ὁ Θεός πρὸς τινὰ πράγματα λέγεται, οὐκ εἰσὶ πράγματα ἐκτὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑφεστῶτα (ἐν ἄλλοις ἢ ἐπιγραφῇ· Πῶς ἂν αἱ προειρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγοντο), 1; translation by J. RICKABY (cf. *supra*, n. 87): 1. Οὐ δύναται δὲ λέγεσθαι ὡς αἱ προειρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ ὑφεστήκασιν ἕξω ὥσπερ τινὰ πράγματα ἐκτὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.

2. α’ Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεός τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ (I,13-14; II,6) καὶ ἐσχατον ἀγαθόν (I,41), ἀνάγκη ἂν ᾖ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀναφορὰς ἐκείνας τὰς πράγματα οὐσας ἀναφορὰς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν

It should be added that, in this context, Theophanes¹⁶⁶ appeals to the subsequent passage from Maximus Confessor's *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*: "It is not possible to think and speak of 'relation' without things related".¹⁶⁷ He then poses this proposition as a premise in a syllogism that goes as follows: "But 'creating' is a relation. Without it, therefore, this relation cannot exist".¹⁶⁸ This passage, which, as far as I know, does not occur in Palamas' writings, is one of those beloved to John Cyparissiotis, an anti-Palamite author with clear Thomistic influence,¹⁶⁹ who draws from it the same conclusion.¹⁷⁰ Nicephoros Gregoras also appealed to it in the context of his anti-Palamite polemics.¹⁷¹

ἐτέρως εὐρεῖν· καὶ εἰ κάκειναι πάλιν πράγματα εἶεν, ἀνάγκη πάλιν τρίτας σχέσεις εὐρεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπ' ἄπειρον. Οὐκ ἄρα αἱ σχέσεις, αἷς ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀνάγεται πράγματα, εἰσὶ τινὰ πράγματα ἐκτὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑφ' ἑστώτα.

3. β' Ἐτι, διπλοῦς ἐστὶ τρόπος, ᾧ τι παρωνύμως κατηγορεῖται. Παρονομάζεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκτὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ· ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου λέγεται τις "εἶναι που", καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου "ποτέ". Ἐτερον δέ τι παρονομάζεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνόντος αὐτῷ· ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς λευκότητος "λευκός". Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς σχέσεως οὐδὲν εὐρίσκεται παρονομαζόμενον ὥστε ἐκτὸς ὑφ' ἑστώσης, ἀλλ' ἐνούσης· οὐ γὰρ παρονομάζεται τις "πατήρ" εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πατρότητος, ἥτις αὐτῷ ἔνεστιν. Οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν τὰς ἀναφοράς, αἷς ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα ἀναφέρεται, εἶναι τινὰ πράγματα ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν δέδεικται (II,12) μὴ εἶναι ταύτας ἐν τούτῳ πραγματικῶς, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ λεγομένας (sic pro λέγονται; "dicuntur"), καταλείπεται ταύτας ἀπονέμεσθαι τούτῳ κατὰ τὸν τρόπον μόνον τῆς ἐπινοίας, καθὼς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρονται. Ὁ γὰρ ἡμέτερος νοῦς τῷ νοεῖν ἕτερόν τι πρὸς ἕτερον ἀναφέρεσθαι, συννοεῖ καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἐκείνου πρὸς τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ ποτε κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἀναφέρεται.

4. Καὶ οὕτω φανερόν ἐστι κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον λέγονται περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ αἱ εἰρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατηγορούμενα. Πάντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα, ὥστε ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ θέλησις, τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ δηλοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ εἰρημέναι ἀναφοραὶ οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνον τὸν τῆς ἐπινοίας τρόπον. Ὅμως οὐδ' ὁ νοῦς ἐστὶ ψευδής· καθὼς γὰρ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων νοεῖ εἰς αὐτὸν ὀριζόμενος τὸν Θεόν, ἀναφορικῶς τινὰ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὥστε καὶ τὸ "ἐπιστητὸν" νοοῦμεν καὶ σημαίνομεν, καθὼς ἡ "ἐπιστήμη" ἀναφέρεται εἰς αὐτό (cf. *supra*, n. 144) (*Vat. gr. 610*, ff. 106^v-107^r).

166. *Op. cit.* 36, ed. POLEMIS (cf. *supra*, n. 129), p. 36,4-5.

167. "Ὁ γὰρ δυνατόν τὴν σχέσιν ἄνευ σχετῶν νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν" (PG 91: 316D).

168. *Op. cit.* 36, ed. POLEMIS (cf. *supra*, n. 129), p. 36,5-7.

169. See J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Georgios Gemistos-Plethon's Dependence on Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* and *Summa Theologiae*", in: *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 12 (2006), pp. 276-341, esp. 287-293.

170. JOHN CYPARISSIOTES, *Κατὰ Νεῖλον Καβάσιλα* IV,4; 5; V,2; 5, ed. S.T. MARANGOUDAKES, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κυπαρισσιώτου Κατὰ Νεῖλου Καβάσιλα λόγοι πέντε ἀντιρρητικοὶ νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενοι*, Athens 1985, pp. 173,12-13; 184,11-13; 236,14; 252,12-13; *Τῶν θεολογικῶν ῥήσεων ἑκθεσις στοιχειώδης* III, 3; 4, ed. B.L. DENTAKES, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κυπαρισσιώτου Τῶν θεολογικῶν ῥήσεων ἑκθεσις στοιχειώδης. Τὸ κείμενον νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενον*, Athens 1982, pp. 115,11-12 and 117,4-6; 125,22-23.

171. NICEPHOROS GREGORAS, *Oratio dogmatica* I (= *Historia Romana* XXIII), 106: "Τὴν ἐνέργειαν ταύτην ἐν τοῖς συνθέτοις κτίσμασι χρὴ νοεῖν «κίνησιν οὖσαν ἐνεργουμένην», ὥς ὁ θεὸς ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ φησιν Ἰωάννης (JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Expositio fidei* 59,13-14;

Theophanes' semi-Palamism becomes apparent also from his silence regarding the distinction between the various divine energies. As far as I was able to determine, Theophanes' only reference to the question on the unity or multiplicity of God's energy runs as follows:¹⁷² "From the quality and the operation of these images [sc. of the creatures, which are images of their Creator] the diversity of the simple energy of God is faintly revealed". This is just a latent paraphrase of a passage from John of Damascus' *Expositio fidei*,¹⁷³ where emphasis is obviously laid upon the simplicity of the divine energy.¹⁷⁴

That Theophanes should be included among the latent yet conscious (even though not as rigid as, e.g., Scholarios) Byzantine Thomists is that, just few lines earlier, he explicitly reproduces Thomas' *analogia entis*:

... Ὑμνεῖ τοῦτον ἡ θεολογία καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ὄντων ὡς "ὄντα", ὑπερούσιον ὄντα, διὰ τὸ ἐμπερὲς ἀμωσγέντως καὶ ὁμοιον πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ὄντων· καὶ γὰρ καὶ "ἥλιος" καὶ "φῶς" καὶ "πῦρ" καὶ "πνεῦμα" καὶ "ὕδωρ" ὀνομάζεται καὶ ἕτερ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἔστι μετρία καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπάνοιξις τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεολογίαν μύθεώς τε καὶ γνώσεως...¹⁷⁵

ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 16), p. 145) "Ἦτις καὶ σχέσις ἐστὶ συνθετικὴ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ «ἄνευ τῶν σχετῶν νοεῖσθαι» (MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *loc. cit.*) μὴ δυναμένη· ἄκρα δέ φημι τὸ τε ἐνεργοῦν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργούμενον"; ed. L. SCHOPEN, *Νικηφόρου τοῦ Γρηγοῦρά Ῥωμαϊκῆ ἱστορία. Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, Pars XLIX, 1: Nicephorus Gregoras, Vol. I*, Bonn 1829, p. 339, 10-15.

172. THEOPHANES OF NICAIA, *Λόγος εἰς τὴν πανάχραντον καὶ παναγίαν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν Θεοτόκον* 2, ed. M. JUGIE, *Theophanes Nicaenus. Sermo in sanctissimam Deiparam, ubi multa de mediatione ejus universalī necnon de ratione Incarnationis. Textus graecus cum interpretatione latina*, Rome 1936, p. 12, 1-3: "Ἀπὸ τῆς ποιότητός τε καὶ ἐνεργείας τούτων τῶν εἰκόνων τὸ ποικίλον τῆς ἀπλῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας ἀμυδρῶς πῶς ἀποκαλύπτεται...".

173. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Expositio fidei* 14, 19-21, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 16), p. 42. Cf. *op. cit.* 10, 12-16, ed. KOTTER, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

174. John's passage is one of those specifically cited and interpreted by JOHN CYPARISSOTES (*Κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμικοῦ τόμου διακρίσεων καὶ ἐνώσεων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ* VI, 6, ed. LIAKOURAS (cf. *supra*, n. 29), pp. 358, 6-359, 5) (cf. *op. cit.* VIII, 12; ed. LIAKOURAS, *op. cit.*, p. 416, 15). Of course, it is also commented on by some Palamites; see, e.g., PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, *Against Gregoras* VI, 1560-1570; ed. KAIMAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 215-216; still, it obviously admits more easily an anti-Palamite than a Palamite interpretation. Thus, if one would like to support Palamas' position on the distinction of the various energies of God, one would be expected to have recourse to other passages.

175. THEOPHANES OF NICAIA, *Λόγος εἰς τὴν πανάχραντον καὶ παναγίαν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν Θεοτόκον* 2, ed. JUGIE (cf. *supra*, n. 172), pp. 10, 14-11, 3 ("Theology praises Him on the basis of the names of the beings as «being» (although He lies above being), because of his being somewhat like and similar with the beings; for instance, He is called «sun», «light», «fire», «wind», «water» et sim., and this, too, constitutes a sufficient way of being introduced to gain knowledge about God...").

Here Theophanes paraphrases Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* I,29 (Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμοιότητος πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα), 2, which¹⁷⁶ is but the metaphysical background to Aquinas' doctrine of the 'divine names' implicitly adopted by John VI Cantacouzenos:

Τὰ γὰρ ἀποτελέσματα τὰ τῶν οἰκείων αἰτιῶν ἀποδέοντα οὐ κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οὔτε κατὰ τοῦνομα οὔτε κατὰ τὸν λόγον. Ὅμως ἀνάγκη ὁμοιότητα τινὰ εὐρίσκεισθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς· κατὰ τὴν φύσιν γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ ποιοῦντος, ἵνα τὸ ποιοῦν ὁμοιον ἑαυτῷ ποιῇ, ἐπειδὴ ἕκαστον, καθόσον ἐστίν, ἐνεργεῖα ποιεῖ. Ὅθεν τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος ἐν τῇ ἐξηρημένη αἰτίᾳ εὐρίσκεται μὲν ἀμυγέπη, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον καὶ ἑτέραν αἰτίαν, ἥς τῷ λόγῳ ἡ αἰτία ὁμώνυμος λέγεται. Ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἐν τοῖς ὑποκάτω σώμασι τῷ δρᾶν αἰτιός ἐστι θερμῆς, καθό ἐστιν ἐνεργεῖα· ὅθεν ἀνάγκη τὴν γινόμενῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου θερμότητα ἔχειν τινὰ ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὴν ἐνεργητικὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἡλίου, δι' ἥς ἡ θερμὴ ἐν τοῖς ὑποκάτω τούτοις τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει, ἥστινος τῷ λόγῳ 'θερμός' ὁ ἥλιος λέγεται, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον. Καὶ οὕτως ὁ ἥλιος πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις ἀμυγέπη ὁμοιος λέγεται, οἷς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποτελέσματα ἐνίησι δραστηκῶς· οἷς πάλιν πᾶσιν ἀνόμοιός ἐστι, καθόσον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποτελέσματα οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὴν θερμὴν κέκτηνται, ὅς ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ εὐρίσκεται. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς πάσας τελειότητας τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπονέμει, καὶ διατοῦτο ὁμοιότητα πρὸς ἅπαντα ἔχει, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀνομοιότητα.

It is again the rare word "ἀμυγέπη" (recognisably modified by Theophanes to "ἀμωσγέπως"), by which (or by "ἀμυγέπη") Demetrios Cydones renders Aquinas' "aliquatenus" and "aliqua-liter",¹⁷⁷ which betrays Theophanes. What shows that Theophanes treated Aquinas as an authority is that he discovered Aquinas' Ps.-Dionysian source,¹⁷⁸ where both the doctrine of the *analogia entis* (expressed in terms of cause and result) occurs and the simile of sun and heat is used, and he reproduced Aquinas' passage by enriching it with Ps.-Dionysian material, such as the remaining instances of divine names.

It seems, therefore, that Theophanes' Palamism is less Palamite even than the mitigated Palamism of John VI Cantacouzenos. As for the discrepancy between the views expressed by Theophanes in his

176. *Vat. gr.* 610, f. 36^v.

177. For "aliquatenus" see, e.g., *Summa contra Gentiles* I, 31,2; 35,2; 49,3 (*Vat. gr.* 610, ff. 38^v; 41^v; 54^v). For "aliqua-liter" see, e.g., *Summa contra Gentiles* I, 28,3; 29,2; 31,2; 35,2; 43,8; 49,3; 54,9; 66,10; 67,1; 89,4; 89,9; 91,9 (*Vat. gr.* 610, ff. 35^v; 36^v; 38^v; 41^v; 48^v; 54^v; 58^v; 68^v; 88^v; 88^v; 91^v).

178. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* I,6; II,8, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), pp. 118,11-119,9; 132,14-133,4.

two texts, I would be prepared to subscribe to the explanation¹⁷⁹ that writing a text in order to explain and defend an ecclesiastical doctrine officially sanctioned just a few years earlier did not allow for the expression of personal views. What Theophanes allowed himself to do in this context was only to insert into his writing some Thomistic phrases; and he postponed the full development of their meaning for a literary occasion presumably apt for such a purpose. That he saw his treatise on the *novitas mundi* as such an occasion is indicated by the fact that the development of his ideas on the problem of the distinction between God's essence and energies does not form an organic part of the treatise. The treatise, almost fifty pages long, contains nine arguments for the possibility or the necessity of the eternity of the world (five pages), 24 arguments against the eternity of the world (24 pages), and a refutation of the nine contrary arguments (nineteen pages). The issue of the distinction between God's essence and energies occurs in the *ad 1^{um}*, which, as a result, turned out to be no less than eleven pages long, namely, longer than the refutations of all the other arguments together (six pages). This suggests that Theophanes was eager to publish somewhere, even in this parenthetical and structurally unorthodox way, his own views on Palamas' doctrine of divine being; and these views were Thomistic in their core¹⁸⁰ as well as partially patristic and partially Thomistic in dress.¹⁸¹

4.3. *Callistos Angelicoudes*: "Thomas sanus sane Palamita"

Few things are known about Callistos Angelicoudes, a minor theologian of the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁸² Angelicoudes

179. I.D. POLEMIS, *Theophanes* (cf. *supra*, n. 108), p. 70 (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 112 et al.).

180. This conclusion matches I.D. POLEMIS' finding (*Theophanes* [cf. *supra*, n. 108], pp. 87-109) that Theophanes' views of the nature of the Tabor light as well as his doctrine of the human knowledge of God owe a lot to Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*.

181. Whenever a full investigation into the Thomistic passages latently reproduced by Theophanes is carried out, it will also be necessary to see the way he combines them with his explicit as well as implicit references to some Greek patristic authorities, such as Maximus Confessor.

182. See ST. G. PAPADOPOULOS, *Καλλίστον Ἀγγελικοῦδῃ "Κατὰ Θωμᾶ Ἀκρινάτου". Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενον, κριτικὸν ἐπὶ μνημα καὶ πίνακες*, Athens 1970, pp. 9-10; IDEM, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις* (cf. *supra*, n. 140), pp. 156-172.

wrote some pro-hesychast treatises.¹⁸³ No contribution whatsoever to speculative theology is offered in them. Still, a defence of Palamism occurs in Angelicoudes' long polemical writing *Against the Latin Thomas Aquinas' Book Allegedly Written "Against the Hellenes"*.¹⁸⁴ The main point of Angelicoudes' critique of Aquinas is that this Latin theologian was too imbued with heathen philosophy. For this reason, according to Angelicoudes, in the *Summa contra Gentiles*, which was intended to be a Christian refutation of 'Hellenism', Aquinas made so many concessions to the opposing side that the entire work turned out to be a contradictory and thus pointless mixture of Christianity and pagan philosophy. Angelicoudes does not show even the least good will toward discerning any sort of consistency in what he regards as instances of blatant contradiction of this type; he polemically and naively depicts Thomas as a schizophrenic intellectual¹⁸⁵ by picking out this or that passage from the work attacked and presenting it as clashing with another. In so doing, Angelicoudes created a list of Thomistic passages he reproved and a list of those he approved.

Angelicoudes, being a professed pro-hesychast theologian, did not fail to focus on the issue of the distinction between God's 'essence' and 'energies'. He devoted to this topic a very long section (§§ 211-531; 491 sqq. refer to the question of the nature of the 'divine light', entitled "On Divine Simplicity and on the Difference between

183. Ed. S. KOUTSAS, "Callistos Angelicoudès: *Quatre traités hésychastes inédits*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes", in: *Θεολογία* 67/1 (1996), pp. 114-156 and 318-360; 67/4 (1996), pp. 696-755; 68/1-2 (1997), pp. 212-247 and 536-581.

184. Ed. PAPADOPOULOS (cf. *supra*, n. 182).

185. Cf. G. PODSKALSKY, "Die Rezeption der thomistischen Theologie bei Gennadios II. Scholarios (ca. 1403-1472)", in: *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 (1974), pp. 305-322, esp. p. 322, n. 111. Angelicoudes may have been inspired by NEILOS CABASILAS' "Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι Λατῖνοις, συλλογισμοῖς χρωμένοις, ἀποδείξει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον III,2,13, ed. CANDAL (cf. *supra*, n. 70), p. 196,5-7. Neilos' ambivalent stand towards Aquinas is in keeping with Demetrios Cydones' information that Neilos shifted from a "passionate lover" of Aquinas to an enemy of his; DEMETRIOS CYDONES, *Apologia I*; ed. MERCATI (cf. *supra*, n. 21), p. 391,27-31. Angelicoudes, in his turn, probably inspired the doubts of the early Bessarion about the consistency of Thomas' *Summa contra Gentiles*, which doubts Andreas Chrysoberges undertook to dispel; see ANDREAS CHRYSOBERGES, *Ἀπολογία ἀποδεικτική ἀπὸ τῶν συγγραμμάτων τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Θωμᾶ πρὸς τὸν πανιερώτατον μητροπολίτην Νικαίας κῆρ Βησσαρίωνα περὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας* (a.D. 1438), ed. E. CANDAL, "Andreae Rhodiensis, O.P., inedita ad Bessarionem epistula (De divina essentia et operatione)", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 4 (1938), pp. 329-371, esp. 360,15-21; 362,3-14; 366,3-12.

Essence and Energy” (Περὶ θείας ἀπλότητος καὶ διαφορᾶς οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας).¹⁸⁶ Interestingly enough, there are many Thomistic passages whose content he fully and explicitly subscribes to¹⁸⁷:

And then, coming back to his senses, he [i.e., Aquinas] says: “Our mind, according to diverse conceptions, invents diverse names, and assigns them to God. In so doing, since it does not assign them from the same point of view, these names are not synonymous, though they denote something absolutely one”. ...

Here it is; he confesses — even though involuntarily — the truth... He is right in saying that now [i.e., *in statu viae*] we cannot know the divine essence; for this reason, we do not apply to it a specific name or denote it by means of just one, but by means of many names, such as ‘powerful’, ‘wise’, ‘good’, and all those spoken of it. By confessing, therefore, that the essence is characterized by unity and that the names by means of which the essence is denoted are many, he obviously means that these names are something other than the essence. ...

“Our mind grasps each of the two, i.e., the divine potency and its act, by means of its diverse acts”. ...

“Although the names spoken of God do not signify the same thing, nevertheless they are not synonyms, because they do not signify the same ‘reason’. If, therefore, “the names spoken of God” “signify” “the same thing” and yet “many and diverse ‘reasons’”, how can these things, admitting of different ‘reasons’, be taken as God’s simple essence? In fact, the divine essence does not admit of any ‘reason’ at all; on the contrary, it is the things spoken of God and considered as being in Him

186. Ed. PAPADOPOULOS (cf. *supra*, n. 182), pp. 115,15-250,21.

187. CALLISTOS ANGELICOUDES, Κατὰ τοῦ “Καθ’ Ἑλλήνων” δῆθεν λεγομένου βιβλίου Θωμᾶ Λατίνου 223; 343; 435; 515, ed. PAPADOPOULOS (cf. *supra*, n. 182), pp. 119,20-23; 167,15-24; 204,18-19; 243,10-18: “Πάλιν ἐαυτοῦ γενόμενος (Thomas Aquinas) φησί: «Κατὰ διαφορᾶς νοήσεις ὁ νοῦς διάφορα εὐρίσκει ὀνόματα, ἅτινα τῷ Θεῷ ἀποδίδωσι. Καὶ οὕτως, ἐπειδὴ οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀποδίδωσι ταῦτα, συμβαίνει ταῦτα μὴ εἶναι πολυώ- νυμα, εἰ καὶ πρᾶγμα σημαίνει πάντῃ ἓν» (Summa contra Gentiles I,35,2; cf. *supra*, p. 296). ... Ἰδοὺ καὶ ἅκων ὁμολογεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν... Ἀληθῶς λέγει ἐτι νῦν οὐ δυνάμεθα γινώσκειν τὴν θεϊκὴν οὐσίαν διὰ τοῦτο ταύτῃ ἰδίῳ ὀνομα οὐ προσάπτομεν οὐδὲ ἐνὶ μόνῳ ὀνόματι ταύτῃ ἐκφαίνομεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς, οἷον ‘δυνατήν’, ‘σοφὴν’, ‘ἀγαθὴν’ καὶ ὅσα περὶ αὐτὴν λέγεται. Ὁμολογῶν τοίνυν ἐτι ἡ οὐσία ἔχει τὸ ἐνιαῖον, ταῦτα δὲ εἰσι πολλὰ, ἐξ ὧν ἡ οὐσία δηλοῦται, φανερόν ἐστι ἕτερον ταῦτα θέλει εἶναι παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. ... «Ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς διαφοροῖς νοήσεσιν ἐκότερον θεωρεῖ, τὴν θεϊκὴν δηλαδὴ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτῆς» (II,10,1; cf. *supra*, n. 17). ... «Εἰ καὶ τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα ὀνόματα τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνουσι πρᾶγμα, ὅμως οὐκ ἔστι πολυώνυμα, ἐπειδὴ οὐ σημαίνουσι τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον» (I,32,1). Εἰ τοίνυν «τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα» «πρᾶγμα» μὲν «σημαίνουσιν» ἓν, «λόγους» δὲ πολλοὺς τε καὶ διαφέ- ροντας, πῶς θεία οὐσία ἔσται ἀπλὴ ταῦτα τὰ διαφορὸν λόγον ἐπιδεχόμενα; Ἡ θεία οὐσία οὐδαμῶς ἐπιδέχεται λόγον, τὰ δὲ περὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ θεωρούμενα, οἷον ἡ ‘δύναμις’, ἡ ‘σοφία’, ἡ ‘γνώσις’, ἡ ‘ἀγαθότης’, ἡ ‘πρόνοια’, τᾶλλ’ ὅσα περὶ Θεοῦ λέγονται, ἕκαστον ἰδίῳ ἔχει λόγον καὶ ὁπωσδήποτε γνωστὸν ἐστί”.

(e.g., 'power', 'wisdom', 'knowledge', 'goodness', 'providence', etc.) that each have their proper 'reason' and are up to an extent knowable.

Angelicoades, obsessed by a polemical spirit, fails to discern between the various degrees of *ἐπίνοια* and mistakes Aquinas' 'conceptual' attribution of relative predicates to God, whose ontological weight regards not God the Creator but only the created beings, for Basil of Caesarea's 'conceptual' distinction between the various objectively existing divine qualities.¹⁸⁸ And he does so despite being a professed Palamite, i.e., by overlooking (and, in this sense, compromising) Palamas' *distinctio realis*.

4.4. Manuel II Palaiologos: A Latent Moderate Thomistic Palamism

A grand-son of John VI Cantacouzenos (cf. *supra*, pp. 292-305), Manuel II Palaiologos (1350-1425) was to be the last Byzantine emperor (1391-1425) with a remarkable skill at writing and some intellectual (theological and, in this context, some philosophical) erudition and capacities. As is to be expected, amongst Manuel's wide-ranging interests the *Filioque* occupied pride of place. In the context of his *ad hoc* discussion of this topic in his bulky yet well-organized by chapters *Writing on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (*Σύγγραμμα περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως*) (written, at least in part, in Paris between 1400 and 1402¹⁸⁹), he discussed the nature of the distinction between God's essence and energy by explicitly attacking Barlaam and Gregory Acindynos (ch. 65)¹⁹⁰ and thus implicitly defending Gregory Palamas. True, this issue occupies a place in

188. See also *op. cit.* 435-436, ed. PAPADOPOULOS, *op. cit.*, p. 204, 19-32, which sounds like an exposition of the 'right' doctrine of the divine names both in Thomistic and Basilian terms (cf. BASIL OF CAESAREA'S *Adversus Eunomium* I, 7, 14-15; cf. *supra*, n. 5). As we have seen (cf. *supra*, pp. 271-272, n. 22), the probably tendentious yet accurate way Demetrios Cydones rendered some relevant passages from the *Summa contra Gentiles* implicitly pushed the Greek-speaking readers of Thomas' *chef-d'œuvre* to recall Basil's theological use of the Stoic *ἐπίνοια*.

189. See CH. J. DENDRINOS, *An Annotated Critical Edition (Editio Princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' Treatise "On the Procession of the Holy Spirit"* (unpublished Doct. Diss., University of London, Royal Holloway College), London 1996 (forthcoming in *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*), pp. xvii-xx, and his paper in this volume (pp. 397-422).

190. "Ἐκθεσις ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου αἰρέσεως καὶ ἀνάμνησις σύντομος, ὡς ταῦτα ἐξελέγχεται τοῖς προειρημένοις"; ed. DENDRINOS, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

Manuel's thought only to the extent that he deemed it to be connected with his primary concern, i.e., the refutation of the *Filioque*; still, he devoted one third of the work to the essence-energy question, namely, chapters 23-74¹⁹¹ (which amounts to 52 chapters out of the total sum of 156). Besides, as the editor of his text remarks,¹⁹² Manuel, in the concluding unionistic platform to his anonymous Latin interlocutor, did not fail to include the distinction between the nature and the natural properties of God.¹⁹³ Further, the Greek-Latin way he treated the issue is of special interest. Let us see in detail the most important of the relevant passages.¹⁹⁴

Ch. 23: ... Τὴν μὲν γὰρ φύσιν ὁ Θεὸς ἄγνωστος ἡμῖν ἐστι καὶ ἀπρόσιτος καὶ ἀμέθεκτος, διὰ δὲ τὴν φυσικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν τοῦναντίον...¹⁹⁵

Ch. 44: ... Οὐ ταῦτόν 'ἁμαρτιῶν εἰσπραξις' καὶ 'συγχώρησις', οὐδὲ 'ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ' καὶ 'χάρις'. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ὁ 'ἐλεος' τῇ 'δικαιοσύνῃ'. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλήλοις ταῦτόν, οὐδὲ τῇ φύσει ταῦτόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν· ἡ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς παντάπασιν ἦν ἐν τι καὶ ταῦτόν ἐαυτῇ, εἰ ἦν ταῦτόν ἀτεχνῶς τοῖς διαφέρουσί πως ἀλλήλων. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ συμμεμίχθαι λέγει τις τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸν ἔλεον καὶ τῷ ἔλέῳ τὴν κρίσιν καὶ μὴ εἶναι θατέρου χωρίς, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σύμμεμίχθαι ταῦτα λέγειν καὶ ἀεὶ συνεῖναι ἀλλήλοις¹⁹⁶ φάσκοντός ἐστι καὶ δηλοῦντος διαφορὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὖσαν, θεοπρεπῶς νοῦν ἔχουσι νοουμένην.

191. Ed. DENDRINOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-123.

192. DENDRINOS, p. xxxvii.

193. Ch. 156: "...αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην τὴν αὐτοῦ [sc. of God] ἀγαθότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ δύνανται καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν"; ed. DENDRINOS, p. 316,10-12.

194. Ed. DENDRINOS, pp. 37,9-10; 70,4-14; 76,9-21; 100,8-11; 109,13-111,7; 114,12-13.

195. Cf. *op. cit.* 73: "Ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄρα οὐσία ἀμέθεκτος, ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια μεθεκτὴ" (ed. DENDRINOS, p. 119,7); 24: "...καὶ ὅπως ἦσας ἂν τις εἴποι προσηγορίας περὶ Θεοῦ, μόνῃ ἢ ἐνέργειᾳ δέξαιτ' ἂν, ἡ φύσις δὲ μηδαμῶς" (ed. DENDRINOS, p. 43,12-13). Manuel's conclusion in this chapter (*op. cit.*, pp. 42,15-43,4), that whatever man is in principle able to know about God (in order to satisfy his innate and thus unquenched aspiration for that) is gained through knowledge of His creature and His acts on creature, is but a latent paraphrase of GREGORY NAZIANZEN's *Oratio XXVIII*, 13,23-34, also cited by JOHN VI CANTACOUZENOS (cf. *supra*, p. 295).

196. Cf. Ps. 100,1. See Ps.-JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Psalmos 101-107*, ad 102,2: "Κινητὰ τοίνυν τῷ ἔλέῳ τὴν ὀργὴν... ἀεὶ γὰρ ὡς φύσει ὦν ἀγαθὸς ἐλέους, τὴν σύζυγον ἔχων τῷ ἔλέῳ τοῦτ' αὖ δικαιοσύνην..." (PG 55: 643-644). Cf. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Asceticon magnum*, prooem, 4; PG 31: 897C (probably taken from EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA's *Commentaria in Psalmos* 35, PG 23: 320C-D). Cf. the theological elaboration of this idea by THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae* I,21 (specifically devoted to this couple of divine properties), Prol.: "...περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης αὐτοῦ δεῖ πραγματεῦσασθαι", a. 4 co.:

Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἕτερον οὐσα ἢ ἐνέργεια δεδειγμένη παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τρόποις δὴ τισιν ἡμῖν οὐ πάνυ καταληπτοῖς, οἰκειότατον ὅμως καὶ γνησιώτατον καὶ παντελῶς ἀχώριστον αὐτῆς φαίνεται.

Ch. 50:... Σύνθετον ἐκεῖνοι (sc. the ancient pagans) βουλόμενοι δεῖξαι τὸ θεῖον, εἰ Τριάς τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἡγοῦντο σφίσι ἀρκεῖν ὁμοίως σύνθετον ἀποδειῖξαι, εἰ ἐνέργειαν ὅλως ἔχοι τῆς φύσεως διαφέρουσιν¹⁹⁷. εἰκότως· εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦδε φαίνεται σύνθετος ὁ Θεός, πολλῶν γε μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ Τριάς εἶναι. ... Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδέν τι πάσχει τὸ Θεῖον διὰ τὸ Τριάς εἶναι· οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐνεργεῖα τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνεργεῖν· ἀπαθὴς γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐκ τῆς φύσεως πρόοδος καὶ ἀδιάστατος καὶ ἀνεκφοίτητος καὶ ἀμέριστος.

Ch. 57: Μηδεὶς μοι τοίνυν λεγέτω τοὺς θεολόγους ψιλοῖς ὀνόμασι χρῆσθαι περὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας...

Ch. 65:... Ἔστι τοίνυν ὃ βούλονται [the anti-Palamites] ἢ μὴδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ταύτης ἐνέργειαν κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἢ λόγον ἢ λογισμὸν ἢ δοῦλον εἶναι ταύτην καὶ κτίσμα, εἰ τῆς οὐσίας διαφέρει τὸ σύνολον. ...

Ch. 70: ...Οὐ γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπολαμβάνεις ἐλέγετο ἄν, εἰ καὶ πολλὰ ἤ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν τοῦτ' ἐλέγετο. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς “ἐν καὶ ἀδιάφορον”¹⁹⁸ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν δηλοῦν, οὐδ' ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν *Τοπικῶν* ταῦτα δὴ ταυτοσήμαντα ἀλλήλοις “ὀνόματα” “λόπιον” καὶ “ἰμάτιον”,^{199,200} ἢ ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις “ἄρ”, “ξίφος”, “φάσγανον”, “σπάθη” καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τοιαῦτα,²⁰¹ οὐδ' ὡς οἱ θεοφάντορες ἄνδρες “οὐσίαν” τε καὶ

“τὸ δ' ἔργον τῆς θείας δικαιοσύνης αἰεὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐλέους ἔργον προϋποτίθησι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔδρυνται” (*Vat. gr. 609*, f. 43”), which is close to Manuel's words.

197. PS.-JUSTIN MARTYR, *Quaestiones Christianorum ad gentiles* III, 1, ed. J.C.T. OTTO, *Sancti Iustini philosophi et martyris opera quae feruntur omnia* (Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi), tomus V, Jena 1881 (repr. Wiesbaden 1969), pp. 286; 288 (= juxta MOREL 177C-D; 178D-E). This passage is appealed to by Palamas in his *Πρὸς τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐν μοναχοῖς Διονύσιον* 2 (cf. *infra*, n. 203), which is one of the major sources (along with Joseph Calothetos and Thomas Aquinas) of ch. 70-71 of Manuel's writing. It is also quoted in the *Synodal Tome of 1351*, 22, PG 151: 734B = KARMIRE, *Tὰ δογματικά* (cf. *supra*, n. 54), p. 323.

198. JOSEPH CALOTHETOS, *Oration II* (*Κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀκινδύνου καὶ Βαρλαάμ τῶν κακοδόξων*), 5, ll. 97-98; 6, l. 113, ed. TSAMES (cf. *supra*, n. 50), p. 74; cf. *infra*, n. 212. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, e.g., *Διάλογος ὁρθοδόξου μετὰ Βαρλααμίτου* 16; 51, ed. MAN-TZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 175,9.

199. ARISTOTLE, *Topics* I,7, 103a6-10; cf. 103a27; 149a4.

200. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,13,4 co. (cf. *infra*, p. 336).

201. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Dialectica sive capita philosophica (recensio fusior)* 32,2-4 (= *recensio brevis* 17), ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), p. 102. Of the numerous ancient and Byzantine passages containing this or similar lists of *πολυώνυμα*, Damascenus' is the closest one to Palaiologos' lines. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS' *Against Gregoras* I,10: “Ἀλλ' εἴποι ἂν ὁ Γρηγορᾶς ὅτι αὐτὸς τῇ προφορᾷ μόνῃ τῆς λέξεως διαφέρειν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ τὰ λεγόμενά φησι, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀκίνδυνος; ...ὡς «ἄρ», «σπάθη», «φάσγανον»· ἐν γὰρ πάντῃ τὸ ὑπὸ τούτων σημαινόμενον καὶ τῇ προφορᾷ μόνῃ τῆς λέξεως διενήνοχεν ἀλλήλων”; ed. CHRESTOU

‘φύσιν’ καὶ ‘μορφήν’ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα εἰς “ταῦτόν” ἤκειν λέγουσιν²⁰². ἡ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὴν ‘ἐνέργειαν’ οὗτοι προσέθηκαν καὶ συνηρίθμουν τοῖς εἰρημένους, εἰ γε ὄνομα ψιλὸν ἐνόμιζον ταύτην εἶναι καὶ ταῦτόν τοῖς διαφόροις ἐκείνοις ὀνόμασιν, ἅπερ ἐν σημαίνειν πεφύκασιν.²⁰³

Οὐ τοίνυν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπολαμβάνει ἐλέγετ’ ἂν, εἴπερ ἐλέγετο τὸ ‘ταῦτόν’, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὁ λόγος εὐθὺς δηλώσει. Δῆλον γὰρ ὡς διὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἐνώσιν τῆς ἐνεργείας πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς “φυσικῆς καὶ οὐσιώδους”²⁰⁴ οὕσης αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ καθηρμῶσθαι, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, καὶ συναΐδια εἶναι πάντως ἂν ἐλέγετο τοῖς εἰποῦσιν. “ἔν” τι δὲ ταῦτα χρῆμα “παντάπασι” “ἀδιάφορον”²⁰⁵ οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἐφαίνετο ταύτη. Τὸ γὰρ ‘οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν’ εἰπεῖν οὐ τὸ ‘ἀδιάφορον’ εἰπεῖν συγχωρεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσάγει διαφορὰν καὶ

(cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 262,18,26. Palamas, too, bases himself on John of Damascus; still, the Palamite passage cannot fully account for that of Manuel. However, Palamas might have inspired Palaiologos to write the lines under discussion.

202. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Institutio elementaris* 1, ll. 1-3, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), p. 20; *Dialectica* XXXI,23-28, ed. KOTTER, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

203. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Πρὸς τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐν μοναχοῖς Διονύσιον* 2: “...τὸ μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν. “Ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο δόγματός ἐστιν ἐλληνικοῦ καὶ ὁ ἐν μάρτυσι φιλόσοφος Ἰουστίνος ἐν τῷ *Πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐξηγηγεμένῳ λόγῳ* (revera Ps.-JUSTINI MARTYRIS *Quaestiones Christianorum ad gentiles*; cf. *supra*, n. 197) παρίστησιν ὅτι γε μὴν ὁ τοῦτο λέγων ἀναιρεῖ τὸ εἶναι Θεόν, ἐκεῖνος τε ὁ σοφὸς μάρτυς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι θεοφόροι πατέρες ἐν διαφόροις λόγοις ἀποδεικνύουσι. Τὸ γὰρ μηδαμῇ διαφέρειν πάντῃ τε καὶ πάντως ἐν ἐστὶ καὶ μονώτατον, ἐτέρου παντὸς παντάπασι ἀμοιρον. ... “Ὡςπερ οὐδεὶς ποτε ἔφη τὸν Θεὸν οὐσίαν καὶ φύσιν ἔχειν (ἀδιαφόρων γὰρ ὄντων τούτων ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ θατέρῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρκοῦμεθα), τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδ’ ὁ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκίνδυνος καὶ ὅσοι φρονοῦσι κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἀκολούθως ἂν φαῖεν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἔχειν τὸν Θεόν, ὡς διακένου ψόφου παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὄντος τοῦ τῆς ‘ἐνεργείας’ ὀνόματος καὶ μηδὲν παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ τῇ προσθήκῃ δεικνύντος. Ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἂν τις φαίη τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν ἔχειν καὶ φύσιν ἢ τῆς οὐσίας εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἐπειδὴπερ ἀλλήλων οὐδὲν διενηνόχασιν. Οὕτω τοίνυν οὐδὲ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκίνδυνος τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἔχειν ἐροῦσιν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίας τὴν ἐνέργειαν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ μὴδ’ αὐτὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων”; ed. MAT-SOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 480,4-26. The latter passage occurs almost verbatim in PALAMAS’ *Against Acindynos* I,6,14, edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 49,12-50,7. Further, in I,6,15-16, a reference to Ps.-Justin’s passage alluded to by Manuel occurs, too (*op. cit.*, p. 51,3-26); and in the II,20,97-99 (edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES, *op. cit.*, pp. 154,6-156,24) a long use of Ps.-Justin’s passage for the same purpose occurs. Still, in the *Πρὸς τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐν μοναχοῖς Διονύσιον*, the process of the argument is exactly the same as that in Manuel’s chapters. One would also guess that Manuel may have had in mind the passage from *Against Acindynos* II, because in this a link between the divine simplicity against the essence-energy multiplicity and the essence-persons multiplicity is made. A passing mention of this passage in *Against Acindynos* IV, 26,108 (edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES, *op. cit.*, pp. 369,28-370,3) can be ignored in this context.

204. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, e.g., *Περὶ θείας καὶ θεοποιοῦ μεθέξεως ἡ περὶ τῆς θείας καὶ ὑπερφανούς ἀπλότητος* 24, ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 157,26; from Cyril of Alexandria (cf. *supra*, n. 122).

205. GREGORY PALAMAS, *op. cit.* 23, ed. MANTZARIDES, *op. cit.*, p. 157,11-13.

τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς φύσεως οὐ χωρίζει. Κἀν συνάξῃς, κἀν συναρμόσῃς, κἀν πᾶσαν λέξιν φιλόσοφον²⁰⁶ συναγάγῃς, κἀν καινότεραν ἄλλην ἐπινοήσῃς ἐνώσεως μέθοδον, ἀπὸ τοῦ 'ταῦτόν εἶναι' λέγειν 'οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνέργειαν' οὐκ ἐνεστίν, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἐν κυρίως δοῦναι νοῆσαι. "Τὸ" γὰρ "ταῦτόν" ταῦτῳ ταῦτόν" ἔστιν καὶ τῶν πρὸς τι, καὶ οὐχ οἶόν τε μὴ συνεπινοεῖσθαι τούτῳ καὶ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ πλείω,²⁰⁷ πρὸς ἅπερ ἂν λέγοιτο.²⁰⁸ Τό γε μὴν 'ἐν' οὐχ ὅπως ἑτέρῳ ἔστιν ἐν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἑαυτῷ· ἦν γὰρ ἂν ταύτῃ γε τὸ ἐν καὶ οὐχ ἐν· καὶ τοῦτο πάντῃ ἀδύνατον. "Ὡστ' οὐδεὶς σοι λόγος εὐσχήμων λείπεται ἢ τὸ 'ταῦτόν' τῷ 'ἐν' ἴσον ἀκριβῶς εἶναι λέγοντι ἢ μὴ εἶναι διαφορὰν οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ καθαρώτερον περὶ τούτων διεξιέναι, τὸ 'ταῦτόν' σχέσιν ἔχον ἔστι πρὸς ἕτερον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ κυρίως ἐν ἄσχετον ὅλως καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν πως ἔχον ἔστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑτέρῳ 'ἐν' δύναται ἢ λέγεσθαι ἢ εἶναι (πρόθεν, ὅπερ οὐδ' αὐτῷ;), ὡς ἤδη φθάσαν ἀποδεδεικται.

206. See ARISTOTLE's *Metaphysics* V,9,1-4 (1018b27-a19), used by Joseph Calothesos (cf. *infra*, p. 335, n. 212).

207. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Λόγος διασαφῶν ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ τῇ τοῦ Βαρθολαίου καὶ Ἀκινδύνου δόξαν καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας αὐτοῖς ἀντιλεγόντων* 14: "ὁ ἐνὼν δύο τινα ἐνοῖ τοῦλάχιστον"; ed. PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 99,1.

208. Cf. THOMAS AQUINAS' *Summa theologiae*, I,13,7 (Utrum nomina quae important relationem ad creaturas dicantur de Deo ex tempore) co.: "Εἰδέναι προσήκει ὅτι, ἐπεὶ δύο ἄκρα ζητεῖ πᾶσα ἀναφορά, τριχῶς ἂν ἔχοι πρὸς τὸ εἶναι πρᾶγμα ἢ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἢ λόγῳ μόνῳ. Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἡ ἀναφορὰ πρᾶγμα ἔστι λόγῳ μόνῳ, ὅταν δηλονότι μεταξὺ δύο τινῶν οὐ δύνηται εἶναι τάξις ἢ σχέσις εἰ μὴ κατὰ μόνην τὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐπίνοιαν, ὡς ὅταν λέγωμεν· 'τὸ ταῦτόν ταῦτόν ἑαυτῷ'· καθὼς γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐπινοεῖ τι δις τὸ αὐτό, ὑφίσταται ἐκεῖνο ὥσπερ δύο, καὶ οὕτως ἐπινοεῖ ὁμοιότητα τινα ἢ σχέσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτό (ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V,9,3, 1018a7-9). 'Ὁμοίως δ' ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀναφορῶν τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, ἃς ἀναπλάττει ὁ λόγος, καθόσον ἀναπλάττει τὸ μὴ ὄν ὡς ἄκρον τι. Τὸ αὐτό τέ ἐστι καὶ περὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀναφορῶν, αἵτινες ἔπονται τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ λόγου, ὥσπερ τὸ γένος, τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα.

Τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἀναφορῶν πράγματά εἰσι τῇ φύσει καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν ἄκρων· ὅτε δηλονότι μεταξὺ δύο ἄκρων ἔστι τις σχέσις κατὰ τι πραγματικῶς προσὸν ἑκατέρῳ· ὡς δηλὸν ἐπὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀναφορῶν τῇ ποσότητι ἐπομένων, ὥσπερ τὸ 'μέγα' καὶ τὸ 'μικρόν', τὸ 'διπλάσιον' καὶ τὸ 'ἡμισυ' καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὸ δ' ὁμοίον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναφορῶν τῶν ἐπομένων ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ πάθει, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς 'κινήσεως' καὶ τοῦ 'κινήτου', τοῦ 'πατρὸς' καὶ τοῦ 'υἱοῦ' καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.

Ποτὲ δὲ ἡ ἀναφορὰ ἐν μὲν θατέρῳ τῶν ἄκρων πρᾶγμα ἔστι φύσει, ἐν δὲ τῷ λοιπῷ λόγῳ μόνον. Τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει, ὁσάκις ἂν δύο ἄκρα μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως ὦσιν· ὥσπερ ἡ 'αἰσθησις' καὶ ἡ 'ἐπιστήμη' ἀνάγονται πρὸς τὸ 'αἰσθητόν' καὶ 'ἐπιστητόν', ἅτινα, καθόσον εἰσὶ πράγματά τινα ἐν τῷ φυσικῷ εἶναι ὑφυστώτα, ἕξω τῆς τάξεως εἰσι τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει ἔστι πραγματικῶς ἡ ἀναφορὰ, καθ' ἣν τάττονται πρὸς τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἢ ἐπίστασθαι τὰ πράγματα, εἰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἑαυτὰ θεωρούμενα ἐκτὸς τῆς τοιαύτης εἰσὶ τάξεως· ὅθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔστι τις ἀναφορὰ πραγματικὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ αἰσθησιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγον μόνον, καθόσον δηλονότι ὁ νοῦς ἐπινοεῖ ταῦτα ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρων τῶν ἀναφορῶν τῆς 'αἰσθήσεως' καὶ τῆς 'ἐπιστήμης'. Ὅθεν φησὶν ὁ Φιλόσοφος ὅτι οὐ διὰ τὸ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἕτερα ἀναφέρεσθαι λέγονται ἀναφορικῶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἕτερα πρὸς αὐτὰ ἀναφέρονται, ὡς λέγεται ἐν τῷ ε' τῶν *Μετά τὰ φυσικά*

Ch. 71: ...ἐν τῷ φύσιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν' ὀνομάζειν... Ὁ συμπλεκτικὸς ἐνταῦθα σύνδεσμος, ὁ 'καί', οὔτε ματαίως οὔτε περιέργως τέθειται δηλονότι,²⁰⁹ ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ διάφορά πως ταῦτα δεικνὺς καὶ ἀχώριστα.²¹⁰

(ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* IV,15,8, 1021a26-30). 'Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ 'δεξιόν' οὐ λέγεται περὶ τοῦ κίονος, εἰ μὴ καθόσον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ζῳῳ τὸ 'δεξιόν'. ὅθεν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀναφορά οὐκ ἐστὶ πραγματικῶς ἐν τῷ κίονι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ζῳῳ.

Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκτός ἐστιν ὅλης τῆς τάξεως τῶν κτισμάτων καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τάττονται πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, φανερόν ἐστι τὰ μὲν κτίσματα πραγματικῶς ἀναφέρονται πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδεμία ἐστὶ πραγματικὴ ἀναφορά [ex cod. *diaphora correxi*] πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγον μόνον, καθόσον τὰ κτίσματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρονται. Καὶ οὕτως οὐδὲν κωλύει τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα ἀναφορὰν πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα δηλοῦν κατηγορεῖσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπὸ χρόνου, οὐ διὰ τινος τοῦ Θεοῦ μεταβολῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῆς κτίσεως μεταβολήν· ὥστε ὁ κίων γίνεται δεξιὸς οὐδεμιᾶς μεταβολῆς περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένης, ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλοντος τοῦ ζῳῳ" (*Vat. gr. 609*, f. 30^{r-v}).

209. See p. 480,17-29 of Palamas' passage cited *supra* in n. 203.

210. "Ch. 23: As far as His nature is concerned, God is unknowable, inaccessible and imparticipable to us; but regarding His natural energy, we are entitled to say the opposite. ... Ch. 44: The 'punishment' and 'remission' of our sins are not the same; nor is the 'wrath' the same as the 'grace' of God, nor is 'mercy' identical to 'righteousness'. If then these are not identical to each other, neither are they identical to nature or to the hypostases. For, it follows that nature would not on the whole be precisely one and the same with itself, if it were simply identical to those which differ in a certain way from each other. Indeed, if one states that the mercy of God is mixed together with His righteousness, and His judgement with His mercy, and that the one does not exist without the other, by simply mentioning this very mixing and eternal union which exists between them he states and declares that there is a difference between them, perceived by reasonable men as befits God. Nevertheless, though it has been proven that the energy is different from the nature in certain ways which are not quite comprehensible to us, yet it appears that the energy is most akin to, naturally united with, and totally inseparable from nature. ... Ch. 50: Wishing to prove that if the Divinity became a Trinity, then It would be composite, they assumed that it would suffice to prove that similarly the Divinity is composite, if Its energy differs on the whole from Its nature; naturally. For, if on the basis of this argument God would appear to be composite, far more so on the grounds that He is a Trinity. ... But, in reality, the Divinity is not affected at all by being a Trinity, and therefore, neither is It affected because It operates whatever It directs towards us through Its own energy. For, the emanation of the energy from the nature is impassible, continuous, inseparable and indivisible. ... Ch. 57: Therefore, let no one tell me that the theologians use bare names when they refer to the 'energy' ... Ch. 65: Now, what they think is either that the energy of the essence of God does not differ in any way, for any reason or consideration [*distinctio rationis*] whatsoever from the essence, or if it differs entirely from the essence [*distinctio realis*], that it is then a subservient and a created being. ... Ch. 70: For, even if this 'identical' were stated by many theologians in many of their writings, this would not have been stated as you yourself understand it, because this 'identical' does not indicate that the essence and energy is one and indistinguishable. Nor do these words [i.e., essence and energy] signify each other in the way that Aristotle states in his first book of the *Topics*, for example "cloak and mantle", or as one would say, "dagger, sword, blade, broad sword" and other similar ones, nor as the theologians state that 'essence', 'nature', and 'form' regarding God are 'identical'. For surely, if they had really

Manuel officially puts himself in the Palamite party by unambiguously declaring (ch. 23) that one must distinguish between the "nature" and the "natural energy" of God. He is really in keeping with Palamas and the patristic Palamists by arguing that, should this distinction be taken as a threat to divine simplicity, the doctrine of the *Deus trinus* should absurdly be taken as such, too. He is also in keeping with all the Palamites up to his time in implying that this distinction is not a radical one ("τὸ σύνολον"), but should rather be drawn "in some way" or "in some respect" or "conceptually" ("κατὰ τρόπον ἢ λόγον ἢ λογισμόν"; ch. 65).

Further, Manuel's argument that multiplicity, both that springing from Trinity and that springing from the essence-energy distinction, is supposed to be deemed a cause of composition, not if clashing with absolute simplicity (conceived of as self-identity), but only if entailing

thought that this is a mere name and identical to those different names which they understood to signify one thing, they would have added also the 'energy', and would have counted it along with those aforementioned names. Therefore, if indeed the 'identical' had been mentioned by the theologians, it would not have been stated in the way you understand it, but as our argument will immediately show. Now, it is evident that those who mentioned these names would have stated them on the grounds of the total union of the energy with the essence (since energy is natural and essential to the essence), and, as one would say, on the basis of their union they are also coeternal. In this case, the energy and essence would not at all appear to be one thing entirely indistinguishable. For, in saying "essence and energy" it is not permissible to perceive them as indistinguishable, but on the contrary, this statement introduces a difference and does not separate energy from nature. Even if you gather together, or mix, or join, or collect every philosophical term or expression, or even if you invent a newer method of union by stating that the essence and energy are identical, it is impossible to be able to perceive the one precisely. For what is identical, is identical to that to which is identical, and it also belongs to the category of related things, and it is impossible not to perceive at the same time another thing, or even more than one, with reference to its subject. But surely the one not only is not one with reference to another thing, but not even with reference to itself. For, in this way there would be at the same time one and not one, which is absolutely impossible. Therefore, none of your arguments remains sound, since you state that either the 'identical' is absolutely equivalent to the 'one', or that there is no difference between essence and energy. If we must clarify this point in greater detail—the 'identical' exists in relation to another thing, as has already been stated, while properly speaking the 'one' is entirely unrelated and exists without any relation to another thing. For how is this possible when the 'one can neither' be referred or exist in relation to itself, as it has just been proven? Ch. 71: ...by the very fact that you state 'nature and energy'... it is clear that the copulative conjunction 'and' which is used here was not placed without purpose or superfluously, but because it indicates that these are in a certain way different and at the same time inseparable" (translation by DENDRINOS, *An Annotated* [cf. *supra*, n. 189], slightly revised).

“passion” (ch. 50), is Palamite *tout-court* (see *supra*, p. 276). Furthermore, his argument that the notion of an absolutely simple, in the sense of self-identical and non-differentiated (“ταυτόν... ἐν τι παντά-
πασιν ἀδιάφορον”), being is by definition absurd looks like a logical transformation of a similar metaphysical argument produced by Theophanes of Nicaea (cf. Theophanes’ “πάντη ταυτόν καὶ ἐν”; v. *supra*, p. 307).

That the Palamism of Manuel was conscious is shown by the fact that, when writing some of the chapters cited above, he had opened on his desk some writings of Palamas, whence he borrowed many things. Manuel’s appeal to (Ps.-)Justin’s defence of the distinction between essence and energy and his connection of this distinction with the possible threat to divine simplicity caused by the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is a reproduction of a similar appeal to (Ps.-)Justin by Palamas in his *Letter to Dionysius* 2. Furthermore, Manuel’s comment on the advisability of the conjunction ‘and’ in the phrase “essence and energy” derives from what Palamas had said in the sequence of his appeal to (Ps.-)Justin.

So far so good. Now if we try patiently to investigate further the sources of Manuel’s argument in ch. 44 and, especially, in ch. 70, we will realise that Manuel reproduced Joseph Calothetos’ argument for the reality as well as the incomprehensibility of the essence-energy distinction in God in combination with Thomas Aquinas’ doctrine of the truth-value of the divine names as expounded in q. 13 (“Περὶ τῶν θεῶν ὀνομάτων”²¹¹), aa. 4 and 7 of Part I of the *Summa theologiae*. Let us try to reconstruct the process that took place in Manuel’s mind when writing the above passages.

Of the chapters of Manuel’s work that are devoted to the essence-energy question (ch. 61 to 72 in main), ch. 70 shows by its very title (“That if one were to say that nature and energy are identical, he would have shown that energy differs from nature, rather than if it were not stated at all; for the ‘identical’ is never stated with reference to a single thing, but with reference to a number of things which are associated”) that the author’s intention was to treat the problem in the light of the philosophical notions of ‘one’ and ‘identical’. To carry out his project, Manuel follows three steps, the first two forming the

211. *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 28^v.

pars destructiva of his argument and the last one the *pars constructiva*:
i) excluding the possibility that essence and energy are 'one' in the sense that they are synonyms; *ii)* excluding the possibility that essence and energy are 'one' in any of the remaining meanings of this term enumerated in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*; *iii)* positively and conclusively establishing that essence and energy, for all their being insolubly associated with each other, should be taken *e limine* as two things.

Step 1. Half of a century earlier, a task identical to Manuel's had been undertaken by Joseph Calothetos (cf. *supra*, p. 329, n. 198). Calothetos, in his effort to qualify the nature of the identity and the difference between God's essence and energy,²¹² had latently yet fully

212. JOSEPH CALOTHETOS, *Oration II* (Κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀκινδύνου καὶ Βασιλαῶν τῶν κακοδόξων), 5-6, ll. 97-126: "Ἄλλ' εἰπάτω... πῶς ταῦτό καὶ ἐν καὶ ἀδιάφορον; ... [Possibility 1 excluded:] «Τὰ μὲν ἐν ἐστὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν, τὰ δὲ κατ' εἶδος, τὰ δὲ κατὰ γένος, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἀναλογίαν· οἷον ὅσ' ἀριθμῶ, καὶ εἶδει ἐν· ὅσα δ' εἶδει, οὐ πάντ' ἀριθμῶ, ἀλλὰ γένει πάντα ἐν, ὅσαπερ καὶ εἶδει· ὅσα δὲ γένει, οὐ πάντ' εἶδει, ἀλλ' ἀναλογία ἐν» (ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V,6,20-21; 1016b31-35). Καὶ αὖθις, «ταῦτ' ἀλέγεται, ὧν ἡ ὕλη μία ἡ εἶδει ἢ ἀριθμῶ, καὶ ὧν ἡ οὐσία μία. Ὡστε φανερόν ἐστι ἡ ταυτότης ἐνότης τίς ἐστὶν ἢ πλείονων τοῦ εἶναι ἢ ὅταν χρῆται ὡς πλείοσιν· οἷον ὅταν λέγῃ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ταυτό· ὡς δυοὶ γὰρ χρῆται αὐτῷ» (ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V,9,3; 1018a6-9). Ἄλλ' εἰπάτω ἐν ποίῳ μορίῳ τῶν τοιοῦτων τεχνολογημάτων ἐν καὶ ταῦτό καὶ ἀδιάφορον οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια. Πότερον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ; Ἄλλ' ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ λέγεται, «ὧν ἡ ὕλη μία»· τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἐν τῷ εἶδει. Ἀλλὰ τῷ εἶδει ἐν; Καὶ οὕτω διαπίπτει αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος· τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῷ εἶδει ἐν τῷ γένει. Ἀλλὰ τῷ γένει ἐν καὶ ταυτό; Καὶ οὕτω δοκεῖ ἔξω πάσης ἡστυνοσοῦν ἀληθείας ἐρρήθαι ὁ λόγος· τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῷ γένει ἐν τῇ ἀναλογίᾳ. [Possibility 2 excluded:] Ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πολυώνυμα ἐν; Καὶ οὕτως ἡμάρτηται αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν καὶ ταυτό τὸ ὑποκειμένον, τὰ δ' ὀνόματα ἐν μόνῃ τῇ προφορᾷ τὴν παραλλαγὴν ἔχουσιν. [General conclusion:] Ὡστε κατ' οὐδένα τῶν εἰρημένων τρόπων ταῦτό καὶ ἐν οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια. Ἐκεῖνα μὲν <γὰρ> διαίρουται κατὰ γένος, κατ' εἶδος, κατ' ἀριθμὸν, ἐνοῦνται δ' αὐτῷ εἶδει, τῷ γένει, τῇ ἀναλογίᾳ· ἡ δὲ θεία φύσις καὶ ἐνέργεια θαυμασίως καὶ ἀρρήτως καὶ τὴν ἐνωσιν ἴσχει καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν· διαίρεται γὰρ ἀδιαρέτως καὶ ἐνοῦται διαιρετῶς· ὥστε παράδοξος ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καὶ ἡ ἐνωσις καὶ ἡ διαίρεσις"; ed. TSAMES (cf. *supra*, n. 50), pp. 74-75. Calothetos was most probably inspired by GREGORY PALAMAS' latent paraphrase of ARISTOTLE's *Metaphysics* V,6,20-21 in *Πρὸς Δανιὴλ Αἰνόν* 1-2: "Πᾶν τὸ ἐν πως ἀναγκαίως ἐστὶν ὡς οὐχ ἐν. Τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ γένει διάφορα τῷ εἶδει, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ εἶδει διάφορα τῷ ἀριθμῷ· ἐστὶ δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὑποστάσει διάφορα ἐστὶ ταῖς φύσεσι· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὄντα ἐν οὐ διάφορα μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντία [e.g., some *ἐτερώνημα*, such as *ἀνάβασις* and *κατάβασις* when predicated of *ἰδός*]. Καὶ οὐ λέγω ταῦτα νῦν ὡς οὕτως ἐχούσης τῆς ἐνεργείας πρὸς οὐσίαν ἡντινοῦν..."; ed. MATSOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 376,5-12. A similar list of various meanings of 'one' occurs in JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Dialectica* XXXVIII,29-33, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), p. 105; and yet Palamas and Calothetos had recourse to Aristotle's writing itself. Let it be added that Aristotle's systematization of the various notions of 'one' was applied to the problem of the unity and distinction between God's essence and energy by Gregory Acindynos (GREGORY ACINDYNOS, *Ἐτερος ἀντιρρητικός κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν πονηροτάτων δογμάτων* 22-23; ed. J. NADAL CANELLAS [cf. *supra*, n. 31]; on Acindynos' use of Aristotle see a forthcoming article by

enumerated Aristotle's various sorts of 'being one' by tacitly yet verbatim citing two relevant passages from Book V of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.²¹³ Calothetos subsequently rejected — facing no real difficulties in doing so — the possibility of taking 'essence' and 'energy' as "synonyms" (πολυώνυμα),²¹⁴ which coincides with being "one in number".

In his first two steps, Manuel tacitly reproduces Calothetos' rejection of the possibility of taking 'essence' and 'energy' as 'one' in either of these two ways. Yet, Manuel reasonably reverses the order that these ways appear in Calothetos' text by putting the 'synonyms' case first, since this case, by standing for full identity, corresponds to the extreme anti-Palamite view ('essence' and 'energy' are just two linguistic sounds both standing for the same concept and thing²¹⁵), whereas the remaining Aristotelian sorts of 'being one' stand for a partial 'oneness' conceived of in terms of partial identity (being the same in so far as belonging to the same species, to the same genus, etc.). Manuel also enriches Calothetos' argument with a direct reference to Aristotle's *Topics* and John of Damascus' *Institutio elementaris*, whence he borrows some examples of synonyms: "λῶπιον καὶ ἱμάτιον" from Aristotle and "ἄορ", "ξίφος", "φάσγανον", "σπάθη" from John of Damascus.

Yet, this is not all. Manuel tacitly integrates into his chapter some Latin material, too. He takes refuge in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, I^a, q. 13, a. 4 (cf. *supra*, p. 303, n. 103), where a treatment of the problem of the multiplicity of the divine names with the aid of these Aristotelian logical tools was available to Manuel. Aquinas

J. NADAL CAÑELLAS; my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. J. Nadal Cañellas for allowing me access to his forthcoming edition of this Acindynian writing) and John Cyparissiotis, too (JOHN CYPARISSIOTES, *Katà τῶν τοῦ Παλαμικοῦ τόμου διακρίσεων καὶ ἐνώσεων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ* VII, Proem; VIII, 10, ed. LIAKOURAS [cf. *supra*, n. 31], pp. 360, 14-16; 411, 25-414, 9).

213. On this finding see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Νικολάου Καβάσιλα "Κατὰ Πύρρονος". Πλατωνικὸς φιλοσοφετικισμὸς καὶ ἀριστοτελικὸς ἀντισκεπτικισμὸς στὴ βυζαντινὴ διανόηση τοῦ 14^{ου} αἰῶνα* (with an English Summary: *Nicholas Cabasilas' "Contra Pyrrhonem". Introduction, Critical Edition, Modern Greek Translation, Philosophical Analysis, and Historical Context*, Athens 1999, pp. 265-266, n. 493 (where by accident I wrote "David Dishypatos" instead of Joseph Calothetos). This is not the only source of Calothetos' text that escaped the editor's attention.

214. JOSEPH CALOTHETOS, *op. cit.* 6, ll. 118-121, ed. TSAMES (cf. *supra*, n. 50), pp. 74-75.

215. Cf. Manuel's description of his opponents' view in ch. 47: "Ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτόν εἶναι νομίζουσι τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίᾳ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐνέργειαν, μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς οὐόμενοι διαφορὰν ἐν αὐταῖς ὑπάρχειν", ed. DENDRINOS, *An Annotated* (cf. *supra*, n. 189), p. 60, 5-6.

argued against the synonymical approach to the various divine names. Manuel was so impressed by Thomas' argument that he allowed for a distinctive trace of Demetrios Cydones' translation of the Latin text to find a place in his own writing. The concluding words of the "Respondeo" of Aquinas' article, in Cydones' translation, read: "...τὰ ἀποδιδόμενα τῷ Θεῷ ὀνόματα, εἰ καὶ ἐν πράγμα σημαίνει, διὰ μέντοι τὸ πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις λόγοις τοῦτο σημαίνειν οὐκ εἰσὶ ταυτοσήμαντα" (cf. *supra*, n. 103). Demetrios seems to have been seriously puzzled about how to render a Latin term, *synonyma*, which, although being Greek in origin, is not precisely equivalent to Aristotle's *συνώνυμα* but to what the logical handbooks and commentaries from Late Antiquity through the Byzantine times labelled *πολυνώνυμα*. This is, at least, what one might suppose from the fact that the title of the *Summa contra Gentiles* I,35, "Quod plura nomina dicta de Deo non sunt synonyma", was alternatively rendered as "Ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ ὀνόματα τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνουσι πρᾶγμα" and "Ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ ὀνόματα τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα οὐκ εἰσὶ πολυνώνυμα" (cf. *supra*, p. 296). Demetrios, facing the same problem when translating the *Summa theologiae*, rendered the Latin *synonyma* by digging out of the mine of ancient Greek vocabulary the rare word "ταυτοσήμαντα"²¹⁶ — which is exactly the word used by Manuel in the same context. Given that, as far as I know, this word does not occur even once in any ancient or Byzantine philosophical or theological writing, Manuel's use of it can be explained only in terms of his having latent recourse in the above article of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* in Demetrios Cydones' translation.²¹⁷

216. He also uses the periphrasis "τὰ ταῦτ' σημαίνοντα" (cf. *supra*, p. 303, n. 103). Prochoros Cydones, in translating Aquinas' *De potentia*, seems to have preferred to render the Latin *synonyma* as *συνώνυμα* (see, e.g., the *ad hoc* text in q. 7, a. 6: "Πότερον ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα εἰσὶ συνώνυμα"; *Coisl. gr.* 96, ff. 187^v-193^r).

217. This is not the only time Palaiologos profited from Thomas Aquinas; he did so also in his *Διάλογος μετὰ τινος Πέρσου τὴν ἀξίαν Μοντερίζη ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τῆς Γαλατίας*; see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Pope Benedict XVI's Use of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos' *Dialogue with a Muslim Muterizes*: The Scholarly Background", in: *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 14 (2008), pp. 264-304, esp. 276-278. This was only natural, since "Manuel... was most probably taught by Demetrios Cydones, though it is not clear for how long and in what way the teaching was conducted. He was certainly inspired by Cydones and often acknowledged his debt to him"; DENDRINOS, *An Annotated* (cf. *supra*, n. 189), p. iii.

Further, Aquinas²¹⁸ also mentions the Aristotelian example of “λώπιον καὶ ἱμάτιον” (see *supra*, p. 329, n. 199) and Demetrios Cydones rendered it in a way that constitutes a self-same reproduction of Aristotle’s original words. This suggests that Manuel, for all his professional, scholarly reference to Aristotle’s *Topics*, picked up the example from Aquinas, merely making Aquinas’ implicit reference to Aristotle’s text explicit.²¹⁹

Step 2. Manuel then comes to the various meanings of ‘one’ expounded by Aristotle and applied by Calothesos to the essence-energy problem. Given Manuel’s dependence on Calothesos’ passage, Manuel’s indeterminate way of referring to the various meanings of ‘one’ (“...πᾶσαν λέξιν φιλόσοφον...”), contrary to what one might think at first glance, does not actually lack precision; for Manuel alludes to a list of meanings of ‘one’ elaborated by the philosopher *par excellence*, i.e., Aristotle, as well as to a recent and rather well-known theological application of this list to the issue in question.²²⁰

Step 3. Still, once more, Manuel profited from an oblique yet serious glance at Aquinas. This time, his additional source was one of the subsequent articles of the *Summa theologiae*, i.e., I^a, q. 13, a. 7 (“Utrum nomina quae important relationem ad creaturas dicantur de Deo ex tempore”). There, Aquinas, explicitly referring, *inter alia*, to one of the two passages from Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* (1018a6-9) cited by Calothesos (cf. *supra*, p. 335, n. 212), argues for construing the *ad extra* ‘relative’ divine names as bearing some ontological import by definition, in contrast to the purely mental or self-referential distinctions and relations, which are in fact pseudo-relations. Both Aquinas and Manuel classify the notion of ταὐτό/idem as πρὸς τι / *relativum*, which is not found explicitly in the underlying Aristotelian text (Aquinas: “...ἀναφορὰ... σχέσις... ‘τὸ ταὐτὸν ταὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ’”; Manuel: “Τὸ” γὰρ “‘ταὐτὸν’ ταὐτῷ ταὐτόν” ἐστὶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς τι”; “τὸ

218. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,13,4 s.c. (cf. *supra*, p. 303, n. 103).

219. This Aristotelian example (see also *Sophistical Refutations* 6, 168a30-31; *Physics* I,2 and III,3 185b19-20 and 2020b13) occurs in Aquinas’ *De potentia* (7,6), too; still, Prochoros Cydones rendered it as “ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐσθῆς” (*Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 188’).

220. Let it be noted that Calothesos, although he cited Aristotle’s list in full, did not examine the last meaning of ‘one’, i.e., being one by way of “analogy”. Likewise, Palaiologos implicitly dismissed this way, too, by rejecting all the Aristotelian meanings of ‘one’ *en bloc*.

‘ταύτων’ σχέσιν ἔχον ἐστὶ πρὸς ἕτερον”). They exclude this sort of relation (described by Aristotle as “just taking a thing as if being two”) from theological language and resort to what they understand as real relations. Aquinas qualifies that these relations are real only as regards one of their terms, i.e., creature, which means that they denote something real not in *Deus creator* but in the *creatura*. Manuel says the same thing by stressing that the energies of God do not produce anything in Him but only in the realm of the created world.

Let us note the technical detail that, once more, Demetrios Cydones rendered explicit the Aristotelian passage that was tacitly included in Thomas’ text; so, it made it easy for Manuel both to notice the provenance of the passage and to recall Calothetos’ citation of it and its application to the essence-energy problem.

Still, Manuel, for all this, did not answer the question on the nature of the relation of this energy with the being it emanates from. Whereas Aquinas said explicitly that what is called God’s ‘act’ is an one-way relation of creature to God, Manuel just says that the way God’s nature and energy differ from each other is rather incomprehensible (“τρόποις δὴ τισιν ἡμῖν οὐ πάνυ καταληπτοῖς”), which is just the conclusion of Calothetos’ treatment of the issue.²²¹

Manuel feels that he fully satisfies his Palamism by concluding that no sort of unity allows for taking ‘one’ as an absolutely undifferentiated, uncompromisingly simple being, and stops here.

Is this exposition and defence of Palamism Palamite in tenor? To judge from both the content and the sources of Manuel’s doctrine, it is so only to a limited extent. It should not escape our attention that Manuel, despite his professed attack on the first two anti-Palamites, Barlaam the Calabrian and Gregory Acindynos, and despite his

221. JOSEPH CALOTHETOS, *op. cit.* 6, ll. 123-126: “Ἡ δὲ θεία φύσις καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια θανασιῶς καὶ ἀρρήτως καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἴσχει καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν· διαιρεῖται γὰρ ἀδιαίρετως καὶ ἐνοῦται διαιρετῶς. Ὡστε παράδοξος ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καὶ ἡ ἔνωσις καὶ ἡ διαίρεσις”, ed. TSAMES (cf. *supra*, n. 50), p. 75; “The divine nature and the divine energy are both united and divided miraculously and ineffably; for they are divided indivisibly and united divisionally. Thus, in these things, both unity and division exceed humans’ thoughts”. One might wonder if Calothetos, by embarking upon a refutation of the anti-Palamite identification of the divine essence with the divine energy on philosophical grounds, does not refute himself, too, inasmuch as he explicitly proves equally unable to formulate a logically consistent theory of non-identity between the divine essence and the divine energy and implicitly shows himself to be proud of that.

explicit defence of the official Palamite doctrine of the Tabor light, never mentions Palamas²²² or Palamas' writings. Further, later on, in his *De ordine in Sancta Trinitate* (probably written in 1423²²³), Manuel seems to repudiate implicitly Palamas' fundamental doctrine of the infinite distance between God's essence and energies by stating: "...the divine being and its properties stand infinitely infinite times above our being and properties" (τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου "ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως" ὑπερκεῖσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων²²⁴). Contrary to Palamas' (mis) interpretation of Maximus Confessor's famous phrase "ἀπειράκις ἀπείρως" (v. *supra*, pp. 279-280), which had been assigned special value early on by having been included in the *Ἀγιορειτικὸς τόμος*²²⁵, Manuel used the phrase to describe not the gap between God's nature and His properties but the gap between God's nature and His properties on the one hand and the created world on the other. This was the way several anti-Palamites construed this well-known Maximian passage repeatedly in their writings against this or that work of Palamas or of this or that officially Palamite author.²²⁶ Palaiologos

222. See DENDRINOS, *An Annotated* (cf. *supra*, n. 189), p. xxix.

223. See DENDRINOS, *op. cit.*, p. 7 of the Introduction to the edition of the text.

224. MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, *Ὅτι ὑπὲρ τάξιν ἡ Τριὰς καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ τάξιν δεικνύται πραγμάτων τε καὶ παραδειγμάτων*, ed. DENDRINOS, *op. cit.*, p. 318,15.

225. 5, ed. PSEUTONGAS in: CHRESTOU (ausp.), *op. cit.*, Vol. II (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 574,20-21.

226. See, e.g., GREGORY ACINDYNOS' *Refutatio magna operis Gregorii Palamae cui titulus "Dialogus inter Orthodoxum et Barlaamitam"* II,44,3-4, ed. J. NADAL CAÑELLAS, *Gregorii Acindyni opera. Refutationes duae operis Gregorii Palamae cui titulus "Dialogus inter Orthodoxum et Barlaamitam"* (CCSG, 31), Turnhout 1995, pp. 144-145; *Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ἀνεσκευασμένη, ἣν ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης τῷ μακαρίτῃ ἀπέστειλεν Ἀκινδύνῳ*, 2, ll. 32-33; 47-49; 60-64; 80; 82; 90-91; 108-109; 135; 139-140; 146; 149-150; 226-227; 5, ll. 45-46; 48-49; 54-55; 83-84; 112-113; 223-224; 242; 249-250; 258-259; 6, ll. 25-26; 89-90; 94-96; 7, ll. 11-16; 190-193; 8, ll. 97-98; 12, ll. 15-17; 13, ll. 45; 63; 79-81; 14, ll. 65-68; 84-85; *Ὁμολογία τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἀκινδύνου*, ll. 106-107; 122-125; *Ἡ τοῦ Παλαμᾶ "Ὁμολογία" ἀνεσκευασμένη*, 18, ll. 38-39; 22, ll. 50-51; *Ὁμολογία Γρηγορίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν*, 9, ll. 1-2; 6-7; 10, ll. 1-2; *Πνευματικὴ διαθήκη* 3, ll. 27; 54-55; 89; 6, ll. 44-45; 9, ll. 54-55; 10, ll. 18; 17, l. 12; cf. NADAL CAÑELLAS, *La résistance* (cf. *supra*, n. 2), p. 159. In some of these passages, Acindynos uses Maximus' phrase in order to denote the infinite gap between the God uncreated and the world created (edd. NADAL CAÑELLAS - BENETOS; cf. *supra*, n. 35). See also THEODOROS DEXIOS' *Appellatio adversus Johannem Cantacuzenum* 64,48-104, 65,79-87, 67,2-7, 69,20-24 and 69,92-103; ed. I.D. POLEMIS, *Theodori Dexii opera omnia* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, vol. 55), Turnhout-Leuven 2003, pp. 162-164, 167, 173, 179 and 182; for more occurrences see *op. cit.*, Index locorum laudatorum, p. 369; NICEPHOROS GREGORAS' *Historia Byzantina XXXV (= Oratio dogmatica VI)*, 16, ed. BEK-

consistently used this phrase to express the same idea in some of his other writings, too.²²⁷

Still, what Manuel apparently found in Aquinas to be redolent of Palamism is the latter's emphasis on the difference between the various divine perfections (due to the limits of the human intellect) and on the partial *fundamentum in re* of all these perfections.²²⁸

KER, Vol. III (cf. *supra*, n. 36), pp. 482,15-483,11; *Antirrhetica priora* 3,4-14, ed. H.-V. BEYER, *Nikephoros Gregoras. Antirrhetica I. Einleitung, Textausgabe, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, vol. XII), Vienna 1976, pp. 393-405. Cf. MANUEL CALECAS, *Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας* (PG 154: 301B). See also PROCHOROS CYDONES' *Περὶ καταφατικῶ καὶ ἀποφατικῶ τρόπου ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Κυρίου θεοφανείας* (*Vat. gr.* 678, ff. 34^v; 33^v-34^r; 36^v). Cf. also JOHN CYPARISSIOTES, *Τῶν θεολογικῶν ῥήσεων ἑκθεσις στοιχειώδης* VIII,4, ed. DENTAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 170), p. 429,8-9; IDEM, *Κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμικοῦ τόμου διακρίσεων καὶ ἐνώσεων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ* VI,6; VIII,8, ed. LIAKOURAS (cf. *supra*, n. 31), pp. 348,5-23; 380,10-381,14; 407,16-28; IDEM, *Κατὰ Νεῖλον Καβάσιλα* IV,5; V,12, ed. MARANGOUDAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 170), pp. 180,18-19; 288,3-4.

227. See DENDRINOS, *An Annotated* (cf. *supra*, n. 189), app. font., *ad loc.* See also MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS' *De processione Spiritus Sancti* 68, ed. DENDRINOS, *op. cit.*, p. 106,7-9.

228. Cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,13, 3 (cf. *supra*, pp. 297-298); 4 Resp. (cf. *supra*, p. 303, n. 103) and ad 2; 12 (cf. *supra*, pp. 298-299); *De potentia*, 7,6 co.; ad 1; ad 4 (*Coisl. gr.* 96, ff. 188^v-189^v). Further investigation should be carried out to detect the probable dependence of Manuel on Aquinas' *De potentia*. Cf., e.g., Manuel's question in ch. 53: "Πότερον ἔστιν ἀληθῶς ἐνέργεια Θεοῦ ἢ μάτην θρυλεῖται, προσηγορία φιλή τις οὐσα καὶ ἀμοιροῦσα τοῦ εἶναι χρῆμα; Καὶ ἄκτιστός ἐστιν αὐτή, εἰ γε ἀληθῶς ἔστιν, ἢ κτιστή;" (ed. DENDRINOS, *op. cit.*, p. 80,1-3; cf. ch. 72: "[according to a Latin error]... τὴν θείαν ταύτης ἐνέργειαν μὴδὲν τι χρῆμα εἶναι..."; ed. DENDRINOS, *op. cit.*, p. 116,10) with the very title of the *De potentia*, 3,3: "Πότερον ἢ κτίσις ἐστὶ τι χρῆμα ἐν τοῖς οὐσιν ἢ οὐ· καὶ, εἰ ἔστι, τί ἐστὶ" (*Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 33^v). Let us recall that this is a Thomistic article that had attracted Theophanes of Nicaea's interest (cf. *supra*, pp. 314-315). Let it be added that Manuel, in ch. 68 of his *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, does not fail to reproduce Aquinas' and Palamas' argument for taking God's creative activity as a real entity: "We must examine also this, namely that if something that is created does not receive its existence through uncreated energy, then the need for these energies would be infinite, for each energy would always be created from another energy, and thus we would never cease to postulate, until we perceive something that creates without ever being created. However, if a created being came into existence not at all through uncreated energy, then neither would it have existed through a created energy. But this is impossible, for something which exists in time does not come into existence by its own power, for how can it possibly come into existence by that power which had never existed? ... Therefore, even if one conceded to this impious and godless doctrine stated in the past by the heretics and refuted by the saints, namely that the Son is energy of the Father and that this energy [i.e. Son] is created, since it is not proper *not* to be uncreated energy within God, through which the beings were created, or at least the first among those created beings — whatever you wish to call it —, even if this first being had been created before everything else and no doubt would surpass all others in terms of time and space, to the

4.5. Marcos Eugenikos: A Crypto-Thomist Professed Anti-Latin

Marcos Eugenikos (ca. 1392-1445) is mostly known as a figure emblematic for his uncompromised anti-Latin ecclesiastical energy and decisiveness, especially because of his stance in the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-39).²²⁹ Still, as we will see, this image of Eugenikos has more to do with the predominance of Byzantine historiography in Byzantine intellectual history than with Eugenikos' thought itself.

In a list of Latin errors he elaborated in a text dating from 1440/42,²³⁰ Marcos includes the doctrine of the identity between essence and will in God, which he explicitly ascribes to Thomas Aquinas, and the doctrine of the createdness of the divine energy and grace.²³¹

For our part, we declare, in accordance with the Fathers, that the will and the energy of the uncreated and divine nature are uncreated, too, whereas they, for their part, declare, in accordance with the Latins and

extent that one would want its creator to be, undoubtedly it must have its own creator, and this creator must be eternal and standing outside all creation, so that the created beings might not be produced infinitely. Such an argument is quite clearly absurd, for infinity belongs to God alone"; ed. DENDRINOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 104,11-105,1; 105,8-106,1. Unfortunately, a close examination of the wording of the original text does not seem to reveal any special dependence either on Palamas or on Aquinas (or on Theophanes of Nicaea, who had given the same argument; cf. *supra*, p. 312).

229. On Marcos Eugenikos see the relevant chapter by N. CONSTAS in: CONTICELLO-CONTICELLO (eds.), *La théologie byzantine* (cf. *supra*, n. 34), pp. 411-475.

230. PILAVAKIS, *Markos Eugenikos' "First"* (cf. *supra*, n. 138), p. 111; CONSTAS, "Mark Eugenikos" (cf. preceding note), pp. 421; 427.

231. MARCOS EUGENIKOS, *Epistola encyclica contra Graeco-Latinos ac decretum Synodi Florentinae* 6, ed. L. PETIT, *Documents relatifs au concile de Florence. II. Oeuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d'Éphèse. Documents VII-XXIV. Textes édités et traduits* (Patrologia Orientalis, vol. XVII,1, N° 83), Paris 1924, p. 457,12-21: "Καὶ ἡμεῖς (sc. the genuine Greek Orthodox) μὲν τῆς ἀκτίστου καὶ θείας φύσεως ἀκτιστον καὶ τὴν θέλησιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν εἶναι φαμεν κατὰ τοὺς Πατέρας, οὗτοι (sc. the Γραικολατῖνοι) δὲ μετὰ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τοῦ Θωμᾶ τὴν μὲν θέλησιν ταύτην τῇ οὐσίᾳ, τὴν δὲ θεῖαν ἐνέργειαν κτιστὴν εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ τε 'θεότης' ὀνομάζοιτο καὶ τε 'θεῖον καὶ ἄυλον φῶς' καὶ τε 'Πνεῦμα ἅγιον' καὶ τε τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, καὶ οὕτω κτιστὴν θεότητα καὶ κτιστὸν φῶς καὶ κτιστὸν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὰ πονηρὰ πρεσβεύουσι κτίσματα". Marcos refers to Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* I,73 ("Ὅτι ἡ θέλησις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ"; *Vat. gr.* 610, f. 77v) and *Summa theologiae*, I,19,1 co. ("Καὶ ὥσπερ τὸ νοεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι αὐτοῦ"; *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 38v). See, however, Thomas' qualifications in I,19,2 ad 1: "...Εἰ καὶ τὸ θεῖον βούλεσθαι ὡς πρᾶγμα τὸ θεῖον εἶναι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅμως διαφέρουσι λόγῳ, διαφόρῳ καὶ σημαινόμενα καὶ νοούμενα... Ὅταν γὰρ λέγω τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι, οὐ σημαίνεται τις πρὸς ἕτερόν τι σχέσις, ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγω τὸν Θεὸν θέλειν..." (*Vat. gr.* 609, f. 40r).

Thomas, that God's will is the same thing as His essence as well as that the divine energy is created, for all its being called 'divinity' and 'divine and immaterial light' and 'Holy Spirit' and so on; thus, in so speaking, they, the malicious creatures, believe in a created divinity, created light and created Spirit.

Fortunately, we can say much more about Eugenikos' view of the divine energies and their being both united to and distinct from the divine essence, for he devoted to this issue much more than the passing (and, at least in part, understandable in terms of the anti-Latin character of the text) negative reference to Aquinas just cited. Earlier on, he had set out to combat the anti-Palamite polemics of Manuel Calecas (ca. 1350?-1410), a convert to Catholicism who had joined the Dominican Order. To do so, he wrote two pieces against Calecas. Further, Marcos produced a set of *Syllogistic Chapters against the Heresy of the Acindynists on the Essence and Energy*.²³²

Let us look closely at these texts. Eugenikos, in his *Πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν εἰρημένων Μανουήλ τῷ Καλέκῃ κατὰ τοῦ "Συννοδικοῦ τόμου" ἀντιρρητικὸς πρῶτος, ἡ περὶ διακρίσεως θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας* (*First Refutation of the First of Manuel Calecas' Pieces against the Synodal Tome, or on the Distinction between the Divine Essence and Energy*), comments upon Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* I,8,22-34²³³ as follows:²³⁴

Do you understand that "the divine names", "when applied to the essence", neither have "the same meaning", "as is the case with the polynonyms", nor are "devoid of reality" and "meaningless", but each of them corresponds to a specific meaning? And, if each of them corre-

232. I say "earlier on", because it is not so reasonable to date these writings to the last three or four years of Eugenikos' life. PILAVAKIS (*Mark Eugenikos* [cf. *supra*, n. 138], pp. 90; 149), the editor of the two *Antirrhethics against Manuel Calecas*, places them, along with the *Chapters*, in the 1430s. True, this is just a guess, but a plausible one.

233. Edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. (cf. *supra*, n. 5), p. 194.

234. Ed. PILAVAKIS (cf. *supra*, n. 138), p. 179,17-22: "Ἀκούεις ὡς οὐτ' «ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας τίθενται» «τὰ ὀνόματα» «ταὐτὸ πάντα δυνάμενα», «καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πολυωνύμων» (passage cited also by GREGORY PALAMAS; see, e.g., *Against Acindynos* II,19,92; edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES [cf. *supra*, n. 25], p. 150,11-12; *Against Gregoras* II,9; ed. CHRESTOU [cf. *supra*, n. 13], p. 271,5-7), οὐτε μὴν «ἀνύπαρκτα» καὶ «ἀσήμαντά» ἐστίν, ἐκάστῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδιον ὑποβέβληται σημαινόμενον νόημα; Εἰ δὲ νόημα, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πρᾶγμα· νόημα γὰρ ἄνευ πράγματος ὑποθέσθαι τῶν ἀμηχάνων, ὥσπεροῦν οὐδὲ λόγον ἄνευ νοήματος". Several of Marcos' passages cited here are met here and there in BULOVIČ, *Tò μυστήριον* (cf. *supra*, n. 2).

sponds to a specific meaning, it obviously corresponds to a specific reality; for it is impossible to accept that there is a meaning without an underlying reality, just as it is impossible to accept that there is a word without a meaning.

This is blatantly naïve epistemological realism.

Later on in the same text, Marcos qualifies that the difference between God's essence and energies as well as between the various energies themselves is conceptual.²³⁵

'Being realities' and 'really differing from each other' ... is not the same. We, in accordance with the Doctors, declare and believe the former, by stating that they are naturally and substantially and uncreatedly inherent to the essence of God; yet we forbid to speak of 'really differing from each other', because this has to do with things that exist per se [i.e., the primary substances], not with things distinguished only conceptually.

This is the way Eugenikos formulated and defended Palamism in his *Πρὸς τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εἰρημένων Μανουήλ τῷ Καλέκα κατὰ τοῦ "Συνοδικοῦ τόμου" λόγος ἀντιρρητικὸς δεύτερος, ἢ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διάκρισιν ἀσυνθέτου τῆς θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας* (*Second Refutation of the Second of Manuel Calecas' Pieces Against the Synodal Tome, or on the Non-Compositional Character of the Distinction between the Divine Essence and Energy*),²³⁶ too:²³⁷

[Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία...], δύνανται ἐνεργητικὴν καὶ θελητικὴν, εἴτουν κίνησιν δραστηκὴν αὐτῷ [sc. God] προσεῖναι κηρύττουσα, διακρίνει ταύτην εὐσεβῶς τῆς οὐσίας, ἐπινοῖα μόνῃ κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους, ὡς τὸ προσὸν τοῦ ᾧ πρόσεστι. ...

235. Ed. PILAVAKIS (cf. *supra*, n. 138), p. 228,19-27: "Οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστι... τὸ 'πράγματα εἶναι' καὶ 'πραγματικῶς διαφέρειν'. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς (sc. the Palamites) λέγομεν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς διδασκάλους φρονοῦμεν..., φυσικῶς καὶ οὐσιωδῶς καὶ ἀκτίστως ἐνυπάρχειν αὐτὰ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίᾳ τιθέμενοι (ex ed. τιθέμενα correxi), τὸ δὲ πραγματικῶς διαφέρειν ἀπαγορεύομεν, ἅτε τοῖς καθ' αὐτὰ ὑφιστάσῃ προσῆκον καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἐπινοῖα μόνον... διακρινόμενοις. Οὕτω δὲ οὐδὲ σύνθεσις ἐκ τούτων ἔσται τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίᾳ".

236. A critical edition of this writing is being prepared by Dr. M. PILAVAKIS as a Doct. Diss. started at Durham University and transferred to the Theological Faculty of the University of Athens (*Markos Eugenikos' "Second Antirrhetic against Manuel Calecas about the Essence and Energy". Editio Princeps*). I am grateful to Dr. Marios Pilavakis (Athens) for kindly providing me with a copy of his edition and allowing me to cite some passages from it.

237. Ed. PILAVAKIS (cf. *supra*, n. 236), pp. 5,3-6; 18,10-11; 37,17-38,1; 38,11-13; 50,14-51,2.

... Ἡ διακρίσις ἐπινοία μόνη κατὰ τοὺς θεολόγους, οὐ πράγματι...

Καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος “ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ ἀσωμάτου φύσεως τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ οὐσίᾳ λόγον ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν ἐνέργειαν”²³⁸ εἶπεν, ὡς οὐ δυναμένων ἀλλήλων διορισθῆναι πραγματικῶς· ἐπινοία γὰρ διακρίνονται μόνη.

...

Διακρίνεται μέντοι καὶ οὕτω τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ, ὡς μὴ ταὐτὸν εἶναι καθάπαξ ἐνέργειάν τε καὶ οὐσίαν φάναι, καθάπερ “οὐσίαν” τυχὸν “καὶ φύσιν”.²³⁹...

“Οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ σύνθεσιν ταῦτα (sc. His attributes) ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ ‘κατὰ διαφόρους ἐπινοίας’²⁴⁰ ταῦτα λέγεται”²⁴¹

... Καὶ τὸ τοῦ “σίτου” παράδειγμα²⁴² δεχόμεθα μάλα ἀσμένως, εἴπερ δηλαδὴ ‘πρᾶγμα’ νοοῖτο τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ ὑφεστώς. Οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἶεν τὰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα διάφορα πράγματα, δηλαδὴ καθ’ αὐτὰ ὑφεστῶτα, ἢ ὅλως ποιοῦντα σύνθεσιν. ‘Πράγματα’ δὲ αὐθις αὐτὰ λέγοντες καὶ διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων ὁμολογοῦντες “οὐ συνδιασχίζομεν τῇ ἐννοίᾳ τὸ ὑποκείμενον” οὐδ’ ἐπισωρεύομεν αὐτῶ ταῦτα καὶ σύνθετον ἐξ αὐτῶν ποιοῦμεν, “ἀλλ’ ἐν εἶναι” φρονοῦντες, “ὅ,τι ποτέ ἐστι”²⁴³ τὸ ἀκατανόητον ἐκείνο καὶ μόνον ὄντως ἀπλοῦν “ἐν ἀκινήτῳ ταυτότητι ὑπερδρυμένον”,²⁴⁴ “οἰκείως ἔχειν” ὅμως “πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα”²⁴⁵ κατὰ τοὺς διδασκάλους φαμέν.²⁴⁶

238. Cf. *supra*, n. 77. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Against Acindynos* III,11,32-12,38, edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 188,6-192,23.

239. From JOHN OF DAMASCUS’ *Dialectica* (cf. *supra*, p. 330, n. 202).

240. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Contra Eunomium* I,584; II,300, ed. JAEGER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), pp. 195,4; 314,25.

241. PS.-ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *De sancta Trinitate dialogi* I (PG 28: 1144D) (cf. *supra*, n. 9).

242. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* I,6,44-54, edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. (cf. *supra*, n. 5), p. 186. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Διάλογος ὁρθοδόξου μετὰ Βαρλααμίτου* 39, ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 201,28-30.

243. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Contra Eunomium* II,477, ed. JAEGER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), p. 365,20-21.

244. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *Epistle IX*, 3, edd. HEIL-RITTER (cf. *supra*, n. 37), p. 203,3-4. Cf. IDEM, *De coelesti hierarchia* I,3; XII,3, edd. HEIL-RITTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 8,8; 43,14-16; *De divinis nominibus* I,6; IX,9, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), pp. 118,8-9; 212,17-18.

245. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Contra Eunomium* II,477 (cf. *supra*, n. 243).

246. “[The Church of God...], when declaring that a power full of act and will or an effective movement is adjacent to God, distinguishes it from the essence of God in a pious manner, i.e., only conceptually, just as the adjacent property differs from the being it is attached to. ... According to the theologians, the distinction is only conceptual, not real... As for Basil the Great’s dictum that «in the case of the simple and incorporeal nature, energy admits of the same ‘reason’ with essence», what he meant is that these things cannot be really separated from each other; for they are distinguished only conceptually. ... «God is not what is predicated of Him in a composite way, but He is said to be so and so ‘according to diverse concepts’». Still, [essence and energy] are distinguished conceptually, so that we do not say that the terms ‘essence’ and ‘energy’ are totally identical, as,

The way Marcos states here that essence and energy as well as the energies themselves are distinguished from each other fully accords with the Palamite line followed by his contemporary Joseph Bryennios (cf. *supra*, pp. 287-291). In addition, by qualifying that the divine unity is "real" ("πραγματική"), whereas the distinction between the various divine "realities" ("πράγματα") is drawn "ἐπινολα μόνη", and that "πραγματικῶς διαφέρειν" has no place in God, he reproduces the relevant wording of Theophanes of Nicaea (cf. *supra*, pp. 305-310).

To qualify the concept of "ἐπινολα", Marcos²⁴⁷ invokes also the example of a ladder, which, while being called 'ascent' and 'descent', which are two clearly different things, is still one. 'Ladder' is produced as an example of 'heteronyms' along with 'grain' in Ammonius' *In Porphyrii "Isagogen"*, where²⁴⁸ even the same distinctive wording occurs (e.g., calling ascent and descent "things"/"πράγματα"; using for ascent and descent not only "ἀνάβασις" and "κατάβασις", which is the most usual way in the relevant ancient and Byzantine expositions of heteronyms²⁴⁹ [as well as better Greek], but also "ἀνοδος" and "κάθοδος"²⁵⁰).

e.g., 'essence' and 'nature'. ... Further, we willingly accept the example of grain, if by 'thing' the *subjectum* or the being existing per se is meant. For, in this sense, the divine predicates are not diverse things, namely, beings existing per se, or realities entailing composition. On the other hand, when calling these predicates 'things' and confessing that they differ from each other, we do not fragment their *subjectum* by means of the concept we form about it nor do we heap them up on Him so as to render Him composite; on the contrary, while believing that, whatever this incomprehensible and indeed uniquely simple being, which abides above all in a state of an immutable self-identity, is, we also say, in accordance with the Fathers, that it is akin to all these things".

247. MARCOS EUGENICOS, *Second Antirrhetics*, ed. PILAVAKIS (cf. *supra*, n. 236), p. 51,19-24.

248. AMMONIUS, *In Porphyrii "Isagogen sive Quinque Voces"*, ed. A. BUSSE, *Ammonius in Porphyrii Isagogen sive quinque voces* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, vol. IV,3), Berlin 1891, pp. 70,24-71,3.

249. I have in mind a full list of these expositions I elaborated for my forthcoming monograph *Εὐνόμιος* (cf. *supra*, n. 8).

250. This wording occurs also in EUSTRATIUS OF NICAEA's *In Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea I Commentaria*, ed. G. HEYLBUT, *Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in Ethica Nicomachea commentaria* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, vol. 20), Berlin 1892, p. 31,17-19. In addition, "ἀνοδος" and "κάθοδος" stand for "ascensus" and "descensus", taken as an instance of things opposite "ratione terminorum", in Prochoros Cydones' translation of THOMAS AQUINAS' *De potentia* (10,2, arg. 2; *Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 248^r); yet these brief, passing occurrences cannot be the sources for Eugenicos' wording.

Still, Marcos was alarmed by Ammonius' proper description of the distinction between 'ascent' and 'descent' as "different from each other only conceptually and in virtue of their relation [with something else]" (τῷ λόγῳ μόνῳ καὶ τῇ σχέσει διάφορα). Thus he goes on to say in typically Palamite language that, in the peculiar case of God, the conceptually distinguished "things" are "naturally and *ab aeterno* inherent in Him" and then go down to us. In so doing, he falls back on his naïve realism (cf. *supra*, p. 344).

In a similar way, Marcos, in his succinct *Κεφάλαια συλλογιστικά κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Ἀκινδυνιστῶν περὶ διακρίσεως οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας - περὶ τοῦ θείου φωτός - περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων* (*Syllogistic Chapters against the Heresy of the Acindynists on the Distinction between Essence and Energy — On the Divine Light — On the Spiritual Gifts*),²⁵¹ reproduces several traditional arguments from the Palamite arsenal; e.g., distinguishing between essence and energy in God does not imply separating Him into two parts or elements, just as the human soul, for all its various and clearly distinct faculties and activities, is deemed composite by no one.²⁵² As far as the nature of the distinction between God's essence and energy is concerned, he explicitly refers²⁵³ to Basil of Caesarea's relevant doctrine as well as to his famous example of "grain" and describes the distinction as being "κατ' ἐπίνοιαν διάφορά". Still, he does so in order to declare that both this distinction and the entity called 'energy' correspond to something real in God, which stands between God's essence and created beings.²⁵⁴

251. Ed. W. GASS, *Die Mystik des Nicolaus Cabasilas "Vom Leben in Christo"*, Greifswald 1849 (repr. Leipzig 1899), pp. 217-232. This text has not been critically edited as yet; on its manuscript tradition see PILAVAKIS (cf. *supra*, n. 138), pp. 89-90. As far as its title is concerned, I think that one should either include the three "περὶ..." in it or exclude them all. GASS used *Vindob. theol. gr.* 171, ff. 1^r-11^v. The passages cited here have been checked against this manuscript and several mistakes by Gass were tacitly corrected. This holds for the chapter numbers; whereas in the manuscript 68 chapters are neatly marked, Gass numbered 64. I follow the division as it stands in the manuscript, which, after all, is more consistent than that by Gass.

252. MARCOS EUGENICOS, *Κεφάλαια συλλογιστικά κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Ἀκινδυνιστῶν* 17, ed. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), pp. 222,22-223,2; see also p. 173,25-28.

253. *Op. cit.* 20; 13; 18; 22, ed. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), pp. 223,18-27; 220,14-17; 223,3-7; 223,32-224,3.

254. *Op. cit.* 16: "Μήποτε οὖν ἔστι τι μεταξὺ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ὄντων, καθ' ὃ ἐκ τῶν ὄντων ὡς αἷτιος ὀνομάζεται καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτήν; Τοῦτο δὲ τί ποτ' ἂν ἄλλο εἴη πλὴν ἢ ἐνέργεια..."; ed. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 222,11-14. This statement seems to be directed against the following passage from JOHN CYPARISSOTES' (ca. 1310?-

In addition, Marcos reproduces Joseph Calothetos' usage of Aristotle's classification of the various meanings of 'being one' and draws the same conclusion in the same spirit of appealing to patristic authorities as the highest criterion for what is theologically true or false:²⁵⁵

Τὸ 'ταὐτὸν' ἢ γένει ἢ εἴδει ἢ ἀριθμῷ. Ἀλλὰ γένει μὲν ἢ εἴδει οὐκ ἂν φαῖεν ταὐτὸν εἶναι τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῇ οὐσίᾳ. Λείπεται οὖν ἀριθμῷ ταὐτὸν εἶναι, "καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πολυωνύμων",²⁵⁶ ὡς ἔστιν 'οὐσίαν' ἐπὶ Θεοῦ καὶ 'μορφὴν' καὶ 'φύσιν' τὸ αὐτὸ λέγωμεν.²⁵⁷ Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ σεσιώπῃται, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ῥητῶς ἀπηγόρευται: "φύσις" γὰρ "καὶ ἐνέργεια" κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Κύριλλον²⁵⁸ "οὐ ταὐτόν".²⁵⁹

Thus far, Marcos exhibits complete loyalty to official Byzantine Palamism, accompanied by a rather avowed anti-Thomist stand. Still, this is not all he had to say. His *Πρὸς τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εἰρημένων Μανουήλ τῷ Καλέκᾳ κατὰ τοῦ "Συννοδικοῦ τόμου"* is redolent of crypto-Thomism. There, Marcos tries to interpret a much-vexed passage from the pseudo-Basilian *Adversus Eunomium* V (cf. *supra*, n. 238) in a way compatible with Palamism. After affirming once more that the distinction in question is 'conceptual', he cites a passage from Ps.-Dionysius Areopagite's *De divinis nominibus* this way:²⁶⁰

post 1377) *Τῶν θεολογικῶν ῥήσεων ἐκθεσις στοιχειώδης* VIII,10: "Πάντα δὲ μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θεῖαν φύσιν κτιστά, ἐπεὶ καὶ μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν κτισμάτων οὔτε τι ἔστιν οὔτε τι ἐπινεῖται ὡς ὑπαρξίς τις..." (cf. THOMAS AQUINAS' *Summa contra Gentiles* II,13,1, *supra*, n. 19; cf. also BASIL OF CAESAREA'S *Adversus Eunomium* II,31,22: "Δύο γὰρ ὄντων πραγμάτων, κτίσεώς τε καὶ θεότητος..."; edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. [cf. *supra*, n. 33], p. 128); ed. DENTAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 170), p. 477,31-33.

255. MARCOS EUGENICOS, *Κεφάλαια συλλογιστικὰ κατὰ τῆς αἵρέσεως τῶν Ἀκινδυνιστῶν* 4 (not 3, as is Gass' edition), ed. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 218,1-8.

256. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* I,8,27-28, edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. (cf. *supra*, n. 5), p. 194.

257. From JOHN OF DAMASCUS' *Dialectica* (see *supra*, p. 330, n. 202). Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS' *Against Gregoras* I,43: "Οὐσία" γὰρ καὶ 'φύσις' ἐν καὶ ἀδιάφορον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, μόνῃ τῇ προφορᾷ τῆς λέξεως διαφέροντα", ed. CHRESTOU, Vol. IV (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 264,1-2.

258. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Thesaurus* XVIII (PG 75: 312C).

259. "'Same' is conceived of in respect to genus or to species or to number. But they [sc. the anti-Palamites] would not say that energy is the same as essence with respect to genus or to species. It remains, therefore, that it is the same with respect to number, 'as is the case with synonyms', as, for example, when saying that in God 'essence', 'form', and 'nature' are the same. Still, the latter one has been stated [by the Fathers], whereas the former has not – nay, it has been forbidden to be stated; for 'nature and energy', according to Cyril, 'are not the same'". Cyril's passage had been repeatedly cited by Gregory Palamas.

260. Ed. PILAVAKIS (cf. *supra*, n. 236), p. 54,2-6: "The sun sheds its light along with its heat by means of the same ray, because it 'in advance possesses in itself' «the shining»

...Ὁ ἥλιος [1]... φωτίζει [2] τε ὁμοῦ καὶ θερμαίνει διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκτῖνος [3], ὅτι περ ἐπινοία διακρινομένης “ἐν ἑαυτῷ προέχει” [4a/b] “τὴν φωτιστικήν” [5] τε καὶ θερμαντικήν “δύναμιν” [6]...

Ps.-Dionysius Areopagite's *De divinis nominibus* IV,6 reads:²⁶¹

‘Φῶς’ οὖν ‘νοητὸν’ λέγεται τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν φῶς ἀγαθὸν ὡς ἀκτὶς [3] πηγὰς καὶ ὑπερβλύζουσα φωτοχυσία, πάντα τὸν ὑπερκόσμιον καὶ περικόσμιον καὶ ἐγκόσμιον νοῦν ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῆς καταλάμπουσα καὶ τὰς νοεράς αὐτῶν ὅλας ἀναεάζουσα δυνάμεις καὶ πάντας περιέχουσα τῷ ὑπερτετάσθαι καὶ πάντων ὑπερέχουσα τῷ ὑπερκεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσαν τῆς φωτιστικῆς [5] δυνάμεως [6] τὴν κυρεῖαν ὡς ἀρχιφωτός καὶ ὑπέρφωτος ἐν ἑαυτῇ [4a] συλλαβοῦσα καὶ ὑπερέχουσα καὶ προέχουσα [4b]...

At first sight, this seems to be the passage that Eugenicos reproduced, since he no doubt knew, as did all fourteenth and fifteenth-century theologians, the *corpus Dionysiacum*.²⁶² Still, things are more complicated. This Ps.-Dionysian passage is cited in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, I^a, q. 13, a. 2 co., rendered into Greek by Demetrios Cydones²⁶³ more than half a century before Eugenicos and, finally, reproduced by Eugenicos *via* Cydones' translation:

...Οὕτω γὰρ σημαίνει τὰ ὀνόματα τὸν Θεόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς τοῦτον γινώσκει. Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νοῦς, τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκων, ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων οὕτως αὐτὸν γινώσκει, ὥσπερ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ κτίσματα {2} παριστᾷ. Προαποδεδείκται δὲ (I,4,2) τὸν Θεὸν “ἐν ἑαυτῷ προέχειν” [4a/b] πᾶσας τῶν κτισμάτων τὰς τελειότητας... Τῶν κτισμάτων ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν παριστᾷ..., καθόσον ἔχει τινὰ τελειότητα..., ὡς ὑπερκειμένην ἀρχήν, ἧς τοῦ εἶδους ἀποδέουσι τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, ἔχοντα μέντοι τινὰ ὁμοιότητα· ὥσπερ τὰ εἶδη τῶν ὑποκάτω σωμάτων παραδεικνύουσι τὴν δύναμιν [6] τοῦ ἡλίου [1].

The Ps.-Dionysian passage cannot fully account on its own either for the wording or for the content of Eugenicos' passage. In regard to the form, [1] occurs only in Marcos' and Aquinas' passages, and the same holds for [4a/b]. In regard to the content, Ps.-Dionysius'

and «heating power»...”. Cf. MARCOS EUGENICOS, *Κεφάλαια συλλογιστικά κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Ἀκινδυνιστῶν* 15, ed. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 221,28-29.

261. Ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 150,1-7.

262. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Against Acindynos* I,7,24, edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 24), p. 56,13-16.

263. *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 29^r.

task is to illuminate the sense of the application of the word 'light' to God, whereas Eugenikos' as well as Thomas Aquinas' intention is to illustrate by means of the simile of the sun the simplicity of God against the multiplicity introduced by His various 'names'. In sum, in Aquinas and Eugenikos the same position is stated, expressed with the same terms and presented by the same simile. The latter's dependence on the former is, therefore, obvious.

This literary fact suggests that Marcos Eugenikos was positively attracted by the same Thomistic question (q. 13: "Περὶ τῶν θεῶν ὀνομάτων") as was Manuel II Palaiologos (cf. *supra*, pp. 334; 336-339) and that, by integrating Thomas' paraphrase of Ps.-Dionysius' passage from the *De divinis nominibus* cited above, he extracted, along with the simile of the sun, Thomas' idea that the various 'perfections' detected in the world pre-exist in God as a real unity divided into many things "ἐπινοίᾳ" and he implicitly subscribed to Thomas' *analogia entis* as far as theological epistemology is concerned. In so doing, Eugenikos in fact proves to be an adherent to John VI Cantacouzenos' 'Thomistic Palamism' (cf. *supra*, pp. 304-305), according to which the absolutely simple divine perfection is grasped as multiple because of the incapacity of the human mind.

Even more interesting is a philosophical defence of Palamism in Eugenikos' *Chapters*. One of his arguments for distinguishing between essence, power, and energy runs as follows:

Εἰ καὶ παράδοξον τὸ λεγόμενον εἶναι δόξει, ²⁶⁴ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς αἰρετίζουσιν Ἀκινδυνισταῖς, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐστὶν ἀληθέστατον, ὅτι περ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγγυτέρω Θεοῦ φύσεων, νοερῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐνέργεια διακέχριται τῆς οὐσίας ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπωτέρω καὶ τῶν πάντη ξένων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων.

Τρισὶ γὰρ τούτοις ὀρισμένων "ἀπάντων τῶν ὄντων", ὡς οἱ θεολόγοι διδάσκουσιν, "οὐσίᾳ, δυνάμει καὶ ἐνέργειᾳ" ²⁶⁵ ("τὸ γὰρ μηδεμίαν", φασί,

264. DIETRICH OF FREIBERG, *De cognitione entium separatorum et maxime animarum separatarum*, Prol., 4: "Fortassis autem aliqua, quae hic tractantur, videbuntur alicui absurda"; ed. H. STEFFAN, in: *Dietrich von Freiberg. Opera omnia. II: Schriften zur Metaphysik und Theologie. Mit einer Einleitung von K. FLASCH. Herausgegeben von R. IMBACH, M.R. PAGNONI-STURLESE, H. STEFFAN, L. STURLESE*, Hamburg 1979, p. 167,26.

265. THOMAS AQUINAS, *De potentia* 7,1, arg. 7: "Ἐν ὁποῦν χρηματι ἐστὶν οὐσία, δυνάμει καὶ ἐνέργεια, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Διονύσιος" (*Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 174^v). Cf. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De coelesti hierarchia* XI,2: "...εἰς τρία διήρηται τῷ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὑπερκosμῳ λόγῳ πάντες οἱ θεοὶ νόες, εἰς οὐσίαν καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνέργειαν..."; edd. HEIL-RITTER (cf. *supra*, n. 37), pp. 41,22-42,2. Cf. PROCLUS' *Institutio theologica* 169: "Πᾶς νοῦς ἐν

“δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἔχον οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε τί ἐστὶ”²⁶⁶), (1) “τοῦς” μὲν “ἀψύχοις” καὶ ἀναισθητοῖς οἷον συνέπτυκται πρὸς τὴν φύσιν “ἡ ἐνεργητική” “δύναμις”, συντηρητική τις αὐτῶν οὕσα καὶ τοῦ εἶναι μόνον ὅπερ εἰσι καὶ διαμένειν παρεκτική· κἀν εἰ ἐπὶ τινων δὲ διακρίνοιτο, “ὥς ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός” ἡ θερμαντική,²⁶⁷ “μονομερής” ἐστὶν αὕτη καὶ ἄλογος καὶ βουλή-σεως ἔρημος.²⁶⁸

αἰῶνι τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἔχει καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν”, ed. DODDS (cf. *supra*, n. 40), p. 146; *In Platonis “Timaeum” commentaria* II: “...τὸ νοητὸν διήρηται τριχῇ, τῇ τε οὐσίᾳ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ...”, ed. E. DIEHL, *Procli Diadochi In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, Vol. I, Leipzig 1903, p. 371,21-22; cf. the *app. font.* in the HEIL-RITTER edition. See also THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,75 pr.: “...κατὰ τὸν Διονύσιον ἐν τῷ ια’ κεφαλαίῳ τῆς Ἀγγελικῆς ἱεραρχίας, τρία ἐν ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις οὐσίαις εὐρίσκονται, τὸ εἶναι, δηλονότι, ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια” (*Vat. gr.* 609, f. 95^v); *De spiritualibus creaturis* 11, s.c. 1: “...τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου λεγόμενον ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ [sic] κεφαλαίῳ τῆς Ἀγγελικῆς ἱεραρχίας, ὅτι «αἱ ὑπερκεῖμεναι οὐσαὶ διαιροῦνται εἰς οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν». Πολλῷ ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἑτερόν ἐστιν ἡ αὐτῶν οὐσία καὶ ἑτερον ἡ αὐτῶν δύναμις, ἢ τε ἀπλῶς καὶ ἡ ποιητική” (*Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 312^v).

266. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* VIII,5, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 203,2-4, latently but verbatim cited by GREGORY PALAMAS several times, e.g., in his *Epistle to Dionysius* 2, ed. MATSOUKAS (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 480,15-17, as well as in the *Synodal Tome of 1351*, 19; PG 151: 732D = KARMİRES, *Tὰ δογματικά* (cf. *supra*, n. 54), p. 322. Cf. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Expositio fidei* 37,12-13, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 16), p. 93. On this idea in Palamas cf. J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Αἰγυσιῶν* (cf. *supra*, n. 28), pp. 55-56.

267. Cf. STEPHANUS, *In Aristotelis librum “De Interpretatione” commentarium*: “Τὸ ὄνυατὸν τοῖνον... λέγεται... ἡ ὅταν ὑπάρχη καθ’ ἑξὶν μὲν ἡ ἐνέργεια... Καὶ εἰ μὲν γεννητοῖς καὶ φθαρτοῖς ὑπάρχει, χωρισθείσης πάντως φθείρεται ἐκεῖνο ὃ ὑπάρχει. Οἷον τότε τὸ πῦρ γεννητὸν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ ἡνίκα ὑπάρχει, ἀνάγκη τὴν θερμότητα ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ, ἡνίκα δ’ φθαρῇ ἡ ἐνέργεια ἡγουν ἡ θερμότης, πάντως συμφείρεται τῇ θερμότητι”; ed. M. HAYDUCK, *Stephani in librum Aristotelis De interpretatione commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, vol. 18/3), Berlin 1885, p. 61,9-19.

268. Cf. AMMONIUS, *In Aristotelis librum “De Interpretatione” commentarium*: “...ἐνδείξασθαι ἡμῖν βουλόμενος [Aristotle] ὅτι ἐπὶ τινῶν ὄνυατῶν εἶναι λεγομένων μονοειδῆς ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ οὐκ ἐπαμφοτερίζουσα... Καὶ ποῦτᾳ ἐστὶ τὰ οὕτως ἔχοντα προστίθῃσιν, ὅτι τινὰ τῶν μὴ ἔχόντων λογικὴν οὐσίαν, οἷον τὰ ἀψυχα κατὰ τὰς ποιητικὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐνεργοῦντα δυνάμεις· «τὸ» γοῦν «πῦρ» θερμαῖνον «οὐ δύναται καὶ μὴ θερμαίνειν» (ARISTOTLE, *De interpretatione* 13, 23a2-3)... “Ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἁμοῖρα λογικῆς δυνάμεως ἐκτείνεσθαι βούλεται τὸ λεγόμενον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἐφαρμόζειν, δηλοῖ ἐφεξῆς ἐπιφέρων· «ἔνια μέντοι δύναται καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀλόγους δυνάμεις ἅμα τὰ ἀντικείμενα δέξασθαι» (*op. cit.* 13, 23a3-4)· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀψύχων αἱ παθητικαὶ δυνάμεις ἐναργῶς ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν..., καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων αἱ ποιητικαὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ μόνηρες καὶ κατηναγκασμένα, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός... βαδίσαι γάρ, φέρε εἰπεῖν, δυνάμενος ὁ κύων δύναται καὶ μὴ βαδίσαι...”; ed. A. BUSSE, *Ammonius in Aristotelis De interpretatione commentarius* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, vol. IV,5), Berlin 1897, pp. 241,20-242,2. A large part of Marcos’ wording occurs also in MICHAEL PSELLOS’ *Paraphrasis of Aristotle’s “De interpretatione”* (ed. A. MANUTIUS, *Ammonii Hermeiae commentaria in librum “Peri Hermeneias”*. *Magentini metropolitae Mytelinensis in eundem enarratio. Michaelis Pselli Paraphrasis in librum “Peri Hermeneias”*. *Ammonius Hermeiae in “Decem categoriis”*, Venice 1503, f. Oiii, rr, ll. 12-15 = p. 35), which is heavily indebted to Ammonius’ *Commentary*. Of

(2) “Ἐπὶ” δὲ “τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων”²⁶⁹ καὶ ἔτι γε μᾶλλον τῶν λογικῶν “δραστηριώτερον” ἤδη “καὶ ἐκφανὲς μᾶλλον” τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔργον²⁷⁰ ἐστίν. “Ἄ γε οὐ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔξω, καὶ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ μόνον ἀλλὰ “καὶ τὰναντία”, καὶ “πολλά” τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μεγάλα δύνανται τε καὶ ἐνεργοῦσι,²⁷¹ χρώμενα μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις σώμασιν ὡς ὀργάνοις, πολλὰ δὲ ἕτερα δι’ αὐτῶν ὄργανα τῶν οἰκείων ἐνεργειῶν ποιούμενα.²⁷²

(3) Καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἀνιοῦσιν αἱ νοερὰι φύσεις καὶ νῶ μόνῳ ληπτὰι πολυδυναμώτεραι²⁷³ πολλῶ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν μετ’ αὐτὰς εὐρεθήσονται· καὶ ὅσῳ ἐγγύς εἰσι τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ἀπλότῃ τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, τοσοῦτον καὶ τῷ παντοδαπῷ καὶ ποικίλῳ τῆς ἐνεργείας. “Ἄς γε οἱ χαριέστεροι τῶν Λατινικῶν διδασκάλων φασὶ καὶ ἐκ πάσης ὕλης τε καὶ ἰδέας περιπλάττειν ἑαυτοῖς σώματα κατὰ τὸ βουλητὸν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀναλόγους ἐμφανείας τοῖς θεωμένοις.”²⁷⁴

course, it is quite possible that Eugenicos had access to Psellos’ *Commentary*, too, just like GREGORY ACINDYNOS (*Refutatio magna* IV,20,111-120; ed. J. NADAL CAÑELLAS [cf. *supra*, n. 226], p. 348), who cited a passage from the concluding paragraph of the section where Psellos paraphrases Aristotle’s treatment of predicating ‘possible’ of ‘necessary’, whence Marcos borrowed his wording.

269. Cf. preceding note.

270. DIETRICH OF FREIBERG, *De cognitione entium separatorum*, 2: “...animae humanae... In quibus *efficacius et manifestius* differunt substantia, virtus et operatio”; ed. STEFFAN (cf. *supra*, n. 264), p. 169,69-74.

271. ARISTOTLE, *De Interpretatione* 13, 22b36-23a6: “Φανερόν δὲ ὅτι οὐ πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν ἢ εἶναι ἢ βαδίζειν καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα δύναται, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἐφ’ ὧν οὐκ ἀληθές· πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ κατὰ λόγον δυνατῶν, ὅλον τὸ πῦρ θερμαντικόν καὶ ἔχει δύναμιν ἄλογον. Αἱ μὲν οὖν μετὰ λόγου δυνάμεις αἱ αὐταὶ πλείονων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, αἱ δ’ ἄλογοι οὐ πᾶσαι, ἀλλὰ... τὸ πῦρ οὐ δυνατόν θερμαίνειν καὶ μὴ... ἔνια μέντοι δύναται καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀλόγους δυνάμεις ἅμα τὰ ἀντικείμενα... Οὐ πᾶσα δύναμις τῶν ἀντικειμένων...”. This is the passage commented on in the passages by Ammonius and Stephanus cited in nn. 267 and 268. As is obvious, Marcos borrows various words, phrases, and terms from both Aristotle and these commentators. Aristotle treats the notion of potency *in extenso* in *Metaphysics* IX,5 (1047b31-1048a24; cf. ARISTOTLE, *Categories* 10, 13a17-19: “...ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ δεκτικοῦ δυνατόν εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολὴν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τι φύσει τὸ ἐν ὑπάρχει, ὅλον τῷ πυρὶ τὸ θερμῷ εἶναι...”). Still, Eugenicos used here only *De interpretatione*.

272. See GREGORY PALAMAS, *Διάλογος ὁρθοδόξου μετὰ Βαρλααμίτου* 53: “Καὶ πάντα γε μὴν τὰ νοερὰ πλείονων εὐμοιρεῖ δυνάμεων καὶ μειζόνων ἢ τὰ σώματα, τῷ τε πεφυκέναι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων ἐνεργεῖν διπλάσιους ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖται τὰς δυνάμεις”; ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), p. 215,4-7.

273. One should not definitely exclude Gass’ reading “πολὺ δυναμώτεραι”, although this comparative form is almost non-existent and would sound more like a rendering of the Latin ‘multo potentiores’ (from some Latin text other than Dietrich’s). Still, the fact that Marcos also had in mind Palamas, who uses the term “πολυδυναμώτερος” (cf. *infra*, p. 355), makes, at least provisionally, this scenario unnecessary.

274. Cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,51,2 (“Utrum angeli assumant corpora”) co.: “Ἀπολογουμένοις ῥητέον ἂν εἴη ὅτι τινὲς ἔφασαν τοὺς ἀγγέλους μὴδέποτε σώματα ἀναλαμβάνειν, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ περὶ τῆς ἐμφανείας ἀγγέλων λεγόμενα ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις συμβαίνειν τῶν προφητῶν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ φαντασίαν. Τοῦτο δὲ μάχεται τῷ

(4) “Ο” δὲ “τῶν ὄλων”²⁷⁵ Θεός,²⁷⁶ “ἡ μακαρία φύσις”,²⁷⁷ ὅσῳ τούτων “ἀπάντων ἐξήρηται”,²⁷⁸ τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ἀπλοῦς τε ἅμα καὶ ὑπερούσιος,²⁷⁹ καὶ οὐ πολυδύναμος ἢ μεγαλοδύναμος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ “παντοδύναμος”,²⁸⁰ ὡς “πᾶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν προέχων καὶ ὑπερέχων”,²⁸¹ Διονύσιος φησὶν ὁ κλεινός, καὶ ὡς “ἐπὶ πάντα τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως” καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας

σκοπῷ τῆς Γραφῆς. Πᾶν γάρ τι φανταστῇ θεωρεῖα ὁρώμενον ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ ὁρῶντος ἐστὶ φαντασίῃ· ὅθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀδιαφόρως ὑπὸ πάντων ὁρᾶται· ἡ δὲ θεία Γραφή οὕτω πολλάκις τοὺς ἀγγέλους φαινομένους εἰσάγει, ὥστε κοινῶς ὑπὸ πάντων ὁρᾶσθαι· ὥσπερ οἱ τῷ Ἀβραάμ φανέντες ἄγγελοι ὥφθησαν καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ (Gen. 18,1-15)· καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λῶτ (Gen. 19,1-3) καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν Σοδόμων (Gen. 19,5)· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ τῷ Τωβίᾳ φανείς ἄγγελος (Tob. 5,4-12,22) ὑπὸ πάντων ἐωρᾶτο. Ὅθεν δῆλον κατὰ σωματικὴν ὁρασὶν τοῦτο συμβῆναι, δι’ ἧς τὸ ἐξω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κείμενον ὁρᾶται· ὅθεν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ὁρᾶσθαι δύναται. Τοιαύτῃ δὲ ὁράσει τὸ σῶμα μόνον ὁρᾶται. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οἱ ἄγγελοι οὔτε σώματά εἰσιν οὔτε σώματα ἔχουσι φύσει αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἴρηται (q. 50, a. 1; q. 51, a. 1), ἡνωμένα, λείπεται σώματα λαμβάνειν ἐνίοτε; ad 3: “Εἰ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀραιότητι μένων οὔτε σχῆμα οὔτε χρῶμα κατέχει, ὅμως πυκνούμενος καὶ σχηματίζεσθαι καὶ χρωματίζεσθαι δύναται· ὡς δῆλον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν. Οὕτω τοίνυν οἱ ἄγγελοι λαμβάνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος σώματα πυκνοῦντες αὐτὸν τῇ θεῇ δυνάμει, ὅσον ἀνάγκη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ληφθέντος σώματος μόρφωσιν” (Vat. gr. 609, f. 74^v). Περιπλάττειν means, *inter alia*, “creating something tangible by condensing its stuff”; see, e.g., THEOPHRASTUS’ *De igne*, fr. 43,6, ed. V. COUTANT, *Theophrastus. De igne*, Assen 1971, p. 29; this process corresponds exactly to what Aquinas describes here. Cf. also THOMAS AQUINAS, *De potentia* 6,7: “Πότερον οἱ ἄγγελοι ἢ καὶ οἱ δαίμονες δύνανται σῶμα προσλαμβάνειν ἢ οὐ” (translated by Prochoros Cydones; *Coisl. gr.* 96, ff. 161^v-164^v, esp. f. 163^v): “Ὅθεν ἀπλῶς συγχωρητέον ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ποτὲ μὲν σώματα ἀναιρεῖσθαι μορφοῦντας σώματα αἰσθητά, τῇ ἐξωτερικῇ καὶ αἰσθητῇ ὁράσει ὑποκείμενα...”; IDEM, *De spiritualibus creaturis* 5, arg. 5 (translation by PROCHOROS CYDONES): “Οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀναιροῦνται τινα σώματα” (*Coisl. gr.* 96, f. 285^v). Cf. DIETRICH OF FREIBERG, *De cognitione entium separatorum* 66,19-20; 70,103-104; 85,79; ed. STEFFAN (cf. *supra*, n. 264), pp. 231; 233; 246.

275. II Macc. 14,35; III Macc. 2,3; 6,9.

276. “Ο τῶν ὄλων Θεός” occurs some one hundred times in the Greek Patristic literature up to John of Damascus.

277. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *In Hexaemeron* I,2; edd. DE MENDIETA-RUDBERG (cf. *supra*, n. 83), p. 5,15; *De fide* (PG 31: 469A); GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Contra Eunomium* III,6,40, ed. JAEGER (cf. *supra*, n. 63), p. 200,13-14; *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii* 96, ed. JAEGER, *op. cit.*, p. 352,8; *De officio hominis* 22 (PG 44: 205A).

278. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* V,10, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 189,15-16; MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Quaestiones et dubia* 173, ed. J.H. DECLERCK, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones et dubia* (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, vol. 10), Turnhout 1982, p. 120,3-4.

279. Cf. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* VII,4, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 199,2-3; *op. cit.* II,4, ed. SUCHLA, p. 126,14; cf. 128,3.

280. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* VIII,6, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), pp. 203,23-204,2.

281. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* VIII,2, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 201,1-2. Cf. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Against Acindynos* III, 22,103; VI, 17,65; edd. CONTOYIANNES-PHANOURGAKES (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 235,17-19; 435,31-436,1.

“δικινομένης”²⁸². “ἐπομένην” γὰρ “αὐτὴν” ἀεὶ “τῇ βουλήσει καὶ σύνδρομον ἔχει”,²⁸³ καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δῆπουθεν “ἐπιθεωρούμενα τῇ οὐσίᾳ”.²⁸⁴
 Οὕτως οὐδὲν ἢ τῆς ἐνεργείας διάκρισις τὴν τῆς οὐσίας ἀπλότητα παραβλάπτει.²⁸⁵

282. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* VII,4; VIII,2, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), pp. 198,23-24; 201,17-18 (cf. Sap. 7,24).

283. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Contra Eunomium* I,396; II,227, ed. JAEGER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), pp. 142,16-17; 292,5-6; III,7,22, ed. JAEGER, *Gregorii Nysseni opera. II* (cf. *supra*, n. 63), p. 223,1; *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii* 47, ed. JAEGER, *op. cit.*, p. 331,14; *Oratio Catechetica*, ed. E. MÜHLENBERG, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, Vol. III,4, Leiden-New York-Cologne 1996, pp. 13,11-12; 35,13-14; *Apologia in Hexaemeron* (PG 44: 69A); BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus eos qui per calumniam dicunt dici a nobis tres Deos* (PG 31: 1496C). Cf. PS.-CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *De sancta Trinitate* 6 (ex GREGORII NYSSENI *Oratio Catechetica* 2 verbatim) (PG 77: 1129C); JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Expositio fidei* 7,25 (ex GREGORII NYSSENI *Oratio Catechetica* 2 verbatim), ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 16), p. 27; 100,121-122, ed. KOTTER, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

284. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Adversus Eunomium* II,28,27-28; edd. SESBOÜÉ et al. (cf. *supra*, n. 31), p. 118. Cf. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Contra Eunomium* I,655; II,100; II,479; ed. JAEGER (cf. *supra*, n. 10), pp. 214,23-24; 256,6-7; 366,7-8; *De officio hominis* 16 (PG 44: 184D).

285. MARCOS EUGENICOS, *Κεφάλαια συλλογιστικά κατὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Ἀκινδυνιστῶν* 18, ed. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), pp. 220,28-222,2 (“Although what I intend to say will seem strange, especially to the heretic Acindynists, it is nevertheless absolutely true, that is, as far as the natures that stand closer to God, namely the intelligible and rational ones, but also God himself, are concerned, energy is discerned from essence more than in the case of the beings that stand away from Him and differ radically from Him. In fact, as theologians teach, «all beings» are determined in regard to the following three things, namely, «essence, power, and energy»; for, as they say, «whatever has no power or, otherwise, energy neither exists nor is something concrete». Now (1) in the case of «the inanimate» and insensible beings «the energetic» «power» is enveloped, so to speak, in their nature, just keeping them in existence and providing them with the being that makes them what they are. And if in some cases energy is distinguishable from essence, «as in the case of fire» the power to heat, energy is one-dimensional, irrational, and deprived of will. (2) In the case of «the irrational animals» and, to a higher degree, in the case of rational ones, the result of the power is «more effective and more manifest» than in the previous one. Beings of this sort have the power to operate, and do operate, not only in regard to themselves but also *ad extra*, not only the same results but even the contrary ones, and «numerous» as well as great things, using first their bodies as instruments and further making many other objects instruments by means of their bodies. (3) Proceeding higher, the intelligible natures, which can be grasped only by means of the mind, will be found much more powerful than these lying behind them; indeed, to the extent they are close to God in virtue of the simplicity of their essence, they are also close to Him in virtue of the multifariousness and the diversity of their energy. These natures, as the sophisticated Latin doctors say, concoct out of any sort of matter and shape bodies for themselves *ad libitum*, in order to present themselves to the persons they intend to in the proper appearance. Finally, «the God of all», «the blessed nature», to the extent He «lies above all», is also simple as well as super-essential, and not only much powerful or greatly powerful but also «omnipotent», since «He has from eternity in Himself and in the full sense of the term all power», as the glorious Dionysius says, and since «His power» and energy «goes through all beings; for He always has it accompanying and serving His

The main point of this argument occurs in equal length in Gregory Palamas:²⁸⁶

...Τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει τοῦ εἶναι σύνθετον διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ δυνάμεις καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον, ὥστε καπὶ τῶν σωμάτων πλείους ἔχει δυνάμεις (2) τῶν μᾶλλον συνθέτων (1) τὰ ἀπλούστερα. Τῶν γὰρ τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἐν σώμασιν ἀπλούστερον οὐδέν· τίς οὖν καλεῖται “παμμήτωρ”; Οὐχ ἡ “γῆ”,²⁸⁷ χωρὶς τῶν ὁμοστοίχων τᾶλλα μικροῦ πάντα παρ’ ἐαυτῆς προάγειν κατὰ “τὸ θεῖον” δυναμένη “πρόσταγμα”;²⁸⁸ Πῶς οὖν ἡ πλείους ἔχουσα δυνάμεις ἀπλουστέρα, εἴ γε ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἔπεται ἡ σύνθεσις; ...Πολυδυναμώτερα τὰ ἀπλούστερα...

Τοῦτο δ’ ἂν ἴδοις καπὶ (3) τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἐξετάζων. Καὶ πάντα γε μὴν τὰ νοερά πλείονων εὐμοιρεῖ δυνάμεων καὶ μειζόνων ἢ τὰ σώματα, τῷ τε πεφυκέναι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων ἐνεργεῖν διπλασίους ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖται τὰς δυνάμεις. Ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ἀπλᾶ μᾶλλον τῶν σωμάτων, ὥς μὴδὲ σύγκρισιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι κατὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτά.

Εἰ τοίνυν τὰ πολυδυναμώτερα καὶ ἀπλούστερα, (4) τὸ παντοδύναμον καὶ ἀπλούστατον· καὶ τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴῃ τὸ κυρίως ἀπλοῦν καὶ πάσης συνθέσεως ἀπηλλαγμένον. Ἡ γὰρ σύνθεσις ἐξ ἀδυναμίας, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἐστὶν ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι καθ’ ἑαυτὸ τι τῶν γενητῶν μονοειδῶς καὶ ἀμιγῶς παντάπασιν εἶναι τε καὶ ὑφεστάναι, τῆς πρὸς ἕτερον ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖται συμπλοκῆς, διὸ καὶ τῇ γενέσει σύνθετον εὐθὺς ἀπετελέσθη.

will», and both are definitely seen «to be adjacent to His essence». Thus, the fact that His energy is distinct [from His essence] does not harm the simplicity of the essence at all»). An identical *scala naturarum* is offered in MARCOS EUGENICOS' *De hominis imbecillitate* (Λύσις ἀπορίας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀπορήσαντα, τί δῆποτε νοητὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς ἐργασάμενος καὶ εἰς τὰ κακὰ προπετῇ, εἶτα κολάζει ἀμαρτάνοντα), ed. A. JAHN, "Marcus Eugenicos Ueber die moralische Schwäche des Menschen. Aus der Münchner Handschrift 495 zum ersten Male und mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben", *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 15 (1845), pp. 42-73, esp. 50,7-16.

286. GREGORY PALAMAS, *Διάλογος ὁρθοδόξου μετὰ Βαρλααμίτου* 52-53; ed. MANTZARIDES (cf. *supra*, n. 13), pp. 214,15-215,16.

287. Palamas draws on PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA's *De opificio mundi* 133: "Μήτηρ δ' ὡς εἰκοι καὶ ἡ γῆ... ἦν ἐτύμως τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος «παμμήτορα» καὶ «καρποφόρον» καὶ «πανδώραν» εἰωθεν ὀνομάζειν, ἐπειδὴ πάντων αἰτία γενέσεως καὶ διαμονῆς ζώων ὁμοῦ καὶ φυτῶν ἐστίν"; ed. L. COHN, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, tomus I, Berlin 1896 (repr. 1962), p. 36,3-8; Philo probably refers to AESCHYLUS' *Prometheus vinctus* 90. Besides, EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA included in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (III,9,2) a passage from PORPHYRY's *De agalmatibus*, where some verses of an Orphic hymn were cited, where the rare phrase "γαῖα παμμήτειρα" occurs; fr. 354F36 in: A. SMITH, *Porphyrii philosophi fragmenta*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1993, p. 413. Cf. *Orphei hymni* X,1 ("ὦ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα θεά...") and 40,1 ("Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά..."); ed. G. QUANDT, *Orphei hymni*, Dublin-Zürich 1973 ('1941), pp. 10; 31.

288. PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA, *De opificio mundi* 168; ed. COHN (cf. *supra*, n. 287), p. 59,2; BASIL OF CAESAREA, *In Hexaemeron* IV,4; VIII,7, edd. DE MENDIETA-RUDBERG (cf. *supra*, n. 83), pp. 61,24; 141,21-142,1; GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Apologia in Hexaemeron* (PG 44: 65C); JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Expositio fidei* 24,20, ed. KOTTER (cf. *supra*, n. 16), p. 68. Philo and the above-mentioned Christian Fathers refer to Gen. 1,11-12, commented on by Philo in the passage used by Palamas in par. 52 (cf. *supra*, n. 286).

Palamas reproduces a rather common Neoplatonic doctrine.²⁸⁹ As his wording betrays, his argument is an explication of the subsequent passages from Syrianus' *Commentary on Aristotle's "Metaphysics"*:²⁹⁰

...Ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἶδεσιν ἀεὶ τὰ πολυδυναμώτερα καὶ ὀλιχώτερα προηγείται τῶν μερικωτέρων καὶ ὑφειμένων...

...Πᾶν ἄλλον εἶδος καὶ θεῖον ἐν ἀπληθύντῳ καὶ μονοειδεῖ καὶ ἀπλουστάτῃ οὐσίᾳ πολυδυναμωτάτον²⁹¹ ἐστὶ καὶ μετέχεται οὐ κατὰ πάσας ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε.²⁹²

Palamas also consciously combined Syrianus' passages with Proclus' *Institutio theologica*, ch. 127 ("Πᾶν τὸ θεῖον ἀπλοῦν πρῶτως ἐστὶ καὶ μάλιστα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐταρκέστατον").²⁹³

"Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀπλοῦν, ἐκ τῆς ἐνώσεως φανερόν· ἐνικώτατον γὰρ ἐστὶ πᾶν, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον διαφερόντως ἀπλοῦν. Ὅτι δὲ αὐταρκέστατον, μάθοι τις ἂν ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὸ μὲν σύνθετον ἐνδεές ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν ἐστὶν ἕξω, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων γε, ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη.

This argument also occurs in Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* II,14 in combination with his doctrine of the conceptual character of the relative names of *Deus creator*:²⁹⁴

289. See e.g., SIMPLICIUS, *Commentarius in Epicteti "Enchiridion"* I,5,52-57: "Καὶ γὰρ Θεὸς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ πάντων αἰτίον. Ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀπλοῦστατον εἶναι... Ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ δυνάμει ἔχειν τὴν ἀκροτάτην καὶ πᾶσαν"; ed. I. HADOT, *Simplicius. Commentaire sur le Manuel d'Épictète. Introduction et édition critique du texte grec* (Philosophia antiqua, vol. 66), Leiden-New York-Cologne 1996, p. 200.

290. Ed. W. KROLL, *Syriani in Metaphysica commentaria* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, vol. VI,1), Berlin 1902, pp. 29,4-5; 114,20-22.

291. As far as I was able to see, the comparative and superlative forms of πολυδύναμος occur only in Syrianus' *Commentary*.

292. Cf. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* XI,2: "...τὴν ἀπλουστάτην αὐτῆς καὶ ἀμιγῆ τῆς ἐνοποιοῦ δυνάμεως παρουσίαν..."; ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 219,15.

293. Ed. DODDS (cf. *supra*, n. 40), p. 112. Let it be noted that this chapter is not among those used by Ps.-Dionysius Areopagite; see the *Indices locorum* in: HEIL-RITTER (cf. *supra*, n. 37), p. 254. This means that Palamas was aware that he drew upon a heathen text. Let me repeat here the hypothesis that Palamas, just like Barlaam the Calabrian and many other Late Byzantine thinkers, allowed themselves to draw freely upon Proclus because they believed him to be a semi-Christian or sympathetic to Christianity, inasmuch as he had heavily drawn on what they thought was the literary production of Paul's disciple, Dionysius the Areopagite; on Palamas' Neoplatonic liberties see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, review of D.N. MOSCHOS' published Doct. Diss.: *Πλατωνισμός ἡ χριστιανισμός; Οἱ φιλοσοφικὲς προϋποθέσεις τοῦ ἀντι-ἡσυχασμοῦ τοῦ Νικηφόρου Γρηγοῦ (1293-1361)*, Athens 1998, in: *Βυζαντινά* 19 (1999), pp. 403-418, esp. p. 417, note 41; IDEM, *The Christian Platonism of Barlaam the Calabrian. In Search of the Theological and Philosophical Background to His Greek Epistles*, forthcoming.

294. *Vat. gr.* 610, f. 107^r.

...Τῇ θεῖα ἀπλότῃ οὐκ ἐνίσταται, εἰ πλείους σχέσεις περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, εἰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ οὐ σημαίνουσιν· ἐπειδὴ τῷ τῆς ἐπινοίας ἔπονται τρόπῳ. Οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν πολλὰ πολλαχῶς νοεῖν ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀπλοῦν ὃν καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἐκείνο ἐν πολλαπλῇ σχέσει θεωρεῖν. Ὅσο γὰρ τι μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἀπλοῦν, τοσοῦτο μείζονος ἐστὶ δυνάμεως καὶ πλειόνων ἀρχή,²⁹⁵ καὶ τούτου μᾶλλον πολλαχῶς νοεῖται ἀναφερόμενον· ὥσπερ τὸ σημεῖον πλειόνων ἐστὶν ἀρχή,²⁹⁶ καὶ ἡ γραμμὴ ἢ ἡ ἐπιφάνεια. Τὸ τοίνυν πολλὰ ἀναφορικῶς περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τούτου ἀπλότῃ μαρτυρεῖ.²⁹⁷

Likewise, a partial description of the *scala naturarum* in the context of ascribing diverse grades of energy to each sort of being was available to Eugenicos in Prochoros Cydones' translation of Aquinas' *De spiritualibus creaturis*, a. 2 co.:

...Ὅσο τι εἶδος ἐστὶ τελειότερον, τοσοῦτον ὑπερβάλλει τὴν σωματικὴν ὕλην· ὃ φαίνεται ἐπάγουσιν ἐν διαφόροις τάξεσιν εἰδῶν.

§(1) Τὸ γὰρ τοῦ στοιχείου εἶδος οὐκ ἔχει τινὰ ἐνέργειαν εἰ μὴ τὴν διὰ τῶν ποιητικῶν καὶ παθητικῶν ποιότητων· αἱ τυγχάνουσιν οὐσα διαθέσεις τῆς σωματικῆς ὕλης. ...

Ὑπὲρ ταῦτα δὲ (2a) ἡ φυτικὴ ψυχὴ τὴν ἐνέργειαν κέκτηται, ἥ δὲ δουλεύουσιν ὀργανικῶς αἱ ποιητικαὶ καὶ παθητικαὶ ποιότητες· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν τοιούτων ποιότητων αὐτὴ τὰς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας εἴληχεν, ἐν τῷ τρέφειν καὶ αὔξειν μέχρις ὀρισμένου πέρατος καὶ τῷ ἄλλ' ἅττα τοιάδε διεξεργάζεσθαι.

(2b) Ἡ δὲ αἰσθητικὴ ψυχὴ περαιτέρω ἔχει τὴν ἐνέργειαν, πρὸς ἣν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐκτείνονται αἱ ποιητικαὶ καὶ παθητικαὶ ποιότητες...

(2c) Τελεώτατον δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν, ἡγουν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ, ἥτις ἐστὶ πέρας πάντων τῶν φυσικῶν εἰδῶν, ἔχει τὴν ἐνέργειαν ὑπερεκπίπτουσαν τοῖς ὅλοις τὴν σωματικὴν ὕλην..., ἀλλὰ νοῦ.

295. PS.-ARISTOTELES, *Liber de causis* XVI,138, ed. PATTIN, *Le Liber de causis* (cf. *supra*, n. 164), p. 83,15-16; from PROCLUS' *Institutio theologica* 95,1-2, ed. DODDS (cf. *supra*, n. 40), p. 84. Cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I^a II^{ae}, 45,3 ad 1; *De potentia* 5,10 arg. 6; 6,3 arg. 10; 7,8 co.

296. Cf. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* V,6, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 185,5-6.

297. At practically the same time as Eugenicos' composition of the *Κεφάλαια*, the Dominican archbishop of Rhodes, Andreas Chrysoberges (ob. 1451), defended (in early 1438) Thomas Aquinas' view of the essence-energy issue on the basis of the same axiom that Eugenicos used by explicitly and repeatedly ascribing it to Thomas Aquinas: "...Ἡ δύναμις, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἀπλουστέρα καὶ ὑψηλότερα, τοσοῦτον ἔχει πρὸς πλείω. ... Ἐξέστι τοις οὕτως ἀνιόντας ἐφικνεῖσθαι εἰς μίαν ἐνάδα... ἀπλουστάτην..., μηδὲν μῆδαμῶς πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἀποτέλεσμα μετουσίᾳ τινὸς ἐτέρου ἐρχομένην... Προϋπεθέμεθα γὰρ καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπιχειρημάτων οὕτως ἔχειν ἐδείξαμεν τὴν δύναμιν, ὅσον εἶναι ὑψηλότεραν καὶ ἀπλουστέραν, τοσοῦτῳ κρείττονι τρόπῳ ποιεῖν καὶ ὀλιγώτερα δεεσθαι ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς ἐνεργείᾳ, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διονυσίου λέγοντος οὕτως..." etc.; 9; 12; 18; ed. E. CANDAL, "Andreae Rhodiensis" (cf. *supra*, n. 185), pp. 356,24-25; 358,28-32; 364,30-33.

Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ εἶναι οὐτινοσοῦν ἀναλογεῖ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐνεργείᾳ..., ἕκαστον ἐνεργεῖ ἢ δὴ ἐστὶν ὅν...²⁹⁸

Most probably, Eugenicos knew of all these works. And yet, these works do not suffice to account for the content and the wording of ch. 15 of his *Syllogistic Chapters against the Acindynists*; as his unfamiliar Greek wording shows, Eugenicos probably paraphrased the Prologue and ch. 1-2 of the Dominican Dietrich of Freiberg's (1240-1320) *De cognitione entium separatorum et maxime animarum separatorum*.²⁹⁹

Fortassis autem aliqua, quae hic tractantur, videbuntur alicui absurda. ... Praemittenda est distinctio rerum spiritualium, ut uniuscujusque earum consideretur proprius modus sive secundum substantiam suam sive secundum suam propriam operationem.

(1) In summo igitur rerum cardine secundum infinitum excessum locatur prima causa, quae Deus est. Et ipse est intellectus per essentiam secundum rationem principii omnium non solum intellectualium et spiritualium, sed etiam corporalium, quae omnia primordialiter ex nihilo produxit creando.

(2) Secundo gradu et limite secundum ordinem naturae, si admittatur positio philosophorum eo, quod Scriptura sancta de eis non loquitur, sunt quaedam intellectuales substantiae, quas 'intelligentias' vocant, quae id, quod sunt, sunt intellectus per essentiam, in quorum quolibet resplendet tota universitas rerum essentialiter, id est per suam ipsarum intelligentiarum essentiam, per modum primi et immediati et nobilissimi effectus primae causae per actum creationis, qua actione propria primae causae supposita secundum philosophos una dictarum substantiarum intellectualium procedit ex alia non per modum creationis, quo universitas entium procedit a Deo, sed quodam inferiore modo causandi, quem indidit eis Deus virtute omnipotentiae suae ad eandem omnipotentiae suae virtutem declarandam.

(3) Ex his tertio loco secundum philosophos procedunt quaedam substantiae intellectuales, quas 'animas caelorum' dicunt, inferioris gradus et dignitatis quam praedictae; nihilominus tamen sunt intellectuales per essentiam suam. Sed in hoc deficiunt a nobilitate praedictarum, quia intantum inclinantur ad naturam corporalem, quod sunt actus et formae corporum, scilicet caelestium, unde et 'animae caelorum' dicuntur, quarum prima causa est Deus per modum creationis. Sed secundo loco modo quodam inferiore procedunt hujusmodi ab

298. *Coisl. gr.* 96, ff. 271^v-272^r.

299. DIETRICH OF FREIBERG, *De cognitione entium separatorum*, Prol. 4; c. 1; c. 2; ed. STEFFAN (cf. *supra*, n. 264), pp. 167,26; 168,2-169,80.

intelligentiis supposita in eis actione, quae est propria primae causae, quae est creatio secundum philosophos, et habetur ex *Libro de causis*, ubi dicitur quod "Deus creaverit animam mediante intelligentia",³⁰⁰ id est coagente intelligentia, non per modum creationis, sed alio inferiore modo sibi proprio, sicut etiam dictum est supra de processu intelligentiarum in esse.

(4) Quartum genus rerum spiritualium sunt substantiae angelicae... In quibus jam differt substantia, virtus et operatio, et secundum hoc propria earum operatio, quae est intelligere et velle, differt a substantia earum.

(5) Quintum genus entium spiritualium sunt animae humanae separatae a corporibus sive in corporibus existentes. ... In quibus efficacius et manifestius differunt substantia, virtus et operatio.

Et est hic advertenda quaedam notabilis similitudo secundum proportionem quandam hinc inde; sicut enim dictum est supra quantum ad eas substantias, quae sunt primae in ordine entium creatorum et sunt intellectus per essentiam, videlicet quod sunt in duplici differentia.

Let us reconstruct the way Eugenicos wrote his ch. 18 by means of the sources I have already indicated in the relevant footnotes. Eugenicos begins with a strange warning — a warning against the strangeness of the argument he is going to put forward. What follows does not bear any real mark of strangeness — except for the Latin smell of some of his terms and his syntax or the philosophical character of the argument. In fact, his warning is but a latent reproduction of Dietrich's introductory warning.

Now what Eugenicos wants to show in his effort to defend Palamism is that, the closer to God a being is, the more the energy it possesses is. Eugenicos starts from a metaphysical axiom: all beings possess substance, potency (or power), and energy (or operation). He ascribes this axiom to the authority of "the theologians". His immediate citation from Ps.-Dionysius hints whom we should believe he had in mind. Still, if one looks for an explicit Ps.-Dionysian statement on the beings as bearers of substance, power, and energy, one can think of *De caelesti hierarchia* XI,2, where this threefold distinction is applied not to beings in general but to spiritual beings.³⁰¹ One would

300. PS.-ARISTOTLE, *Liber de causis* III,32, ed. PATTIN, *Le Liber de causis* (cf. *supra*, n. 164), p. 52,13-14; from PROCLUS' *Institutio theologica* 182, ed. DODDS (cf. *supra*, n. 40), p. 160,8-10.

301. In the *De divinis nominibus* IV,23, this distinction is again applied to some spiritual beings, the evil ones (ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 170,16). This distinction

also think of Maximus' *Capita theologica et oeconomica* I,3-4, where such a distinction is implied in general terms; yet, no reference to (Ps.-)Dionysius occurs there.³⁰² Fortunately, a Latin source contains all we search for; Thomas Aquinas' *De potentia*, q. 7, a. 1, arg. 7 reads: "Ὁ ἐν ὁτιοῦν χρήματι ἔστιν οὐσία, δύναμις καὶ ἐνέργεια, ὡς φησιν ὁ Διονύσιος". In all probability, this Latin passage lies behind that of Eugenikos, who presumably kept the Greek ones in the back of his mind just as an implicit or concomitant justification of its truth.

Then, Eugenikos describes the *scala naturarum* in terms of the subsequent steps: (1) inanimate and insensitive beings; (2) living beings, both irrational and rational; (3) (created) spiritual beings (i.e., the angels); and (4) God. Let us compare both the content and the structure of this set of steps with the sets contained in the authors cited.

In Palamas, the steps are: (1) composite bodies; (2) simple natural elements; (3) incorporeal substances; (4) God. The steps of Aquinas' partial *scala* run as follows: (1) simple natural elements; (2a) nutritive or vegetative soul; (2c) sensitive soul; (2d) the human soul. Finally, Dietrich's steps are as follows: (1/5) first cause or God; (2/4) intelligences; (3/3) souls of the heavenly bodies; (4/2) angelic substances; and (5/1) human souls. As regards the steps themselves that Marcos decided to include, it is obvious that none of these sets suffices to account on its own for Marcos' set. Indeed, in Palamas, irrational animate beings are absent; Aquinas, while including them, does not include angels and God; finally, in Dietrich, corporeal beings, both inanimate and animate, are absent, since they lie beyond the scope denoted by the very title of the work.

is applied to all "minds" in Ps.-MAXIMUS' *Commentarium in "De coelesti hierarchia"*, ad X,3 (PG 4: 92B) (cited by Marcos himself in his *Second Antirrhethics* and extended by him to God; ed. PILAVAKIS (cf. *supra*, n. 236), pp. 30,17-31,1). Cf. Ps.-DIONYSIUS' *De divinis nominibus* IV,10, ed. SUCHLA, *op. cit.*, p. 154,18-19, where this triplex occurs, but without any explanation. Of course, one might conclude from this passage that this triplex applies to all beings, or, at least, the created ones.

302. PG 90: 1084C-D. One can add an unidentified passage from (Ps.?)-Maximus Confessor cited by GREGORY ACINDYNOS, *Refutatio magna* IV,19,106-110, ed. NADAL CANELLAS (cf. *supra*, n. 226), p. 348; cf. NADAL CANELLAS, *La résistance* (cf. *supra*, n. 2), p. 383. Yet even there, the distinction is applied especially to God. Finally, one can think of DAMASCIUS' *Commentary on "Parmenides"*, ed. C.E. RUELLE, *Damascii successoris Dubitationes et solutiones*, tome II, Paris 1899 (repr. Brussels 1964), p. 101,11-28. Still, it would be absurd to think that Eugenikos would call Damascius a "(Christian) theologian".

Still, these writings, with the exception of Thomas' *De spiritualibus creaturis*, should all be taken as having each made its own contribution to Eugenicos' lines. Indeed, Palamas' passage has probably led Eugenicos to produce a bottom-up description of the *scala naturarum* rather than a top-down one, as Dietrich did. Furthermore, it was definitely the Palamite passage that led Eugenicos to include the natural elements in his *scala*, for Palamas' argument from natural elements for the proportional relation between simplicity and efficacy is a decisive one. Further, nobody can fail to see that Eugenicos' statement that the souls of living beings multiply their efficacy by means of putting bodies at their service is obviously Palamite in origin. Let it be noted that Eugenicos, for all the obvious origins of this argument, did not quote from Palamas' *Dialogue of an Orthodox with a Barlaamite* verbatim.

What about Dietrich? His contribution has to do with Eugenicos' lines on angels; indeed, angels are contained in none of the other passages. Eugenicos' inclusion of them makes the set of his steps full, i.e., a *scala naturarum* proper (from simple natural elements up to God). Of course, Eugenicos omitted the threefold distinction of the intellectual substances (grades 2, 3, and 4 in Dietrich), which he mingled into one category, i.e., that of angels.

But why should one take refuge in Dietrich's text in particular to account for this inclusion by Marcos? First, Eugenicos' own reference to "the sophisticated Latin doctors" in the running course of his exposition of the high rank of the energy of angelic natures should in principle make us almost certain about the Latin provenance of this exposition. As for the content of Marcos' lines, the doctrine that the angels assume aerial bodies when appearing to humans occurs in many scholastic theologians, including Thomas Aquinas and Dietrich of Freiberg. Further, as one would expect, the awkward comparative type *μᾶλλον ἐκφανές* (instead of the grammatically more natural, monolectic type *ἐκφανέστερον*) in Marcos' grade (2) is almost non-existent in Greek literature.³⁰³ Yet, it occurs verbatim in a parataxis with

303. It occurs only twice: HIPPOCRATES, apud GALENUS' *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* VI,8,65, ed. P. DE LACY, *Galen. On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* (Corpus medicorum Graecorum, vol. V,4,2), Berlin 1978, p. 420; DAMASCIUS, *Commentarius in Platonis Parmenidem*, ed. RUELLE (cf. *supra*, n. 302), p. 174,1. This is not the only strange Greek word or expression in Eugenicos' text. One should add, for instance, "ἐφεξῆς ἀνιού-

δραστηριώτερον ("δραστηριώτερον ἤδη καὶ ἐκφανές μᾶλλον") in Dietrich's text ("efficacius et manifestius") and in the same context, i.e., in Dietrich's description of the difference between essence, power, and energy (cf. Marcos: "τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔργον") with regard to human souls (grade 5/1), i.e., with regard to the grade of beings Marcos was also referring to.³⁰⁴ That the selfsame quotation from Dietrich is no longer than three successive words should not surprise us, for, as noted above (pp. 355; 360), Marcos seems to avoid long implicit quotations, even when reproducing Palamas, whose theology he intended to defend in the work in question.

Presumably, Eugenikos allowed himself to argue for the distinction between God's energy and essence on the basis of the connection between simplicity and efficacy as stated in some Latin texts, because he saw that this argument had been brought forward by Palamas, too, whose pagan philosophical source (i.e., Proclus) he was also able to detect. In the last resort, Palamas himself had asserted the energetic aspect of God's being along with the distinctiveness of this aspect from God's essence by taking recourse to another non-Greek source,

συν", a dative clause without impersonal verb, which looks like a Greek rendering of a Latin ablative absolute.

304. This is the first time that some evidence for a (partial or full?) Byzantine rendering of one of Dietrich's writings is brought to light. In the current state of research into the Byzantine translations of Latin works (cf. J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Greek Translations of Latin Philosophical Texts", in: R. PASNAU [ed.], *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 822-825), and granted that there is no evidence that Eugenikos mastered Latin, I would only guess that he may have had access to Dietrich's writing due to his close relationship with Scholarios, who began mastering Latin and translating scholastic works into Greek early in his life; see M.-H. BLANCHET, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400 - vers 1472): un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire byzantine* (Archives de l'Orient chrétien, vol. 20), Paris 2008, pp. 298; 317-318. Scholarios had some taste for some Westerners' angelology. For instance, a published *frustulum* ("Περὶ τῆς ἐωθινῆς καὶ ἐσπερινῆς ἐν ἀγγέλοις λεγομένης γνώσεως"; edd. L. PETIT, X.A. SIDERIDES, M. JUGIE, *Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἅπαντα τὰ εὑρισκόμενα. Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, tome III, Paris 1930, pp. 406,19-407,4) as well as *frust.* 1 ("Ὅτι ἡ τῶν ἀγγέλων γνώσις τριπλῆ") of an unpublished florilegium of his ("Γεωργίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου τεμᾶχια"; *Mon. gr.* 490, ff. 126^v-127^v; see I. HARDT, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae Bavaricae. Edidit IO. CHR. L. BARO DE ARETIN... Voluminis primi, codices Graecos ab I. HARDT recensitos complexi tomus V*, Monachii 1812, p. 91) exhibit some relevance with the scholastic reception of Augustine's doctrine of the angels' "cognitio matutina" and "cognitio vespertina"; cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I, 58, 6 and 7; 62,9; DIETRICH OF FREIBERG, *De cognitione entium separatorum* 46-56; 62,21-22; 66,57-90; 88,49-59; ed. STEFFAN (cf. *supra*, n. 264), pp. 211-219; 224; 228-229; 249). I hope to edit Scholarios' florilegium elsewhere.

i.e., Augustine's *De Trinitate*:³⁰⁵ "Τὸ δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἐπὶ μόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀληθέστατα ἂν λέγοιτο. Μόνος γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ποιεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ γίνεται οὐδὲ πάσχει, ὅσον εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν ἀνήκει".³⁰⁶ Still, neither Palamas nor Eugenicos would disguise himself as to the heathen air of Augustine's passage, which is clearly Neoplatonic.³⁰⁷

In the *Syllogistic Chapters against the Acindynists*, Eugenicos did not fail to make use of one more Latin theologian, Thomas Aquinas. In ch. 17, an argument for Palamism is produced³⁰⁸ overtly from a trivial sentence of Thomas Aquinas:

If every "potency is spoken of in regard to" something else (for it is attributed "to the potential") — and this is what Thomas, the doctor of the Latins, explicitly declares —, then the essence of God is one thing, His potency another, if one is not prepared to include essence in the relatives.

As far as the argument itself is concerned, it seems to be inspired by Aquinas' argument against taking God's *ad extra* relations as realities

305. See J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Αὐγουστίνος* (cf. *supra*, n. 28, p. 274).

306. AUGUSTINE, *De Trinitate* V,8,9,28-31: "Quod autem ad '*faciendum*' attinet, fortassis de solo Deo verissime dicatur; solus enim Deus facit et ipse non fit, neque patitur quantum ad eius essentiam pertinet, qua Deus est" (edd. W.J. MOUNTAIN / F. GLORIE, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De Trinitate libri XV* (CCSL 50), Turnholti 1968, p. 216). Palamas had used Maximos Planoudes' translation of Augustine's writing (edd. PAPATHOMOPOULOS et al. [cf. *supra*, n. 34], p. 363,30-33).

307. As I have suggested elsewhere (J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Aristotle's Categories and the "Nomina Divina" according to Anselm of Canterbury* [Ph.D. thesis; in Modern Greek], Athens 2001, pp. 32-33), Augustine's passage looks like a direct echo of PORPHYRY's *Commentary on "Parmenides"*, fr. 12, ll. 23-27: "...τὸ ἐν τῷ ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ὄντος ὄν μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ οὐσία οὐδὲ ἐνέργεια, ἐνεργεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν καθαρὸν..."; ed. P. HADOT, *Porphyre et Victorinus. II: Textes*, Paris 1968, p. 104. Given that Porphyry was one of the major sources of Augustine's Neoplatonism, this similarity might be taken as corroborating the attribution of this *Commentary* to Porphyry.

308. Ed. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 220,23-27: "Εἰ πᾶσα «δύναμις πρὸς» ἕτερον «λέγεται» («πρὸς» γὰρ «τὸ δυνατὸν» ἀποδίδεται) — καὶ τοῦτο Θωμᾶς ὁ τῶν Λατίνων διδάσκαλος ῥητῶς ἀποφάνεται —, ἕτερον ἄρα οὐσία Θεοῦ καὶ ἕτερον δύναμις, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τις εἶναι φαίη τῶν πρὸς τι". Eugenicos refers to Aquinas' description of the pair 'potentia-possibile' as a pair of 'relatives' in some places in the *Summa theologiae*; see, e.g.: *Summa theologiae*, I,41,4, arg. 2 (*Vat. gr.* 609, f. 64): "...Ἡ 'δύναμις' πρὸς τὸ 'δυνατὸν' λέγεται" (cf. ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* V,12,5, 1019a32-34; IX,5,2, 1047b-35-36); I,82,3 co. (f. 107): "...Ὁ ἰδιος τῆς 'δυνάμεως' λόγος κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀντικείμενον ἐστὶ τάξιν...". Cf. I^a II^{ae}, 56,6 co. The two Thomistic passages referred to by GASS, *Die Mystik* (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 220, n. 14, as the sources of Marcos' remark are misleading. S.G. PAPADOPOULOS, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις* (cf. *supra*, n. 140), pp. 148-149, erroneously takes Marcos' passage to be anti-Thomistic.

in God in the *Summa contra Gentiles* II,12,2 (cf. *supra*, pp. 319-320, n. 164) — with the remarkable difference, however, that Aquinas stresses the unity of God's essence and energy so as to show them to be identical. Indeed, Marcos overlooks Aquinas' qualification in his reply to arg. 3 of I^a, q. 41, a. 4 that “ἡ δύναμις ἀρχὴν σημαίνει, ἡ δ' ἀρχὴ σημαίνει διάκρισιν πρὸς τὸ οὗ ἐστὶν ἀρχή. Διχῶς δὲ ἡ διάκρισις θεωρεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λεγομένοις, μία μὲν πράγματι, ἄλλη δὲ λόγῳ μόνῳ. Τῷ μὲν οὖν πράγματι διακρίνεται ὁ Θεὸς κατ' οὐσίαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὧν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ δημιουργικῶς... Ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος οὐ διακρίνεται ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρὰ λόγῳ μόνῳ...”³⁰⁹ In other words, Eugenikos managed to show that some sort of distinction between God's essence and power should be in order and that this distinction should be seen as compatible with God's simplicity (cf. the last sentence of ch. 19 of his *Chapters* cited above); still, he rather failed to qualify the mode of this distinction, whose character is, for all his intentions, confusedly Thomistic and unclearly Palamite.

Implicitly taking the energies of God as corresponding to the eternal reasons of beings, Eugenikos defends once more God's simplicity conceived of as the topos of these reasons by latently yet directly drawing on Thomas Aquinas. Ch. 24 reads:

Εἰ οἱ λόγοι τῶν ὄντων [1] ἐν τῷ Θεῷ [2] προαιωνίως ὄντες [3] οὐ μορφοῦσι {4} τὸν θεῖον νοῦν [5] οὐδὲ συντιθέασιν {6 e contrario}, οὐδ' αἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔρα προϋῶσαι ἐνέργειαι σύνθετον {6 e contrario} τοῦτον ἀποφανοῦσιν {7}.³¹⁰

The premiss of this argument is exactly what Aquinas argues in the relevant article of the *Summa theologiae* (I^a, q. 15, a. 2 co.):

Οὕτω τοίνυν ἀνάγκη ἐν τῷ θεῷ νῶ [2/5] τοὺς ἰδίους πάντων τῶν ὄντων λόγους [1] ὑπάρχειν [3]. “Ὅθεν Αὐγουστίνος φησιν ἐν τῷ πγ' τῶν Ζητημάτων³¹¹ ὅτι “ἰδίους λόγοις ἕκαστα δεδημιούργηται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ”.

309. *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 64r: “Power signifies a principle. But a principle implies a distinction from that which it is a principle of. Now there are two kinds of distinction among those things that are predicated of God, viz., (a) a distinction in reality and (b) a merely conceptual distinction. By a distinction in reality, God is distinct in His essence from those things whose principle He is through a notional act. However, within God an action is not distinct from its agent except by a merely conceptual distinction...” (translation by FREDOSO; cf. *supra*, n. 89).

310. Ed. GASS, *Die Mystik* (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 223,28-31 (“Since the reasons of beings, for all their being from eternity preexistent in God, do not constitute a Form for Him [taken as matter], neither would the energies that proceed from Him prove Him composite”).

311. Sic pro ‘ἐν τοῖς Πγ' ζητήμασι’.

"Οθεν ἔπεται ἐν τῷ θείῳ νῶ [2/5] πλείους εἶναι [3] ἰδέας {1}. Τοῦτο δ' ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐναντιοῦται τῇ θείᾳ ἀπλότητι {6 e contrario}, ῥᾳδιον κατιδεῖν {7}, εἴ τις θεωρήσῃ τὴν τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος ἰδέαν {1} ἐν τῇ τοῦ ποιούντος εἶναι διανοίᾳ, ὥσπερ τὸ νοούμενον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς εἶδος {4}, ᾧ νοεῖται τὸ νοούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν εἶδος {4} τὸν νοῦν [5] ἐνεργεῖα ποιοῦν {4}. Τὸ γὰρ τῆς οἰκίας εἶδος {4} ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ οἰκοδόμου νοούμενόν τι ἐστὶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, οὗ καθ' ὁμοιότητα τὴν ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ οἰκίαν εἰδοποιεῖ {4}. Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐναντίον τῇ ἀπλότητι {6 e contrario} τοῦ θείου νοῦ [2/5] τὸ πλείον νοεῖν· ἐναντίον δ' ἂν ᾗν τῇ τούτου ἀπλότητι {6 e contrario}, εἰ πλείους εἴδουσιν {4} εἰδοποιεῖτο {4} ὁ θεῖος νοῦς [5].³¹²

The similarity is clear. Let it only be added that Eugenicos' *Chapters against the Heresy of Acindynists* are full of terms obviously redolent of the Christian Aristotelianism of Thomas Aquinas. For example, even if in the above passage Eugenicos replaces *εἰδοποιεῖν* with *μορφοῦν*, in ch. 19 he says about the divine energy: "ἦν [sc. ἐνεργεῖαν] εἰ καὶ 'λόγον' ἢ 'εἶδος τῶν ὄντων' ἐθέλοι τις λέγειν, οὐ διοισόμεθα".³¹³ What is more, in the same chapter,³¹⁴ he refers to the apophatic and cataphatic way of doing theology: "Ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀποφάσεων οἱ θεολόγοι φασὶν ὡς «ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ὄντα»³¹⁵ ὁ «μηδὲν ὦν τῶν ὄντων»³¹⁶ κατ' οὐσίαν Θεός· ἐκ δὲ τῶν καταφάσεων ὡς αἴτιος πάντων ὁ πάντα ὦν κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν θεολογεῖται".³¹⁷ The topic is utterly Ps.-Dionysian;³¹⁸

312. *Vat. gr.* 609, f. 36r ("It must be the case that in God's mind there are proper conceptions of all things. Accordingly, in 83 *Quaestiones* Augustine says, "Each thing is created by God through its own proper conception". Hence, it follows that there are many ideas in God's mind. Moreover, it is easy to see that this does not conflict with God's simplicity, as long as one keeps in mind that the idea of a thing that is to be effected exists in the agent's mind as that which is understood – and not as species by which something is understood, i.e., as a form that makes the mind to be in act. For the form of a house in the builder's mind is something that is understood by him and in whose likeness he forms the house in the relevant matter. But it is not contrary to God's simplicity that He should understand many things; rather, what would be contrary to His simplicity is that His mind should be formed by many species. Hence, the many ideas exist in God's mind as ideas that are understood by Him"; translation by A.J. FREDOSO; cf. *supra*, n. 89). Cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,15,1 co.

313. Ed. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 222,14-15.

314. *Op. cit.*, p. 222,3-14.

315. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* IV,3; 9; V,1; XII,4, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), pp. 146,6; 146,10; 153,15; 181,6; 225,19.

316. PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* I, 1; 5; 6; XI,6, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), pp. 109,15; 117,3; 119,9; 221,20-222,2.

317. "From the point of view of the apophatic sentences, theologians say that God, «who is none of the beings», «lies above all beings», whereas from the point of view of the cataphatic sentences, He is described as the cause of all beings and, to this extent, as being all beings".

318. See especially PS.-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* I, 5; 6; VII,3, ed. SUCHLA (cf. *supra*, n. 11), pp. 117,3-4; 119,9; 198,7-9; *De coelesti hierarchia* II,2, edd.

still, when Marcos tries to reconcile these apparently contradictory ways, what he produces can be properly described as Thomistic Palamism: “Ζητητέον οὖν πῶς τοῦτο λέγεται. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ παρ’ ἡμῶν οἰκοδόμος, αἰτίος ὢν οἰκίας, οὐκ ἂν ‘οἰκία’ ποτὲ κληθεῖη· καὶ ὁ ἱατρός, αἰτίος ὢν ὑγείας, οὐκ ἂν ‘ὑγεία’ κληθεῖη. Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ συνδραμεῖται τὸ τε «μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων» καὶ αὖθις τὸ «πάντα εἶναι»;³¹⁹ ‘Doctor’ and ‘builder’ are two of the most common examples in Aristotle’s exposition of how analogy lies midway between univocation and equivocation and stands for a peculiar form of unity between different beings.³²⁰ It is exactly this Aristotelian concept which Aquinas used (along with some Aristotelian examples) in *Summa theologiae*, I^a, q. 13, a. 5.³²¹

And yet, Marcos, based on Aquinas’ doctrine of the analogy between cause and effect, could not believe that God can be the cause of the world without posing an intermediary being on His part: “So, we should hold that there is something lying between the essence of God and beings, according to which — but not according to His essence — He is called “the cause of beings” — shouldn’t we? And

HEIL-RITTER (cf. *supra*, n. 37), pp. 12,4-13,3; *De mystica theologia* 2, edd. HEIL-RITTER, *op. cit.*, p. 143,3.

319. “Let us investigate the manner that this is said. In our world, the builder, although being the cause of building, would never be called ‘a building’; likewise, the doctor, although being the cause of health, would never be called ‘health’. How then can both «being none of the beings» and, quite the opposite, «being all beings» coexist in the same subject?”

320. ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* XII,4,4-8 (1070b10-35).

321. “Δεῖ ἄρα λέγειν ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα κατ’ ἀναλογίαν (ARISTOTLE, *Metaphysics* IV,2,1-2, 1003a34-b3; V,2,3, 1013a35-b3) ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κτίσεως λέγονται. Ὁ δὲ διχῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων συμβαίνει· ἢ ὅτι πολλὰ πρὸς ἓν τι τάξιν ἔχει, ὥσπερ τὸ ‘ὑγιὲς’ λέγεται καὶ κατὰ τοῦ οὐρου καὶ τοῦ φαρμάκου, καθόσον ἐκάτερον λόγον ἔχει καὶ τάξιν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῳῳ ὑγείαν, ἥς τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ σημεῖον, ἐκεῖνο δὲ αἴτιον, ἢ ὅτι τὸ ἕτερον λόγον πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον ἔχει, ὥσπερ τὸ ‘ὑγιὲς’ λέγεται καὶ κατὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ζῳου, καθόσον τὸ φάρμακον αἰτιὸν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ζῳῳ ὑγείας (*ibid.*). Καὶ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος <communitalis> μέσος ἐστὶ τῶν τε καθαρῶς ὁμωνύμων καὶ τῶν συνωνύμων ἀπλῶς. Οὕτε γὰρ εἷς ἐστὶ λόγος ἐν τοῖς ἀναλογικῶς λεγομένοις, ὡς ἐν τοῖς συνωνύμοις (ARISTOTLE, *Categories* 1, 1a6-7), οὕτε παντελῶς διάφορος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὁμωνύμοις (ARISTOTLE, *Categories* 1, 1a1-2), ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα (Cydones forsitan “hic” pro “sic” legit.) πολλαχῶς λέγεται, σημαίνει διαφόρους λόγους πρὸς ἓν <aliquid>· ὥσπερ τὸ ‘ὑγιὲς’ κατὰ μὲν τοῦ οὐρου λεγόμενον τεκμήριον ὑγείας σημαίνει, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ φαρμάκου αἴτιον τῆς αὐτῆς ὑγείας” (*Vat. gr.* 609, f. 29^v). Cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I,13,6 co.; 10 co.; 16 co.; 16,6 co.; 7 co.; *Summa contra Gentiles* I,34,1.

what else might this be than His energy?" (Μήποτε οὖν ἔστι τι μεταξὺ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ὄντων, καθ' ὃ ἐκ τῶν ὄντων ὡς αἴτιος ὀνομάζεται καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτήν; Τοῦτο δὲ τί ποτ' ἂν ἄλλο εἴη πλὴν ἢ ἐνέργεια;).³²²

Of course, in drawing this conclusion, Eugenicos went further (or, better, in a direction different) than Aquinas would have been prepared to go; in fact, as we have seen on the occasion of the latent anti-Palamism of Theophanes of Nicaea (cf. *supra*, pp. 311-312; 316; 318; 321-324), Aquinas posited the creative energy of God on the part of the creature as a concomitant property of it. Still, the basis of Marcos' argument was drawn from Aquinas.

Further, Eugenicos uses the term *ἴδιος λόγος*,³²³ which, though Aristotelian in origin,³²⁴ is very common in Aquinas (*propria ratio*). Examples can be multiplied.

The conclusion that Eugenicos held a moderate and modified crypto-Thomism (which, in fact, having just been discovered as a fact, needs to be further explored) accords with the testimony of his close disciple, friend, and collaborator, George Scholarios-Gennadios II, that Marcos was an adherent of Aristotle's philosophy.³²⁵ Eugenicos' Aristotelianism probably formed part of a latent Thomistic theological methodology of his, insofar as Eugenicos regarded Aristotelianism by and large as compatible with Christianity.³²⁶ If this is to a considerable

322. MARCOS EUGENICOS, *Κεφάλαια* 16, ed. Gass (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 222, 11-14.

323. See also his *Κεφάλαια* 28; ed. W. GASS (cf. *supra*, n. 251), p. 225, 10.

324. See ARISTOTLE, *Topics* VI,3, 140b10; *De anima* II,3, 414b26-27; *De partibus animalium*, 685b15. It also occurs, rather rarely, in some Christian authors (see, e.g., CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *De Sancta Trinitate dialogi* V, PG 75: 996B; *De incarnatione Unigeniti*, PG 75: 1208D; MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, PG 91: 296B; *Capita de caritate* II,77, PG 90: 1009A).

325. "...τῶν Ἀριστοτέλει προσκειμένων εἶναι σε πάνυ καλῶς οἶδα, τῶν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὁπότεα χρὴ μόνον θαυμάζοντα" (GEORGE SCHOLARIOS - GENNADIOS II, *Τῷ Ἐφέσσῳ Γεώργιος*; edd. L. PETIT / X.A. SIDÉRIDÈS / M. JUGIE, *Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκδοκίμενα. Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, tome IV, Paris 1935, p. 118, 16-17). Obviously, PODSKALSKY, "Die Rezeption" (cf. *supra*, n. 185), p. 313, n. 50, is right in saying that "der Umfang seiner [sc. Marcos'] Thomaskenntnis steht... in keinem Vergleich zu Scholarios". Still, as we now see, it is not true that "Markos sieht Thomas nur mit den Augen des Polemikers". Cf. *infra*, n. 326.

326. J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Georgios Gennadios II - Scholarios' *Florilegium Thomisticum*. His Early Abridgment of Various Chapters and *Quaestiones* of Thomas Aquinas' *Summae* and His anti-Plethonism", in: *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 69/1 (2002), pp. 117-171, esp. 162, note 55.

extent true, then the fact that Eugenicos developed a partial yet easily recognizable form of Thomistic Palamism should not surprise us.³²⁷

327. Marcos' writings should be checked for traces of scholastic influence throughout. For example, the opening words of the Preface to his *Πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν εἰρημένων Μανουήλ τῷ Καλέκῃ κατὰ τοῦ "Συνοδικοῦ τόμου" ἀντιρρητικὸς πρῶτος, ἡ περὶ διακρίσεως θείας οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας* (ed. PILAVAKIS [cf. *supra*, n. 138], pp. 157,2-4) sound like an imitation of the custom of numerous scholastic authors to explain the very production of their writings or the production of the ancient writings they commented upon in terms of the famous set of the four Aristotelian causes ("Τὸ μὲν κινήτικόν αἰτίον τοῦ συντάγματος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τελικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ σκοπός... Τὸ δὲ εἰδικόν τε καὶ παραδειγματικόν..."; cf. SCHOLARIOS' partial translation of RADULPHUS BRITO's *Ars vetus* (Lect. V: "Προλεγόμενα εἰς τὴν Πορφυρίου Εἰσαγωγήν"): "Ποιητικὴ τοίνυν αἰτία τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου... Ὑλικὴ δὲ αἰτία ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ... Ἡ δὲ εἰδικὴ αἰτία ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ... Ἡ τελικὴ αἰτία... Τούτων τῶν τεσσάρων αἰτίων..."; edd. L. PETIT et al., *Γεννάδιον τοῦ Σχολαρίου πάντα τὰ ἐδρισκόμενα. Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, tome VII, Paris 1936, p. 31,1-29). Further, the structure of MARCOS EUGENICOS' *Πρὸς Ἰσίδωρον ἱερομόναχον περὶ ὁρῶν ζωῆς αἰτήσαντα* (ed. J.F. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota nova*, Paris 1844, pp. 349-362 = PG 160: 1193-1200) displays some obvious signs of being influenced by Aquinas. Marcos called his writing an "oration" ("λόγος") (ed. BOISSONADE, *op. cit.*, p. 362,26); and he wrote a Preface (pp. 349,6-351,3) and an Epilogue (p. 362,24-29) to it, which bear typical marks of the Byzantine way of composing orations. Still, in fact, this writing is a *quaestio*, i.e., a "dialectical" "question" ("Τὸ μὲν οὖν ζητούμενόν ἐστιν, εἰ... ἢ..."; p. 351,4-5), as Marcos himself calls it ("...τὴν ζήτησιν..."; p. 351,23), which imitates the structure of the articles of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*. After summarizing the two opposing views (first view: p. 351,4-16; second view: p. 351,17-25), Marcos begins expounding the arguments *pro*, i.e., by enumerating some arguments (some *ex auctoritate*, some theological) for God's determination of one's time of death (pp. 352,7-354,14). He then continues by expounding some arguments *contra*, which he explicitly calls "οἱ ἐναντίοι λόγοι" (pp. 354,15-356,20). Next, his own position ("Τί δὲ ἡμεῖς;") follows, which, as is normally the case with Aquinas' articles, is identical with the position supported by the latter arguments (pp. 356,20-357,6: "τιθέμεθα τῷ δευτέρῳ"). Finally (pp. 357,6-362,23), he examines the arguments of the view rejected in order to resolve them ("ἐπιλύσασθαι"). To do so, he once more imitates Aquinas in accepting the authority of the passages invoked by the holders of the opposite view yet rejecting the conclusion they thereby draw by drawing some subtle distinctions they had inattentively overlooked (pp. 357,12-14; 358,7). In this way, he shows (just as Aquinas does) that there is harmony ("συμβιβάζομεν"; pp. 351,27-352,2; 357,7) between the theological authorities invoked by the opposing views ("ἀντιφασίς"; p. 351,25-26). As for the Thomist affinities of the content of Marcos' writing, a special study should be devoted to them. Let me only note here the obvious similarity of his argument from the distinction between divine providence and divine predestination or between general and special providence (pp. 357,11-360,25) to Scholarios' relevant doctrine, which is almost exclusively based on Thomas Aquinas, who in turn based himself on John of Damascus; see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Georgios Gennadios II - Scholarios' *Florilegium Thomisticum II (De fato)* and its anti-Plethonic Tenor", in: *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 74/2 (2007), pp. 301-376, esp. 320-321. Combining the traditional Byzantine literary *genre* of oration or treatise with the structure of the scholastic *quaestio* occurs in some writings of Eugenicos' most important disciple, George Scholarios-Gennadios II; see DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Πλήθων* (cf. *supra*, n. 70),

5. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the above the following conclusions might be drawn.

1) Almost all the Palamite thinkers of the Byzantine fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most probably with the exception of Gregory Palamas himself, accepted in this or that sense that God's 'essence' should or, at least, might be distinguished from God's 'energy' *κατ' ἐπινόειαν* or *ἐπινοία μόνη* or *λόγῳ μόνῳ*.

2) From Palamas' own lifetime and shortly after his death, the Palamites either based this position on the one hand on the fourth-century Greek patristic doctrine of the epistemological import of the 'divine names' (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, etc.) or applied the fifth- and sixth-century Greek Patristic 'conceptual distinction' between the persons of the Holy Trinity as well as between the two natures of Christ to the question of the distinction between God's essence and energy, or both. In so doing, they construed this distinction as a *distinctio realis minor*, which, although compromising Palamas' distinction, was still too *realis* to allow for a full defence of divine simplicity.

3) Immediately after the translation of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles*, *Summa theologiae*, and *De potentia* by the anti-Palamites

pp. 76-79; "Georgios Gemistos-Plethon's" (cf. *supra*, n. 169), pp. 310-311. Further, Eugenikos' treatise *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως* (ed. A. SCHMEMMANN, "Une œuvre inédite de St Marc d'Éphèse: *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως*", in: *Θεολογία* 22 [1951], pp. 51-64; text on pp. 53-60) is merely a defence of the rational possibility of the doctrine of resurrection and a rational refutation of some philosophical objections against it based almost entirely on Thomas Aquinas' description of the natural unity of the human soul with the body in explicitly hylomorphic and anti-Platonic terms (see *Summa contra Gentiles* IV,79-81; cf. *Vat. gr.* 616, ff. 289^v-294^r). Likewise, in his *De hominis imbecillitate*, he adopted some of the arguments for the compatibility of the eternal damnation of the sinners with the divine mercy in THOMAS AQUINAS' *Summa theologiae*, Suppl. 99,1 Resp. (see ed. A. JAHN, "Marcus Eugenikos..." (cf. *supra*, n. 285), p. 66,8-18). Further, Marcos, just like Theophanes of Nicaea (cf. *supra*, p. 319), describes God as *actus purus* (*Second Antirrhetics*; ed. PILAVAKIS [cf. *supra*, n. 236], p. 9,15-17), even if he immediately adds that He also has a naturally concomitant energy *ad extra* (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 2,9 sqq., where he explains which part of Aristotle's doctrine of the Prime Mover can be accepted by a Christian). The image of Eugenikos that emerges from all this evidence reinforces M. Pilavakis' position that Eugenikos "was not anti-Westerner or a fanatic and narrow-minded monk who *en bloc* rejected the thought of the Catholic Church; on the contrary, he both respected and was interested in St. Augustine... Though trained as a theologian, he was a cultured man with wide interests"; PILAVAKIS, *Markos Eugenikos' "First"* (cf. *supra*, n. 138), p. 57.

Demetrios and Prochoros Cydones (from 1354 to 1359/61), a trend of Thomistic Palamism emerged, which was even more compromised. Thomas Aquinas' doctrine of the '*nomina divina*', logically based on a *distinctio rationis cum fundamento in re*, was seen by some Palamists as a consistent way of reconciling unity and multiplicity in *Deus unus*. To these thinkers, the variety of the 'divine names' does not spring from God, but from the inadequate way our finite minds grasp God according to our knowledge of the effects caused by God in the world. In this sense, *ratio* is the cause of their distinction. On the other hand, by way of *analogy*, these names neither are fictitious nor correspond just to what happens in the world; they correspond to something real, since, in fact, God is the supreme goodness, justice, and so on. Still, adhering to Palamism, they seem to take this *fundamentum* (rather contrary to what Aquinas himself believed) as *determinatum*.

4) M. Jugie's classification of the Palamism of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Byzantine Palamites as "mitigé" "pour ce qui est de formules",³²⁸ in contrast with the Palamism of Scholarios, taken as "mitigé" "pour ce qui regarde le fond", should be revised. In fact, even the former Palamites, although they stood as the representatives of the "palamisme officiel",³²⁹ departed from Palamas' *distinctio realis* by conceding either a strictly Basilian interpretation of the distinction between 'essence' and 'energies', which Palamas was rather reluctant to subscribe to,³³⁰ or a Thomistic interpretation of the distinction, or both.³³¹

328. M. JUGIE, "Palamite, controverse", in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 11, Paris 1932, cols. 1777-1818, esp. 1795-1796 (to my view, Nicholas Cabasilas should be removed from the list of Palamites, on which he had once upon a time been included because of his being confused with his uncle Neilos Cabasilas and is usually still included because of the phenomenon of scholarly inertia).

329. GUICHARDAN, *Le problème* (cf. *supra*, n. 2), pp. 169-176, esp. 176.

330. M. JUGIE himself had noticed that some Palamites tended to "minimize" Palamas' distinction between 'essence' and 'energies' by accepting a "virtual distinction" (*art. cit. supra*, n. 328, col. 1797); and he had rightly pointed out John VI Cantacouzenos and Theophanes of Nicaea as the most striking cases of this sort of "édulcoration" (*art. cit.*, col. 1795). Still, having access to much fewer printed and sufficiently edited sources than we have today, he failed to notice that *ἐπίνοια* was the central notion of this compromise. In fact, he was surprised to see that a post-Byzantine Palamite, George Coressios (ca. 1570-1659/70) (cf. next note), stated that it is a "λόγου διαφορά" that distinguishes between God's 'essence' and 'energies' (see col. 1812; cf. N.M. STOUPAKIS, *Γεώργιος Κορέσσιος (1570 ci.-1659/70). Ἡ ζωή, τὸ ἔργο του καὶ οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἀγῶνες τῆς ἐποχῆς του* [elaborated version of a Doct. Diss., Philosophical Faculty of the University of Athens, 1993], Chios 2000, pp. 357-358), and that the Byzantine translation of some of Aquinas' writings contributed quite a lot to this process. My impression is that Jugie implicitly

5) The positive way several Palamite authors implicitly used Aquinas in their writings shows that, setting aside the points over which ecclesiastical (i.e., political) disputes were held from the eleventh century onwards, they regarded Aquinas as a theological trans-confessional authority or, at least, semi-authority deserving to be seriously

suggests that the Palamites were conscious of the extreme character of Palamas' theology and thus tried to make it look possible to swallow; yet, being members of an 'Ecclesia dissidentium' and having, as a result, lost the guidance of the Holy Spirit, they were doomed to fall back again to the core of Palamism, which, as he had suggested elsewhere (M. JUGIE, "Les origines de la méthode hésychaste", in: *Échos d'Orient* 30 [1931], pp. 179-185, esp. 185), has roots in the late eleventh century (Symeon the New Theologian and others), when the 'dissidentia' on the Byzantines' part definitely took place. In general, the way most Catholic theologians approach the Palamite controversy implies partiality. For example, D. PÉTAU, in Vol. I of his monumental *Dogmata theologica* (1644-50), devotes a special chapter to this controversy and sanctions the anti-Palamite party as expressed, *inter alios*, in Manuel Calecas' *De essentia et operatione* (by then wrongly attributed to Demetrios Cydones), which he cites (D. PETAVIUS, *Dogmata theologica*... [cf. *supra*, n. 11], Lib. I, "De Deo Deique proprietatibus", cap. 12, "De Graecorum recentiorum opinione, qui a Dei substantia reipsa differe putant operationes illius...", fols. 76b-79a; PS.-DEMETRIOS CYDONES' passage in col. 77a, note *a*). Orthodox theologians have been unaware of the mitigating character of most Byzantine Palamites' Palamism, too. For instance, when facing Vikentios Damodos' professed defence of Palamism in terms of distinguishing between 'essence' and 'energies' "κατ' ἐπίνοιαν" or "κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς σημασίας, ὅχι κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα" (see next note), although in principle unwilling to present an 'Eastern Greek' theologian as anti-Palamist, G.D. METALLINOS is so surprised by the way Damodos formulated his Palamism that he parallels a relevant passage from DAMODOS' *Compendium of Theology* with a passage from the *Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ἐνεργείας* (PG 154: 364B) of the professed Byzantine anti-Palamist Manuel Calecas (ca. 1350?-1410); G.D. METALLINOS, *Vikentios Damodos (1679/1700-1752): Θεολογία δογματική κατὰ συντομίαν ἢτε Συνταγμάτων θεολογικῶν. Prolegomena – Kritische Ausgabe – Kommentar (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln)*, Athens 1980, p. 138, *ad* 9,4; p. 143, *ad* 14,24; *ad* 14,30-15,1; tellingly enough, one would in vain search for these specific complementary notes in the recent reimpression of this Diss.: G.D. METALLINOS, *Βικεντίου Δαμοδοῦ Θεολογία δογματική κατὰ συντομίαν ἢτε Συνταγμάτων θεολογικῶν. Εἰσαγωγή – κριτική ἔκδοσις – σχόλια*, Holy Monastery of Vatopedion (Holy Mountain) 2008.

331. In the post-Byzantine history of Palamism, most (if not all) Orthodox theologians (see a list in JUGIE, "Palamite (controverse)" [cf. *supra*, n. 328], cols. 1810-1812) followed some sort of Byzantine "palamisme mitigé". For example, Sebastos Kyminetes (1632-1702) wrote a *Σύντομος θεωρία περὶ διαφορᾶς θείας οὐσίας καὶ θείας ἐνεργείας, κατὰ Λατίνων* (unedited; see CH. KARANASIOS, *Sebastos Trapezuntios Kyminetes (1632-1702). Biographie, Werkheuristic und die editio princeps der Exegese zu "De virtute" des Pseudo-Aristoteles* [Serta Graeca, vol. 10], Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 187-188, N° 54), where he speaks of "διαφορὰ μόνῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ" (*Kos*, Municipal Library, 2, ff. 181^r; 183^v; 188^r-188^v); with an implicit reference to BASIL OF CAESAREA's *Adversus Eunomium* I,7; cf. *supra*, n. 5). (My sincere thanks to Dr. Charitonas Karanasios (Academy of Athens) for providing me a copy of cod. *Kos* 2.)

and profitably taken into account in all matters. True, the case of Joseph Bryennios shows that this was not general; still, the case of Marcos Eugenikos (not to mention his disciple Scholarios) shows that this admiration for Latins did not regard only Aquinas but also Dietrich of Freiberg and that the Byzantines' recognition of the value of Western Scholasticism was based on their seeing that the Latins mastered and fruitfully used the sane and useful pieces of both ancient Greek philosophical literature (especially Aristotle) and Christian tradition (e.g., Ps.-Dionysius Areopagite and John of Damascus).

It goes without saying that, since many primary sources of the speculative thought of Late Byzantium are still unedited and most published texts are improperly edited (the Byzantine translations of some of Thomas Aquinas' major writings included³³²), and since the philosophical sources of Gregory Palamas (whose writings left almost none of the Late Byzantine intellectuals indifferent, either in a positive or in a negative way) remain practically unexplored, some of my main and secondary conclusions will be revised.³³³

332. This is a gap intended to be filled by the research and editorial project "Thomas de Aquino Byzantinus" (<http://www.cie.gr/nhrf/institutes/ibr/programmes/thomas-gr.html>; <http://www.rhul.uk/Hellenic-Institute/Research/Thomas.htm>).

333. I would like to thank Lecturer Dr. Charalambos Dendrinios (London) for providing me with valuable material on Manuel II Palaiologos; Dr. Christos Triantafyllopoulos (London) for helping me in my study of some manuscripts; and Assoc. Prof. Chris Schabel and Assoc. Prof. Martin Hinterberger (Nicosia) for their diligent study of my text as well as for polishing my English.

THE WESTERN INFLUENCE ON LATE BYZANTINE ARISTOTELIAN COMMENTARIES¹

Katerina IERODIAKONOU

The obvious place to detect a Western influence on late Byzantine Aristotelian commentaries is George Scholarios Gennadios' extensive logical commentaries on the *Ars Vetus*, that is to say his commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and on Aristotle's *Categories* and *De interpretatione*.² For Sten Ebbesen's and Jan Pinborg's 1982 article "Gennadios and Western Scholasticism"³ succeeded in establishing, beyond any doubt, a strong dependence of Gennadios' logical commentaries on Latin sources. In particular, they convincingly argued that large chunks of Gennadios' comments are nothing but mere translations from the *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem* by Radulphus Brito (ca. 1270-ca. 1320), a scholastic philosopher and theologian from Brittany who taught Aristotelian logic at the University of Paris around the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁴

1. This paper would not have been written if it were not for the insightful work of Sten Ebbesen in this scholarly field. Moreover, this paper would not have had its present form if it were not again for Sten Ebbesen's invaluable comments on an earlier draft. For these reasons I would like to thank him wholeheartedly.

2. On Gennadios' life and works see generally F. TINNEFELD, "Georgios Gennadios Scholarios", in: C.G. CONTICELLO and V. CONTICELLO (eds.), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition, II (XIIIe-XIXe s.)*, Turnhout 2002, pp. 477-549 (with rich bibliography and an annotated list of Gennadios' works).

3. S. EBBESEN and J. PINBORG, "Gennadios and Western Scholasticism: Radulphus Brito's *Ars vetus* in Greek Translation", in: *Classica et Mediaevalia* 33 (1981-82), pp. 263-319.

4. On Radulphus Brito, see recently W.J. COURTENAY, "Radulphus Brito, Master of Arts and Theology", in: *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 76 (2005), pp. 131-158. His works will be listed in a forthcoming fascicle of Olga WEIJERS' *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca. 1200-1500)*, Studia Artistarum, Brepols: Turnhout. Among them are question commentaries on the whole of the *Organon*, *Metaphysics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*. For a list of his questions on the *Organon*, cf. J. PINBORG, "Die Logik der *Modistae*", in: *Studia Mediewistyczne* 16 (1975), pp. 39-97; rp. in J. PINBORG, *Medieval Semantics. Selected Studies on Medieval Logic and Grammar*, ed. S. EBBESEN, London 1984. Radulphus Brito's *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem* were first printed in Venice ca. 1499, but there is no critical edition of the entire text.

My aim here is simply to reappraise the extent of such an influence, to try to understand the rationale behind it, and finally to make some brief remarks about its further impact.

Let me first introduce the text on which I want to focus. Gennadios' logical commentaries were edited in Paris in 1936 on the basis of three *autographa* as the first and biggest part of the seventh volume of Gennadios' complete works.⁵ The editors dated them around 1432/5, though more recently Theodore Zissis has suggested that the date of their composition could be somewhat earlier.⁶ The three commentaries cover approximately the same length — 106 pages on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, 123 on Aristotle's *Categories*, 110 on the *De interpretatione* —, and constitute the longest Byzantine commentaries on these particular logical treatises of Aristotle.⁷ They were most probably meant to be used for teaching purposes, perhaps covering the logical training of students during their first year of philosophical studies.⁸

But what about the other treatises of the *Organon* which were usually taught as part of the standard Byzantine philosophical curriculum? Did Gennadios produce any commentaries on them, too? In the letter with which he prefaced his extant logical commentaries and in which he dedicated them to the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine Palaeologos, who at the time was still residing in Mystra, Gennadios insinuated that he had no interest in commenting on the *Prior Analytics*, because he considered this Aristotelian treatise too technical for his purposes (4.33).⁹ Concerning now the *Posterior Analytics*, Gennadios reported in some length that he had decided, instead of commenting himself on it, to translate Thomas Aquinas' commentary (4.29-5.12); this translation, however, is unfortunately lost.¹⁰ On the

5. *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, ed. by L. PETIT, X.A. SIDERIDÈS, and M. JUGIE, 8 vols., Paris 1928-36.

6. Cf. T.N. ZISSIS, *Γεννάδιος Β' Σχολάριος*, Thessaloniki 1980, p. 353.

7. Respectively pp. 7-113, 114-237, and 238-348 of *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. VII, ed. by L. PETIT, X.A. SIDERIDÈS, and M. JUGIE.

8. Cf. ZISSIS, *Γεννάδιος Β' Σχολάριος*, p. 353. Zissis makes a much more concrete suggestion: assuming that the students met for two hours twice a week and studied at each meeting one of the *lectiones* into which these commentaries are divided, the three commentaries could have covered the logical course of a whole year in three terms. However, he does not adduce any textual evidence to support this suggestion.

9. The numbers in parentheses refer to page and line numbers in *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. VII, ed. PETIT, SIDERIDÈS, and JUGIE.

10. Cf. JUGIE's introduction to *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. VII, p. II.

other hand, there is plenty of evidence that Gennadios' translation of Aquinas' comments on the *Posterior Analytics* was just one instance of his more ambitious project to translate into Greek important logical commentaries and textbooks from the Western scholastic tradition. We have, for instance, his translations of Pseudo-Aquinas' *De fallaciis*, of Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicales* (less the treatise on fallacies), and the anonymous *Liber de sex principiis*, which in his time was commonly attributed to Gilbert de la Porrée.¹¹

Still, the Western influence on Gennadios' logical endeavours was not limited to the production of these translations. What is more intriguing, from our point of view, is the way Gennadios tried to incorporate in his own logical writings what he regarded as Western wisdom; and it is indicative what he himself had to say about this in his dedicatory letter to Constantine Palaeologos. More specifically, there are three points which are worth making in this connection:

(1) Although Gennadios usually did not refer to his sources, he explicitly mentioned in these prefatory remarks the ancient commentators whose works he was well acquainted with and confessed to have used, namely, Theophrastus, Alexander, Porphyry, Syrianus, Ammonius, Simplicius and Themistius. Most interestingly, he also referred to Avicenna, to Averroes and to the Latin scholars whose logical commentaries he claimed to have found useful for the composition of his own comments¹² (3.4-22).¹³ He even stressed that it is exactly this

11. *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. VIII, pp. 255-282, 283-337, and 338-350. It is now accepted that Gilbert did not author the *Liber de sex principiis*: see L.O. NIELSEN, *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century. A Study of Gilbert Porreta's Thinking and the Theological Expositions of the Doctrine of the Incarnation during the Period 1130-1180*, Leiden 1982, p. 45. The three Latin treatises have now been critically edited: PSEUDO-AQUINAS, *De fallaciis ad quosdam nobiles artistas*, ed. by R. MANDONNET and P. PETRI, in *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opuscula Omnia*, vol. 4, Paris 1927, pp. 508-534; PETER OF SPAIN, *Tractatus*, called afterwards *Summulae logicales*, ed. by L.M. DE RIJK, Assen 1972; *Liber de sex principiis*, ed. by L. MINIO-PALUELLO (*Aristoteles Latinus*, 1/7), Paris 1966.

12. Though in his prefatory letter Gennadios does not refer to any of his Western sources in particular, in the main text of his logical commentaries we find scattered references to Boethius, Aquinas, (pseudo-) Gilbert de la Porrée, Albert the Great and once to Radulphus Brito.

13. 'Εξήτουν δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἀπλουστάτους, τούτους δὲ τοὺς τὸν Ἀριστοτελικὸν ἐξητακτάς, ἔν' οὕτως εἶπω, φλοιὸν (αὐτοὺς γὰρ ὥμην μᾶλλον ἀρμόττειν τοῖς παρέργως ἐπιχειροῦσι φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ εἵνεκα μόνῃς, καὶ αὐτοὺς οὕτω καὶ ἐκ τοιούτων λογισμῶν ἡμμένους τοῦ πράγματος), ἀλλὰ τοὺς σοφωτάτους τε καὶ ἀκριβεστάτους, οἱ τὴν ἐντεριώνην καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῖ τε ἐξέσπασαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔδωκαν χρῆσθαι, τοὺς περὶ Θεόφραστον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον λέγω, ἢ περὶ Πορφύριον καὶ Συριανὸν καὶ Σιμπλίχιον. Ἔστην δὲ οὐδὲ μέχρι

dependence on the non-Greek commentators which may be said to add extra value to his commentaries, as compared with teaching based on the works of Leo Magentenios, Michael Psellos and John Philoponus¹⁴ (3.31-34).¹⁵

(2) Gennadios clearly stated that the Latin logical works were particularly instructive to him both in terms of their content and in terms of their method. He thought that some of the issues which the Latins had previously raised, some of the views which they had expressed, and some of the distinctions which they had made were more sophisticated than the ones to be found in the Greek commentaries. Thus, according to Gennadios, the Latin commentators managed two things; namely, (i) to overshadow (*apekruptsan*) some of the interpretations of the ancient commentators by introducing more subtle distinctions and better observations, and (ii) to develop (*epêuksân*) Aristotle's philosophy with their additions (3.22-30).¹⁶ Moreover, Gennadios explained that the way he chose to structure and present his comments closely followed that of the scholastic tradition in dividing the text into 'lessons' (*anagnôseis* = *lectiones*) and each lesson into an introduction (*prothêdria*); then a broad analysis of the text into sections (*hê tou grammatos diairesis genikôis* = *divisio litterae in*

τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπερόριον σοφίαν, λέγω δὲ τὴν Λατίνων, συμβαλεῖσθαι μοι πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν μάλιστα ὑπειληφώς, ἐπεὶ τῆς Λατίνων φωνῆς ἐτύγχανον ἐπαίων, οὐκ ὀλίγας ἐπῆλθον βίβλους λατινικάς, πολλὰς μὲν τῆς ἀρχαιοτέρας, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τῆς μέσης, πλείστας δὲ τῆς νεωτέρας ταύτης καὶ ἀκριβεστέρας αἰρέσεως· οἱ γὰρ τῶν Λατίνων διδάσκαλοι οὔτε τῶν Πορφύριου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Σιμπλικίου καὶ Θεμιστίου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἠγνόησαν, καὶ ἔτι τὰ Ἀβερόου καὶ Ἀβινκένου καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων Ἀρράβων τε καὶ Περσῶν εἰς τὴν ὅλην φιλοσοφίαν συγγράμματα εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν μεταβεβλημένα φωνὴν ἅπαντα προσανέγνω· Ἀβερόν δὲ οὐδεὶς, οἶμαι, ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ὄντα τὸν κράτιστον, καὶ οὐκ ἐξηγητὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὴν πολλῶν λόγου καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων βιβλίων.

14. It is interesting to note that Gennadios includes Philoponus in the same list together with Magentenios and Psellos and not among the ancient commentators.

15. Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα ἐπελθὼν, εἰ μὲν ἐκέρδανά τι καὶ αὐτὸς πλεον τῶν Μαγεντηνόν, ἢ Ψελλόν, ἢ Φιλόπονον μόνον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις προστησαμένων, τῷ Θεῷ χάρις τῆς δωρεᾶς· ἐκείνου γὰρ τοῦτο δῶρον ἀναμφισβητήτως.

16. Ἄτε οὖν ἐκ ποικίλης σοφίας τὰ κάλλιστα συλλεξάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐξευρόντες, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐστίν (τί γὰρ ἄλλο κέρδος γένοιτ' ἂν τοῦ πολλὰ μαθεῖν ἢ τὸ ἐξευρεῖν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ δύνασθαι;), πολλὰς μὲν προσθήκαις τὴν Ἀριστοτελικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπηύξησαν, πλείοσι δὲ καὶ ὑψηλοτέροις ζητήμασι τε καὶ θεωρήμασι καὶ διαιρέσεσι λεπτοτάταις τὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ πρώτων ἐξηγητῶν ἀπέκρυψαν ἐξηγήσεις. Ταῦτόν δέ τι καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπόνθασιν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· οἱ γὰρ ὕστεροι καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ γε τὰ αὐτὰ τοὺς προτέρους παρεληλύθασιν.

generalis); then a detailed analysis of the text into sections (*diareitai to gramma eidikôs* \approx *divisio in speciali*) with interpretations of particular points (*hermêneia* \approx *expositio*); and finally, 'investigations' (*zêtēmata* \approx *quaestiones*) that he also structured in the Western way, by first stating the problem to be discussed, then arguing against the view expounded, and in the end settling the argument (5.13-26).¹⁷

(3) Gennadios expressed the wish to be read not only by his Byzantine contemporaries but also by the Latins (6.6-9). In fact, Bonifacio Bembo of Brescia translated part of his commentaries into Latin during his time.¹⁸ It is also indicative that one of the *autographa* of his logical commentaries belonged to Cardinal John Salviati (1490-1553), the nephew of Pope Leo X, active in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁹

According to Ebbesen and Pinborg, these prefatory remarks might suggest that Gennadios' logical commentaries are fairly independent works in which "the author takes advantage of his vast reading and reaps the fruits of Western scholarship without following any particular source slavishly".²⁰ But such an expectation is, in their view, hardly fulfilled. For as I have said at the beginning, they actually identify the Latin logical work which Gennadios translated and incorporated in his comments, namely Radulphus Brito's *Quaestiones super Artem Veterem*. Furthermore, Ebbesen and Pinborg claim that, if we were to subtract the passages that stem from Brito, what is left from

17. Ἐξηγήσασθαι μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τῆς λογικῆς μέρος τούτων εἵνεκα οὐχ εἰλόμην· εἰς δὲ τὴν Πορφυρίου Εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ τῶν δέκα Κατηγοριῶν τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὸ Περὶ ἑρμηνείας, ἃ δὴ καθάπερ τις θεμέλιος τῆς περὶ συλλογισμῶν πραγματείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης εἶναι δοκεῖ, ταύτην ἐκδέδωκα τὴν ἐξήγησιν, εἰς τρία διαιρουμένην, ὡς εἴρηται, ὧν ἕκαστον εἰς ἀναγνώσεις διειλόμην εἶτουν ὁμιλίας· ἐν αἷς ἀναγνώσεσιν ἔστι μὲν προθεωρία τις ἐν ταῖς πλείεσταις, ἐπάγεται δὲ ἡ τοῦ γράμματος διαίρεσις γενικῶς· εἶτα διαίρεται τὸ γράμμα εἰδικῶς καὶ ἐρμηνεύεται· εἶτα ζητοῦνται τινὰ ἐν τῷ γράμματι· εἶτα ὅπου δεῖ ζητεῖν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ γράμματος ἔνια, οὐδὲ τοῦτο παρίεμεν. Καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ ζητήματα προχωροῦμεν τῷ λατινικῷ τρόπῳ, τιθέντες τε τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ ἐπιχειροῦντες εἰς τοῦναντίον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις· εἶτα διοριζόμενοι τὰ λήθη καὶ λύοντες τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα· ὃ δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξηγητῶν οὐδεὶς πω μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας τῆσδε, ὅσα γε ἐγὼ οἶδα, τυγχάνει τεθαρρηκώς.

18. Bembo's translation is to be found in the late fifteenth-century manuscript BAV, Vat. lat. 4560, which also includes an anonymous Latin translation of Psellos' and Magentenos' comments on some of the *Organon* treatises. Cf. JUGIE, *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. VII, p. III, n. 1; EBBESEN-PINBORG, "Gennadios and Western Scholasticism", pp. 314-317.

19. Cf. JUGIE, *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. VII, p. IV.

20. EBBESEN-PINBORG, "Gennadios and Western Scholasticism", p. 265.

Gennadios' text is a so-called 'literal' commentary, or even three literal commentaries, one on each of the works, consisting of divisions of the text commented on into sections and some mini-*quaestiones*; and although they do not detect the sources of these literal commentaries, they think that they also constitute translations from the Latin, judging from some strange Greek sentences which Gennadios used. Thus, Ebbesen and Pinborg conclude: "He was, in short, a compiler in much the same way as Leo Magentenus had been; only his sources were different".²¹ In addition, Ebbesen makes an even stronger statement in one of his more recent articles: "The lection-commentary is a uniquely Latin phenomenon. The one Greek example I know, viz. George Scholarios' commentary on the *Ars Vetus*, is a translation from the Latin".²²

But is it really the case that Gennadios' logical commentaries are nothing but mere translations from the Latin? It is certainly true that in his dedicatory letter Gennadios proudly acknowledged the Western influence on his logical writings. However, he did that only after having paid tribute to the Greek commentators whom he clearly considered to be indispensable teachers for the better understanding and interpretation of Aristotle's *Organon*. Should we, then, insist that Gennadios slavishly follows Latin sources? To settle this issue, one would obviously need to study systematically all the passages from Gennadios' logical commentaries which do not stem from Brito's work and try to find out whether their sources are Greek or Latin. Here, however, I have chosen to concentrate just on Gennadios' comments on the *De interpretatione*; for what immediately struck me is the fact that this commentary includes, again according to Ebbesen and Pinborg, translated extracts from Brito's work only at two places. In particular, it only includes two clearly marked *quaestiones* which together are not more than five and a half pages in length (297.23-300.31 and 347.7-348.29). So, what about the remaining 105 pages of Gennadios' comments on the *De interpretatione*? What are the sources on which Gennadios relied here? Are they exclusively Latin sources?

21. EBBESEN-PINBORG, "Gennadios and Western Scholasticism", p. 267.

22. S. EBBESEN, "Greek and Latin Medieval Logic", in: *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 66 (1996), pp. 67-93, esp. p. 85; reprinted in IDEM, *Greek-Latin Philosophical Interaction* (Collected Essays of Sten Ebbesen, 1), Aldershot 2008, pp. 137-156, at p. 150.

In his comments on the *De interpretatione* Gennadios referred twice to Boethius (242.6; 293.28), once to Albert the Great (347.29), once to the Latin scholars in general (250.8), and once to Averroes (337.3). He never mentioned Thomas Aquinas by name, although John Demetracopoulos has recently undertaken to compile a detailed list of Gennadios' comments that constitute translations from Aquinas' commentary on the *De interpretatione*.²³ Indeed, this list clearly shows that Gennadios' comments depend on Aquinas' work to a great extent. But even this influence cannot account for the whole of Gennadios' text; for there are also his explicit references to Greek sources.

More specifically, apart from the subsidiary allusions to views put forward by Aspasius (259.27), Alexander (254.37; 259.31; 264.5; 279.15), Porphyry (278.32; 338.30), and the grammarians (250.13; 253.31), allusions which constitute digressions rather than being strictly relevant to the issues discussed in this particular Aristotelian treatise, Gennadios seems to have taken into serious consideration two Greek commentaries when composing his own logical comments, namely, Ammonius' commentary on the *De interpretatione* and Psellos' paraphrase of the same work. In fact, Gennadios referred by name to Ammonius ten times (250.21; 251.12; 255.8; 319.26; 337.33; 338.11; 22; 26; 37; 339.5) and to Psellos twice (266.3; 338.9). And although some of the references to Ammonius are clearly due to Aquinas (250.21; 251.12; 255.8), there is at least a substantial passage (337.33-339.6) in which Gennadios engaged himself directly in a lively dialogue with Ammonius' comments, expressing a strong disagreement with him. In particular, the issue discussed here concerns the authenticity of chapter fourteen of the *De interpretatione*: after having presented Ammonius' position that Aristotle is not the

23. I am indebted to John Demetracopoulos for providing me with the list of Scholarios' passages that are translations from Aquinas' commentary on the *De interpretatione*. A brief version of this list will be included in his lemma on Gennadios for the forthcoming Ueberweg volume on Byzantine philosophy, edited by G. KAPRIEV. On Scholarios and Aquinas, see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Georgios Gennadios II - Scholarios' *Florilegium Thomisticum*. His Early Abridgment of Various Chapters and *Quaestiones* of Thomas Aquinas' *Summae* and His Anti-Plethonism", in: *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 69/1 (2002), pp. 117-171, and IDEM, "Georgios Gennadios II - Scholarios' *Florilegium Thomisticum II (De fato)* and Its Anti-Plethonic Tenor", in: *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 74/2 (2007), pp. 301-376.

author of this part of the treatise, Gennadios argued in favour of the contrary thesis; and it is in the same context that Psellos is also mentioned as following the erroneous position held by Ammonius.

Furthermore, there are occasions in his *De interpretatione* commentary on which Gennadios clearly tried to differentiate his understanding of the Aristotelian text from the generally accepted one. In such cases he first stated the interpretation to which most scholars adhered, and then offered an alternative interpretation which he regarded as better and thus favoured it over the others (e.g. 257.16; 283.32; 315.28). So, even if such alternative interpretations should not always be thought of as Gennadios' original interpretations, it is reasonable to think of them as marking his attempt to take a critical stance towards his sources and to present his own point of view.

But if the content of Gennadios' commentary on the *De interpretatione* does not simply follow a Latin source, what about its method? Is it really the case that the structure of his logical comments reproduces that of the Latin commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon*? It is noticeable that at the beginning of most sections of the *De interpretatione* commentary there are brief informative analyses of the issues to be discussed in what follows (e.g., 256.4ff.; 260.11ff.; 262.32ff.; 270.12ff.; 282.18ff.; 289.37ff.; 301.6ff.). That is to say, Gennadios' common practice was first to divide and subdivide the issues to be discussed and then to focus on certain points and comment on them in greater detail. But the fact that he did not add in this particular commentary any *quaestiones*, apart from the two which he translated from Brito's work, as I have already mentioned, makes the structure of his commentary very similar to that of the Greek commentaries known as 'praxis-commentaries', which were also divided into sections, the *praxeis*, and started with an analysis of the argumentation followed by detailed comments on specific points; such a commentary, for instance, is Stephanus' commentary on the *De interpretatione*.²⁴ Hence, it would be pertinent to suggest that the method of Gennadios' commentary has as much in common with the method of some Greek logical commentaries as it does with that of the Latin ones.

24. Cf. EBBESEN, "Greek and Latin Medieval Logic", pp. 84-87; IDEM, *Greek-Latin Philosophical Interaction*, pp. 150-152.

To summarize, if Gennadios stressed in his dedicatory letter the contribution of Latin scholars to the interpretation of Aristotle's logical treatises, it is because the inclusion in his commentaries of their views constituted a real innovation in the Greek commentary tradition. Nevertheless, he certainly did not want to imply that he relied exclusively on Latin sources. For Gennadios, just like any other Byzantine commentator, made ample use of the ancient Greek commentaries as well as of those produced by previous Byzantine scholars, and most importantly, he made no claim to originality. On the contrary, he presented himself, again in his dedicatory letter, as nothing but a compiler who added at only a few places his judgement about which interpretation he regarded as the most convincing (5.26-32);²⁵ and this seems to have been his practice, at least in the case of his *De interpretatione* commentary. It should, therefore, be no surprise that he brought together comments from different authors, exactly like Magentenos, though Gennadios' sources were both Greek and Latin. And it would be an oversimplification to claim that he slavishly followed a Latin source, an oversimplification which may prevent us from undertaking the interesting, though I acknowledge quite difficult, task of inquiring into the reasons that led Gennadios to choose the different sources he actually did at the different sections of his commentary.

Gennadios' decision to make use of both Greek and Latin sources admittedly constitutes the important difference which distinguishes him from the other Byzantine commentators, a difference which calls for some explanation and to which I want to devote some brief final remarks. For the question which is particularly puzzling with regard to the Western influence on Gennadios' logical endeavours is the one inquiring into the reasons which led a Byzantine scholar for the first time at the first part of the fifteenth century to take into consideration Western scholarship. Historians of the period would perhaps invoke a series of political reasons that urged Gennadios to be open to the Latin influence, especially such political reasons as those connected

25. 'Εν ὀλίγοις μὲν οὖν καὶ διαφορὰς δοξῶν τίθεμεν καὶ κρίσεις περὶ τούτων ἡμετέρας καὶ γνώμας ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐκτρεπόμενοι τε κενοδοξίαν καὶ σοφίας δόξαν ἥμισυ προσποιούμενοι, οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐλέγχειν, οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι ἠξιώσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἡγαπήσαμεν τὰς ἀληθεστέρας ἐξηγήσεις δοκούσας εἶναι τῶν ἐγνωσμένων, ταύτας τιθέναι, οὐδὲν προσδιορίζμενοι οὐ τε εἰσὶ καὶ τοῦ χάριν τῶν ἄλλων πλεόν ἐδοκιμάσθησαν.

with the attempts to unify the Churches. In fact, Gennadios attended in 1438-1439 the Council of Ferrara-Florence, in which he took a Unionist position, although he soon after turned into an avowed opponent of the Union of the Churches and became the leader of the anti-Unionist party.²⁶

This is the historian's perspective, which by no means excludes the possibility to understand Gennadios' interest in and use of the Latin logical works on the basis of their philosophical merits. In other words, it is more rewarding, from a philosophical point of view, to single out the reasons which, according to Gennadios, made it particularly advantageous to incorporate in his logical commentaries the scholastic tradition. And it becomes, I think, clear both from his dedicatory letter and from scattered remarks in his *De interpretatione* commentary that he opted for a combination of Latin and Greek sources because, in this way, both the method and the philosophical content of his logical comments could be significantly improved. More specifically, the Latin method contributed to the clarity and precision of his commentaries, qualities which enhanced their pedagogical value and greatly facilitated their teaching. As to the content of Gennadios' commentaries, the inclusion of the Latin views offered a more comprehensive account of the different interpretations of Aristotle's doctrines, and thus guaranteed a better stance from which one would be able to recognize the best interpretation. But again, even on the occasions on which Gennadios confessed the importance of Latin influence, he did not fail to treat the Greek sources with comparable respect. For instance, when he mentioned in his dedicatory letter his translation of Aquinas' commentary on the *Posterior Analytics*, he also felt the need to point out that the views of the Greek commentators should not be neglected, if we want to reach a clear, precise and better interpretation of Aristotle's thought (5.2-12).

So, when Gennadios was composing his logical commentaries, he seems to have been well aware of the fact that he belonged to a long commentary tradition. And he treated this commentary tradition as part of the philosophical output, in the sense that he regarded the views of the previous commentators as philosophically important. The

26. G. PODSKALSKY, "Die Rezeption der thomistischen Theologie bei Gennadios II. Scholarios (1403-1472)", in: *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 (1974), pp. 305-323.

same awareness of the significance and variety of the previous commentary tradition we find in the fourteenth century in the prefatory remarks of Sophonias' paraphrasis of Aristotle's *De anima* (1.5-2.3).²⁷ The crucial difference in Gennadios' case, however, is that he consciously added the commentary tradition inaugurated by the Latin and Arab scholars, parallel to the established ancient and Byzantine tradition. Moreover, in Gennadios' case it is interesting to note that, although the commentator's task still was, of course, to explain Aristotle's text by offering interpretations of obscure passages, at the same time the commentator took seriously and commented on the views of his predecessors, views which were regarded by Gennadios as further continuing Aristotle's thought. For in his view, the role of the commentator was not only to transform Aristotle's thought for pedagogical purposes, and thus to introduce a literary innovation, but to expand on it in certain ways. And it makes sense to suggest, I think, that such a development is closely connected to the fact that Gennadios consciously presented the tradition inaugurated by the Latin scholars.

To conclude, Gennadios seems to have been the only author among the Byzantine commentators on Aristotle's logic who was open to the influence of the scholastic tradition. This influence, however, should not be seen as having the character of a mere translation or of a slavish dependence on the Western tradition. Gennadios' commentaries on the *Ars Vetus* combine elements from both the Greek and the Latin logical commentaries in an innovative manner, so that what becomes intriguing is to examine carefully how the two traditions are brought together in a coherent whole. Unfortunately, however, there was no time left for his example to be followed by other Byzantine commentators, who could have thus been able perhaps to breathe new life into their fast aging commentary tradition. It is not until much later that someone like Theophilus Korydalleus (1574-1646), who was trained in Padua at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1609-1613), could again produce in his works such an amalgam of Western scholasticism and the Greek commentary tradition.²⁸

27. Cf. B. BYDÉN, "Λογοτεχνικές καινοτομίες στα πρώιμα παλαιολόγια υπομνήματα στο *Περί ψυχής* του Αριστοτέλη", in: *Υπόμνημα* 4 (2006), pp. 221-251.

28. *Œuvres Philosophiques de Théophile Corydalée*, vol. I: Introduction à la Logique, ed. by A. PAPADOPOULOS and C. NOICA, Bucharest 1970; vol. II: *Commentaires à la Métaphysique*, ed. by C. NOICA and T. ILIOPOULOS, Bucharest 1972.

LATEINISCHE EINFLÜSSE AUF DIE ANTILATEINER. PHILOSOPHIE VERSUS KIRCHENPOLITIK?

Georgi KAPRIEV

Der vorliegende Text setzt sich eine ganz bescheidene Aufgabe. Er ist lediglich bestrebt, darzulegen, daß Philosophie und dogmatische Theologie von den byzantinischen Denkern ausreichend scharf unterschieden wurden. Diese Differenzierung wurde von ihnen selbst in denjenigen Fällen streng vorgenommen, in denen das Philosophieren theologische Themen zum Gegenstand hatte. Die Unterscheidung ging dabei so weit, daß die byzantinischen Intellektuellen, und zwar selbst diese, die in ihrem konfessionellen Bekenntnis extrem antilateinisch ausgerichtet waren, ein und dieselben lateinischen Autoren und deren Thesen auf verschiedene Weise behandelten, je nachdem, ob sie in einer philosophischen oder in einer dogmatisch-theologischen Diskussion herangezogen wurden.

Meine These lautet also, daß nur in einer anachronistischen Sichtweise die Behauptung möglich ist, daß die byzantinischen konfessionell antilateinisch orientierten Denker auch in ihrer philosophischen Praxis den Geboten der Kirchenpolitik folgten und die im Westen geprägten Begriffe, Thesen, Argumente und Methoden *a limine* schon deswegen ablehnten, weil diese lateinischer Herkunft waren. Im Hintergrund dieser Behauptung steht die altüberlieferte Überzeugung, daß es in Byzanz keine eigentliche Philosophie gab, sondern vielmehr eine Theologie, die sich gelegentlich philosophischer Verfahren bediente. Diese Überzeugung stützt sich auf eine der byzantinischen Tradition inadäquate Definition von Philosophie und Theologie, die ihrerseits auf den entsprechenden Sätzen der westlichen Universitäts-scholastik gründet.

Die derart falsch strukturierte Perspektive macht seltsame »Konspirationstheorien«, begeisterte Untersuchungen der »Kryptoentlehnungen« von lateinischen philosophischen Konzepten und »heimliche Blicke nach Westen« möglich. Trotz aller Attraktivität sind diese Denkkonstruktionen als irreführend zu bezeichnen. Die philosophische Rezeption wurde auf ihre eigene Weise motiviert. Man muß nun

erklären, inwieweit diese Rezeption als legitim galt und wieso sie keine Schizophrenie bei den sonst dogmatisch und kirchlich-politisch scharf antilateinisch ausgerichteten Denkern hervorrief. Wir müssen also nach den Möglichkeitsbedingungen fragen, die die Unterschiede zwischen dem philosophischen und dem dogmatisch-theologischen Diskurs der byzantinischen Philosophen und die Methodologie der entsprechenden Debatten¹ konstituieren.

Zunächst ist in diesem Kontext an den Charakter des Philosophiewesens in Byzanz zu erinnern. Es wird traditionell betont, daß Byzanz die antike Bildungstradition mit ihrer ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία samt dem grundsätzlich privaten Charakter des Schulwesens Punkt für Punkt übernommen hatte, wobei dieser Umstand durch die nachweisbare Tatsache angeregt wird, daß zwischen der hellenischen Antike und der byzantinischen Zeit keine kulturelle Zäsur liegt. Das trifft nicht ganz zu. Noch 425 schafft Theodosios II. eine Hochschule in Konstantinopel, wobei das klassische Unterrichtsschema um zwei neue Disziplinen ergänzt wird. Es handelt sich hierbei eben um Jura und Philosophie. Nach spätestens 617 (Übersiedlung des Stephanos von Alexandrien nach der Hauptstadt) erfährt der schulmäßige Unterricht der hellenischen Philosophie in Konstantinopel allerdings keinen entscheidenden Bruch mehr.

In den gemeinen und höheren Schulen (in Byzanz ist nie eine Universität nach dem westlichen Muster entstanden) ging es grundsätzlich um einen rezeptiven Unterricht der antiken philosophischen Lehren. Die ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία war letztlich nur eine allgemeine, mittlere Bildungsstufe. Die hellenischen Philosophen wurden durch die Lektüre ihrer Werke dargestellt. Die byzantinischen Kommentare sind in ihrer Mehrheit Notizen der Philosophielehrer, mit denen sie die schwierigeren Stellen und die Grundideen der studierten Texte erklären wollten. Deswegen sind die meisten Kommentare karg und nicht inventiv. Das Niveau des Philosophierens in Byzanz an den Kommentaren zu messen, wie dies etwa für die scholastische Philosophie legitim sein mag, ist unzulässig. Das eigentliche Philosophieren ist nicht in diesen Texten zu finden.

1. Cf. M. TRIZIO, »«Un uomo sapiente ed apostolico». Agostino a Bisanzio: Gregorio Palamas lettore del *De Trinitate*«, in: *Quaestio* 6 (2006), S. 131-189, hier S. 134.

Philosophie auf höherem Niveau wurde in privaten Schulen erlernt. Gerade diese Situation beschreibt Photios in seinem zweiten Brief an Papst Nicolaus I., in dem er »die in meinem Haus versammelte Schar« darstellt.² Üblicherweise war die Schule im eigenen Haus des Meisters untergebracht, und es bestand keine feste Regel, wie der Unterricht verlaufen und was er beinhalten sollte. Es bestand im byzantinischen Kulturkreis keine gesonderte philosophische Institution, und es entstand keine philosophische Schultradition.

Daß die Autonomie der Philosophie in Byzanz größer war als im Westen, ergibt sich daraus, daß die Philosophie sowohl institutionell als auch subjektiv als eine private Sache präsent ist und auf diese Weise auch seitens der Kirche geschätzt wird. Soweit sie im Bereich des Privaten verbleibt, kann sie selbst in Hinsicht auf die theologische Lehre autonom bestehen. Photios sagt eindeutig, daß es sich um eine »ungestrafte Lebensführung« handelt.³ Das soll aber nicht heißen, daß es sich hierbei um das reine Privatvergnügen eines kleinen Zirkels handelt, das keine weiteren Konsequenzen für die öffentliche Kultur und Denkweise hat. Gerade unter diesen Umständen werden die dialektischen und hermeneutischen Methoden, die Beweisprozeduren und selbst die inhaltlichen Plattformen der einzelnen Philosophieverfahren ausgearbeitet. Ihre Anwendung im öffentlichen Bereich, der Bereich der spekulativen Theologie eingeschlossen, ist in der Tat nie ernsthaft von den kirchlichen Institutionen diskutiert und daher auch nicht bestätigt oder verboten worden. Wenn überhaupt, dann werden die inhaltlichen Konnotationen der Schlüsse in Frage gestellt. Die philosophische Position des einzelnen Denkers bleibt nach wie vor eine private Sache. Die wenigen Ausnahmen, in denen der 'Platonismus' oder — noch seltener — der 'Aristotelismus' eines Autors getadelt wurde, tragen übrigens ausnahmslos eine staats- oder kirchenpolitische Färbung.⁴

Die Art und Weise des Philosophieunterrichts und seiner Zielsetzung ist auch der Grund für die gängige Äußerung der meisten byzantinischen

2. Cf. PHOTIOS, *Epistolae*, ed. B. LAOURDAS and L.G. WESTERINK, *Photius. Epistolae et Amphilochia*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1985, ep. 290, ll. 49-81 (= PG 102, 597A-D).

3. PHOTIOS, *Epistola* 290, l. 52, ed. LAOURDAS and WESTERINK (= PG 102, 597A).

4. Siehe dazu etwa die Prozesse bzw. Konzilsbeschlüsse gegen Ioannes Italos (1082), Eustratios von Nikaia (1117), Barlaam und Akindynos (1341 und 1351) sowie gegen Prochoros Kydones (1368) und sogar Plethon (1460).

Philosophen, daß sie »keine Lehrer haben«.⁵ Damit wird freilich nicht gesagt, daß sie bei keinem Lehrer ausgebildet wurden. Die Philosophen legen Wert darauf, daß sie weder die philosophische Position eines bestimmten Denkers fortsetzen noch Epigonen eines bestimmten Philosophen sind. Es wird damit darüber hinaus gesagt, daß sie keiner bestimmten philosophischen Schultradition angehören. In der byzantinischen Kultur bestehen keine philosophischen Schulen. Der Philosoph fühlt sich frei, seine Positionen, Methoden und Fragestellungen völlig unabhängig auszuwählen und zu benutzen. Damit ist nicht etwa ein spontaner Eklektizismus gemeint. Dennoch wird es dadurch möglich, die persönliche philosophische Position durch Begriffe und Verfahren darzulegen, die ihren Ursprung nicht selten bei verschiedenen philosophischen Traditionen haben. Dies ist möglich, weil der Philosoph sich von diesen Traditionen nicht oder nur oberflächlich doktrinär beeinflussen läßt. Es besteht eine fast allgemein gültige Basis, welche die nicht in jedem einzelnen Fall explizite philosophische Axiomatik der Philosophie in Byzanz präsentiert. Es sind freilich auch Ausnahmen (etwa die byzantinischen Thomisten) bekannt, die jedoch — gerade weil sie von der griechischen Sprache Gebrauch machen — im Rahmen des allgemeinen vorprädikativen Fundaments der Mentalität und also des philosophischen Denkens verbleiben. Wenn Maximus Confessor von einer »christlichen Philosophie« und Johannes Damascenus von der »einen Philosophie« spricht, meinen sie damit gerade die allgemeine philosophische Basis, die auf der christlichen Glaubenslehre basiert.⁶ Es ist kein Zufall, daß sich die Philosophie in Byzanz — bis auf die einzige Ausnahme Plethon — als christlich präsentiert und auch christlich ist.

Betrachtet man die knappe Liste der Fächer, die uns Photios in seinem zitierten Brief darbietet, und die lange Liste der Werke in seiner *Bibliothek* sowie die mannigfaltigen Wissensbereiche, die in den *Amphilochien* angesprochen werden, so kann man ein Bild von dem

5. Siehe etwa MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Chronographia* VI 37, bes. ll. 5-9, ed. D. DEL CORNO, S. IMPELLIZZERI, U. CRISCUOLO und S. RONCHEY, *Michele Psello. Imperatori di Bisanzio (Cronografia)*, Vicenza 1984. Dennoch verfaßte Psellos ein Enkomion auf seinen Lehrer Ioannes Mauropus.

6. MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Mystagogia* 5, ed. R. CANTARELLA, S. Massimo Confessore. *La mistagogia ed altri scritti*, Florenz 1931, ll. 25-35 (= PG 91, 673B), sowie *Opuscula theologica et polemica* 26, ed. PG 91, 276AB. IOANNES DAMASCENUS, *Dialectica* 3, ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, Bd. I, Berlin und New York 1968, S. 55-57 (= PG 94, 533B-536C).

breiten Feld der Fragestellungen rekonstruieren, die im philosophischen *curriculum* der privaten Schulen Platz fanden. Wie leicht zu ersehen ist, zählt das theologische Wissen dazu. Die spekulative Theologie ist der erhabenste Teil der ersten Philosophie, wie es gerade Photios zum ersten Mal eindeutig formuliert hat,⁷ wobei seine Formel für die ganze weitere Tradition gültig bleibt. Auch dieses Feld wird aber dem Bereich des Philosophierens, das heißt dem Bereich des Privaten, zugerechnet.

Vor diesem Hintergrund können Phänomene erklärt werden, die im Prinzip mißverstanden oder auf der Grundlage vorgefaßter Meinungen interpretiert werden. Es ist in diesem Sinn z.B. völlig zwecklos, von Gregorios Palamas in Bezug auf die bereits berichtigten Augustinus-Zitate zu behaupten, sein Werk sei »von augustinischem Denken durchdrungen«, er sei ein »augustinischer Theologe«;⁸ er entwickle eine krypto-augustinische »triadische Psychotheologie«.⁹ Es ist vielmehr zu bemerken, daß Palamas in den *150 Kapiteln* die augustinischen Überlegungen im Kontext von eigentlichen philosophischen Konstruktionen positiv rezipiert und interpretiert. Sie werden in Argumentationsstrukturen einbezogen, wobei dadurch bereits in der Tradition überlieferte Themen präzisiert und weiter entfaltet werden. Palamas nutzt z.B. den augustinischen Trinitätsternar '*mens - notitia - amor*' bzw. '*mens - verbum - amor*' in einem völlig von dem augustinischen verschiedenen anthropologischen Zusammenhang, indem er eine nicht-psychologische Deutung des Menschen entwickelt.¹⁰ Er rezipiert *De Trinitate* durch eine persönliche Lesart, die autonom und selektiv ist.¹¹ Diese Lesart ist die legitime Art und

7. Cf. PHOTIOS, *Amphilochia*, ed. L.G. WESTERINK, *Photius. Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vol. V, Leipzig 1986, Qu. 138, 5-7; Qu. 181, 98-101; Qu. 182, 2; Qu. 190, 100, (= PG 101, 769A, 896C, 897D, 920C). Siehe dazu G. KAPRIEV, *Philosophie in Byzanz*, Würzburg 2005, bes. S. 172-173.

8. Cf. R. FLOGAUS, »Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th Century Byzantium«, in: *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 42/1 (1998), S. 15-23.

9. Cf. I. A. DEMETRAKOPULOS, *Ανγουστίνοσ και Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς: Τα προβλήματα των αριστοτελικών κατηγοριών και της τριαδικής ψυχοθεολογίας*, Athen 1997, S. 83-93.

10. Cf. G. KAPRIEV, »Die nicht-psychologische Deutung des Menschen bei Gregorios Palamas«, in: *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 12 (2006), S. 187-198.

11. Cf. TRIZIO, »"Un uomo sapiente ed apostolico". Agostino a Bisanzio: Gregorio Palamas lettore del *De Trinitate*«, S. 188.

Weise, sich philosophisch mit dem philosophischen Werk eines Denkers auseinanderzusetzen.

Der Umstand, daß die Themen, die dabei behandelt werden, einen theologischen Charakter haben, spielt in diesem Zusammenhang keine wesentliche Rolle. Palamas (wie auch alle Vertreter der byzantinischen Tradition) unterscheidet zwischen der dogmatischen und der spekulativen Theologie, die kraft philosophischer Verfahren betrieben wird. Die Hesychasten des 14. Jahrhunderts bilden davon keine Ausnahme.

Ausgerechnet Philotheos Kokkinos, der Autor und Mitautor zweier der insgesamt drei offiziellen Proklamationen des Palamismus im 14. Jahrhundert (die *Tomoi* von 1351 — Mitautor gemeinsam mit Neilos Kabasilas, und von 1368 — selbständige Autorschaft) verwendet in seinem ersten gegen Akindynos gerichteten Traktat über das Taborlicht den Fachausdruck »das Philosophieren der Theologen« in einem bemerkenswerten Sinn. Er spricht von dem »auf die beste Weise von den Theologen Philosophierten«. Damit unterscheidet Philotheos das durch die Heilige Schrift, die Konzilien und die Väter als Dogma Ererbte von dem durch die Arbeit der Vernunft aufgrund der Dogmenaxiomatik Erreichte. Gerade bei Letzterem besteht das Wesen des Philosophierens im theologischen Themenbereich, das selbstverständlich mittels der entsprechenden fachlichen Verfahren vorgeht. Dieses Philosophieren soll — insistiert er deswegen im zweiten Traktat — mit den Geistlicheren zusammen ausgeführt werden, damit man zur Wahrheit gelangt. Das Philosophieren über theologische Themen ist eine Beschäftigung für geistliche Menschen und es ist auf geistliche Menschen ausgerichtet. Wir, die Uneingeweihten, die das Gewünschte immer noch nicht einsichtig schauen, philosophieren — erklärt er endlich — durch den Fels bedeckt so wie jene, die den Rücken Gottes gesehen haben.¹²

Die Fundierung auf den Zeugnissen der Heiligen setzt allerdings die Norm nicht außer Kraft, daß die Auslese des philosophischen Instrumentariums eine durchaus private Sache bleibt, die keine auswärtige Institution bestätigen kann. Es wird nach den Ergebnissen und nicht nach den Mitteln gefragt. Aus diesem Grund sollten die von Ioannes A. Demetrakopulos aufgezeigten Entlehnungen thomasischer Begriffe

12. Eine *Editio princeps* der beiden Traktate des Philotheos Kokkinos über das Taborlicht wird von Petia Yaneva für die Reihe *Bibliotheca Christiana* des bulgarischen Iztok-Zapad-Verlags vorbereitet.

und Begriffszusammenhänge seitens der Palamiten in ihrem Bestreben, die diskursiv schwer erklärbare Unterscheidung zwischen der Wesenheit und den wesenhaften Energien Gottes philosophisch zu bewältigen, nicht als etwas Außergewöhnliches betrachtet werden. In dieser Hinsicht bemerkenswert ist das Schicksal des ursprünglich proklischen Begriffs δύναμις ἐνεργητική, den Palamas sehr selten und nebenbei verwendet.¹³ Im Zuge seiner massiven gegen Thomas gerichteten Kritik entlehnt Kallistos Angelikudes den Begriff (der sonst bei den byzantinischen Thomisten, etwa Prochoros Kydones zu lesen ist) von seinem 'Opponenten' und verbindet ihn fest mit der Bestimmung der göttlichen wesenhaften Kraft.¹⁴ Diese Bezugnahme findet im Folgenden eine breitere Anwendung in den palamitischen Kreisen.

Die sachliche Unterscheidung zwischen dem dogmatischen und philosophischen Herangehen an den theologischen Themenbereich und der dementsprechend unterschiedliche Umgang mit den lateinischen Autoritäten sind sehr deutlich bei Markos Eugenikos zu beobachten. Er besteht einerseits darauf, daß es Pflicht ist, die Orthodoxie und die von den Vätern ererbten kirchlichen Dogmen zu bewahren.¹⁵ Aus diesem Grund weigert er sich, Sätze zu akzeptieren, die den Anspruch erheben, eine Dogmendoktrin zu formulieren, die der orthodoxen Kirchenlehre widerspricht. Er ist bereit, aus dieser Perspektive doktrinäre Deutungen z.B. des Augustinus oder Gregorius des Großen abzulehnen.¹⁶ Weil ihm gemäß auch Augustinus, Ambrosius und Gregorius der Große »selig und göttlich« sind (ebenso wie Augustinus für Palamas »weise und apostolisch« ist¹⁷), versucht er sie in solchen Fällen durch Vermutungen zu schützen, wie etwa daß ihre Bücher wie die Bücher von mehreren griechischen Heiligen

13. Z.B. GREGORIOS PALAMAS, *Contra Gabram*, 25, ed. P. CHRESTOU et alii, *Γρηγορίου Παλαμά Συγγράμματα*, Bd. 2, Thessalonike, 1994, S. 352, 24; ID., *Contra Acindynum* IV, 11, 25, ed. P. CHRESTOU et alii, *Γρηγορίου Παλαμά Συγγράμματα*, Bd. 3, S. 260, 8.

14. Cf. G. KAPRIEV, »Transzendentalien und Energien. Zwei Modelle mittelalterlicher Philosophie (Thomas von Aquin und Kallistos Angelikudes)«, in: *Die Logik des Transzendentalen* (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, Bd. 30), ed. M. PICKAVÉ, Berlin - New York 2003, S. 433-453.

15. *Oratio prima de igne purgatorio*, 1, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 15, S. 40, 6-9.

16. *Oratio prima de igne purgatorio*, 6, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 15, 48, 20-23.

17. GREGORIOS PALAMAS, *Contra Gregoram* II, 43, ed. P. CHRESTOU et alii, *Γρηγορίου Παλαμά Συγγράμματα*, Bd. 4, Thessalonike 1988, S. 296, 10-14.

verstümmelt oder verfälscht worden sein könnten.¹⁸ Mehr kann er in diesem Kontext nicht machen. Weil es um Axiome geht, kann man hier weder argumentieren noch interpretieren. Markos lehnt es definitiv ab — wobei er sich allerdings explizit eines Augustinus-Zitates bedient —, eine dogmatische Lehre zu akzeptieren, die den kanonischen Schriften widerspricht, unbeschadet der Vorzüglichkeit ihrer Autoren in Heiligkeit und Gelehrsamkeit.¹⁹ Ein solcher Satz bleibt eine 'private Meinung' seines Autors. Der Kompromiß in den Angelegenheiten des Glaubens ist undenkbar, und deswegen reagiert Markos heftig auf alle der orthodoxen Dogmatik widersprechenden Thesen, insbesondere wenn diese seitens der ihm gemäß »aus unserem Glauben abgefallenen« Lateiner kommen.²⁰ In einem solchen Fall stürzt er sich auch auf Thomas von Aquin.²¹

Ganz anders geht er jedoch vor, wenn es um die philosophische Spekulation geht. Hier zeigt er sich bereit, den Argumenten der Opponenten gegenüber eine Antwort zu suchen und eine Lösung zu finden.²² Dann zitiert er massiv und positiv lateinische Autoritäten einschließlich Thomas, wobei er kraft eines Satzes von Thomas seine lateinischen Konzilienopponenten zu widerlegen versucht, obschon er im folgenden Thomas' Satz relativiert.²³ Markos suggeriert, daß den philosophischen Schlußfolgerungen (seine eigenen eingeschlossen) verschiedene Stufen von Gewißheit und Notwendigkeit zukommen.²⁴ Damit ist aber durchaus nicht gemeint, daß die Philosophie höchstens Mutmaßungen vorzunehmen imstande ist. Ganz im Gegenteil beharrt er darauf, daß die Sache der Philosophie die Erlangung und Verteidigung der Wahrheit sei, auch wenn diese Wahrheit vermöge der Vernunft zu gewinnen ist.²⁵

Die theologisch antilateinisch ausgerichteten Palamiten setzen also eine Linie fort, die für die ganze byzantinische Tradition spätestens seit Dionysios Pseudo-Areopagita und seinen ersten Kommentatoren

18. *Oratio prima de igne purgatorio*, 9, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 15, 50, 28-51, 7.

19. *Oratio altera de igne purgatorio*, 15, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 15, 124, 17-27.

20. *Capita syllogistica*, 40, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 17, 407, 34-35.

21. *Capita syllogistica*, 13, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 17, 246, 8-17.

22. *Oratio prima de igne purgatorio*, 1, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 15, 39, 9-13.

23. *Oratio altera de igne purgatorio*, 23, III, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 15, 143, 14-27.

24. *Morientis oratio ad amicos*, B, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 17, 486, 14-487, 1.

25. *Ad Georgium Scholarium epistola*, 1-2, in: *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 17, 460, 7-461, 29.

gültig ist. 'Philosophie' ist bei Dionysios ein *terminus technicus*. Er spricht von Philosophieren und Philosophie sowohl in Hinsicht auf die antiken Philosophen als auch auf sich selbst und die christliche Überlieferung. Die Auseinandersetzung verläuft auf dem Feld der syllogistischen Beweise ohne Demonstrationen einer vorläufigen Überlegenheit.²⁶ Die Philosophie und die ihr entsprechenden Erkenntnispraktiken verbleiben im Bereich des Diskurses, des rational Erreichbaren und begrifflich Artikulierbaren, indem nämlich — im Bereich der Philosophie und beim Philosophieren — eine partielle oder totale Abweichung von der Wahrheit möglich ist und es einem jeden widerfahren kann, nicht richtig und unvollkommen zu sprechen.²⁷ Die Philosophie wird ständig im Vergleich mit der Theologie gedeutet. Die Schau des Göttlichen, d.h. die Theologie schlechthin, erreicht man nicht durch die Energie des menschlichen Geistes, sondern durch eine Erleuchtung, welche das Leistungsvermögen der menschlichen Natur übersteigt. Sie ist eine lebendige Erfahrung der Göttlichkeit; eine Selbstoffenbarung Gottes innerhalb der persönlichen menschlichen Existenz.²⁸ Die menschliche Seele wird nur dank der Vereinigung mit dem Göttlichen fähig, Gott zu schauen.²⁹ Im Bereich des schlechthin Theologischen gibt es keine Bewegung in Richtung Wahrheit. Die Wahrheit wird gänzlich, wie sie ist, (oder vielmehr, wie sie sich selbst vor den gotterwählten Geistern äußert) zu eigen gemacht. Diese Theologie wird von den heiligen Männern bezeugt.³⁰ Diejenigen, die ihnen auf den Fuß folgen, bewahren ihre Worte.³¹ Aus diesem Grund ist Dionysios imstande, über »die eine Theologie« oder »die Theologie selbst« zu sprechen,³² was in keinem anderen Erkenntnisbereich

26. Vgl. *Scholion in De divinis nominibus* (= DN) 4, 20 (ed. PG 4, 284AC), *Scholion in DN* 4, 22 (PG 4, 288BC), *Scholion in DN* 4, 27 (PG 4, 297BC), *Scholion in DN* 4, 28 (PG 4, 297C-300B).

27. Vgl. PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA, *De Divinis Nominibus*, 13, 4, ed. B.R. SUCHLA, *Corpus Dionysiacum I. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, De divinis nominibus* (Patristische Texte und Studien 33), Berlin-New York 1990, S. 230, 6-231, 8 (= PG 3, 981C-984A).

28. DN 2, 7, ed. SUCHLA, S. 130, 14-132, 4 (=PG 3, 645AB); DN 2, 9, ed. SUCHLA, S. 133, 5-134, 4 (= PG 3, 648AB).

29. DN 4, 12, ed. SUCHLA, S. 157, 9-158, 12 (= PG 3, 709BD).

30. DN 13, 4, ed. SUCHLA, S. 230, 6-11 (= PG 3, 981C); *Scholion in DN* 13, 4 (Migne PG 4, 416A).

31. DN 11, 6, ed. SUCHLA, S. 221, 13-223, 14 (= PG 3, 953B-956B).

32. DN 9, 7, ed. SUCHLA, S. 212, 9 (= PG 3, 916A).

möglich ist. Er betont entschieden, daß die persönliche Schau der geistigen Worte (τῶν νοητῶν λόγων) und ihre συνοπτική διδασκαλία eine πρεσβυτική δύναμις voraussetzt, während das Wissen (ἐπιστήμη) und Erlernen (ἐκμάθησις) des Sinns der Worte die Sache der auf einer niedrigeren Stufe stehenden Geweihten und sich Weihenden ist,³³ zu denen er offensichtlich auch sich selbst zählt. Dieses 'Wissen und Erlernen' darf man als die dionysische Beschreibung des höchsten Teiles der καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία verstehen, unter deren Rücksicht er sich erlaubt, auch über θεολογική ἐπιστήμη zu sprechen.³⁴ Wenn die Theologie dank einer übergeistigen Energie wahrgenommen wird, so ist die andere Art von Erkenntnis, d.h. die Philosophie, Ergebnis einer geistigen Energie³⁵ oder geistigen Bewegung (νοητική κίνησις), wie der Scholiast an dieser Stelle hinzufügt. Die Philosophie ist eine Verwirklichung der Fähigkeit, zu verstehen (νόησις) und dies verbal zu äußern (ἐκφρασις).³⁶ Es geht um das Reden im Bereich der Bejahungen und Verneinungen, der logischen Schlüsse und der Syllogistik.³⁷ Der Denkende arbeitet hier mit seiner eigenen Vernunft und tritt mit seinen Opponenten auf einer gemeinsamen Basis in Diskussion, und auf dieser gemeinsamen Grundlage können sie ihre Argumente und Inhaltspositionen abmessen und prüfen. Die Konfrontation verläuft dabei nicht im Bereich des Formalen, sondern lediglich des Inhaltlichen.

Diese Position bestimmt selbstverständlich auch das Verhältnis der byzantinischen Denker zu den lateinischen Autoritäten. Im Bereich des Theologischen ist es für sie, insbesondere nach dem Scheidejahr 1204 und hauptsächlich für die Palamiten, undenkbar, im Bereich der Dogmatik eine lateinische 'Neuerung' zu akzeptieren oder selbst mit guter Absicht zu diskutieren. Ganz anders spielten sich die Verhältnisse im Bereich des Philosophischen einschließlich der spekulativen Theologie ab. Dies ist der Bereich des dialektischen Diskurses, des Begriffs- und Methodenaustausches, der Interpretation, des Modalen. In diesem Bereich ist übrigens der intellektuelle Dialog zwischen den östlichen und westlichen Denkern, und zwar ohne Rücksicht auf ihre theologische Ausrichtung, nie unterbrochen worden.

33. DN 3, 2, ed. SUCHLA, S. 140, 16-20 (= PG 3, 681C).

34. DN 2, 2, ed. SUCHLA, S. 125, 1-3 (= PG 3, 640A).

35. DN 2, 7, ed. SUCHLA, S. 131, 2-12 (= PG 3, 645A).

36. DN 13, 4, ed. SUCHLA, S. 231, 5 (= PG 3, 984A).

37. Vgl. *Scholion in DN 4*, 19 (PG, 273B).

In diesem Sinn ist die These zu relativieren, daß »die byzantinischen und die westlichen Philosophen erst im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert begannen, wirklich miteinander zu sprechen, gegenseitig ihre Bücher zu lesen und sich von anderen Traditionen und Sichtweisen beeinflussen zu lassen«.³⁸ Dies war prinzipiell, wenn auch mit wechselnder Intensität, für die ganze byzantinische Periode gültig. Zum Unterschied z.B. zum 12. Jahrhundert aber, als alle Kommunikationskanäle funktionierten und die Auseinandersetzungen auf allen Ebenen verliefen, macht die Situation nach 1204 und insbesondere nach 1368, als sich die Kirche von Konstantinopel bewußt provinzialisiert und die Römische Kirche auf dem Gebiet der Dogmatik und der Ekklesiologie völlig ignoriert, wobei zu dieser Zeit ähnliche Prozesse auch für die katholische Kirche bestimmend sind,³⁹ den persönlichen intellektuellen Dialog zu der faktisch einzigen Form des positiven und produktiven Umgangs zwischen den Denkern des Ostens und des Westens. Das Verweilen einer erheblichen Anzahl byzantinischer Intellektueller im Westen machte diese Prozesse ohnehin intensiver und deutlicher wahrnehmbar. Zwar bietet das Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz eine exemplarische Möglichkeit, alle Wege des Gedankenaustausches zu demonstrieren. Es geht aber nur um eine eingeschränkte Periode, wobei der produktive Dialog im Bereich der dogmatischen Theologie und der Ekklesiologie durch die Idee der 'ökonomischen Union' der Kirchen, die übrigens im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert eine *opinio communis* war, prinzipiell nachließ. Die positive intellektuelle Beeinflussung der antilateinisch ausgerichteten Palamiten im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert ist nur aus der Perspektive der Identifikation des Dogmatischen und Ekklesiologischen mit dem Philosophischen als eine der Kirchenpolitik zuwiderlaufende Haltung zu verstehen. Aus der Sicht der byzantinischen philosophischen Kultur war dies aber vielmehr ein selbstverständlicher und sogar verbindlicher intellektueller Vorgang.

38. K. IERODIAKONOU, »Byzantine Philosophy«, in: D.M. BORCHERT, ed., *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 1, 2006, Detroit-New York, S. 789: »[...] it was only in the fifteenth century that Byzantine and Western philosophers actually began to talk to one another, to read one another's books, and to be influenced by others' traditions and views«.

39. Vgl. G. KAPRIEV, »Die Verurteilung von Konstantinopel 1368 — Universalansprüche und Provinzialisierung«, Plenarvortrag am XII International Congress of Medieval Philosophy, Palermo, 16-22 September 2007.

MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS IN PARIS (1400-1402): THEOLOGY, DIPLOMACY AND POLITICS

Charalambos DENDRINOS

The end of the fourteenth century found the Byzantine Empire in a critical state. With the advance of the Ottoman forces and the defeat of the Christian coalition headed by King Sigismund of Hungary (1387-1437) at Nicopolis in September 1396,¹ and the failure of plans for a new expedition the following year, which coincided with the long siege of Constantinople by Sultan Bayezid I (1394-1403), Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425) intensified his diplomatic approaches to the West.² Eager to proceed with the union of the Churches, the Roman Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) responded to Manuel's pleas for help, by issuing a bull on 1 April 1398 appealing to the Christian sovereigns to provide military aid.³ As a result, a

1. King Sigismund and Philibert de Naillac, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller, together with a few leaders managed to escape to Constantinople; see J.W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick, NJ 1969, pp. 133-139, 149. On the disastrous defeat at Nicopolis, see Manuel's remarks in his *Letter to Demetrius Cydones*, ed. and trans. G.T. DENNIS, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, VIII), Washington, DC 1977, no. 31, pp. 80-87, and his *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. and trans. J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Manuel II Palaeologus. Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XXVI), Thessalonica 1985, pp. 193.25-195.11.

2. Nicholas Notaras and Theodore Palaeologus Cantacuzenus, Manuel's uncle, delivered the Emperor's letters (dated 1 July 1397) to King Charles VI of France in October of that same year, and to King Richard II of England on 23 April 1398. They were followed by a delegation, led by Manuel's son-in-law Ilario Doria, in Italy and England, and probably France, early in 1399; see BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 154-160; J. HARRIS, *Greek Emigres in the West, 1400-1520*, Camberley 1995, pp. 44-45. Promoting the imperial policy, Patriarch Anthony IV, in his letters of January 1397 addressed to Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, and to Kyprianos, Metropolitan of Kiev, urged the formation of a crusade under Sigismund against the Turks; eds. F. MIKLOSICH and J. MÜLLER, *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, vol. II, Vienna 1862; phot. repr. Darmstadt 1968, nos. 515-516, pp. 280-285; cf. J. DARROUZÈS, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, Le Patriarcat Byzantin, Recherches de diplomatique, d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, vol. I, fasc. VI, *Les Regestes de 1377 à 1410*, Paris 1979, nos. 3039-3040, pp. 302-305.

3. Ed. A.L. TAUTU, *Acta Bonifacii PP. IX (1389-1404)* (Acta Romanorum Pontificum, Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, Series III,

French expeditionary force under the veteran of the Crusade of Nicopolis Marshal Jean le Meingre, known as Boucicaut, reached Constantinople in June 1399. The success of this small force in bringing relief to the surroundings of the city, though inevitably limited, convinced Boucicaut to urge the Emperor to secure the formation of a crusade against the Ottomans by a personal visit to Western Europe.⁴

Thus, in December 1399, reconciled with his nephew John VII through the intermediacy of Boucicaut, Manuel appointed John as his regent in Constantinople. A French garrison under the command of Jean de Chateaufort was left for the protection of the city. On 10 December Manuel sailed to the Morea. Uncertain of John's intentions, the emperor left his wife and children for safety with his brother Theodore, despot at Mistra, and with his own entourage and Boucicaut continued his voyage to Venice in spring 1400.⁵

His celebrated diplomatic journey, which has been studied extensively in the past, took him through Italy to France and England.⁶ In

vol. XIII.1), Vatican City 1970, no. 55, pp. 112-113. See also O. HALECKI, "Rome et Byzance au temps du grand Schisme d'Occident", in: *Collectanea Theologica* (Lwów) 18 (1937), pp. 477-532, at pp. 506ff.; HARRIS, *Greek Emigres in the West*, p. 44 with notes 21-22.

4. See ANONYMOUS (CHRISTINE DE PISAN?), *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, I, 30-35, ed. D. LALANDE, Paris-Geneva 1985, pp. 132-153; JEAN JUVÉNAL DES URSINS, *Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France et des choses memorables advenuees durant 42 années de son Règne depuis 1380 jusques à 1422*, ed. D. GODEFROY, Paris 1653, reprinted in [J.F.] MICHAUD and [J.J.F.] POUJOLAT (eds.), *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e*, 1^e série, vol. II, Paris 1836, p. 412b. Manuel's remarks in his *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, p. 163.3-17, composed after these events, reflect his original hope for the success of this plan. See also BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 160-165.

5. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, p. 163.19-164.4. See also BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 165-181.

6. See A.A. VASILIEV, "Putešestvie Vizantijskago Imperatora Manuila II Paleologa po zapadnoj Evropie (1399-1403 g.)", in: *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvěščenija*, n. s., 39 (1912), pp. 41-78, 260-304; M. JUGIE, "Le voyage de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue en Occident", in: *Echo d'Orient* 15 (1912), pp. 322-332; G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres*, Paris 1916 (published originally in *Revue des deux Mondes* [Paris, 15 December 1915]; reprinted in IDEM, *Byzance et Croisades, Pages Médiévales*, Paris 1927, pp. 87-147); M.A. ANDREEVA, "Zur Reise Manuels II. Palaiologos nach West-Europa", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 37 (1937), pp. 37-47. See also BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 165-199; CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Manuel Palaeologus, Funeral Oration*, pp. 7 with note 17, 162 with notes 87-88.

the remainder of this paper, we shall revisit aspects of Manuel's diplomatic and political activities during his stay in the French capital, and we shall examine the theological discussions he held there, including those concerning the prospects for the union of the Churches. New evidence shows that the emperor was well aware of the internal controversies in the Latin Church and the complexities of the Western Schism at the time and as an experienced statesman and diplomat Manuel used this knowledge in the context of his visit to promote his cause.

Crossing Italy, through Padua, Vicenza and Pavia, the emperor reached Milan, where he was received with great honour by the Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1385-1402), who showed generosity and promised to join other potentates for the defense of the Empire should an agreement for help be secured. There Manuel was joined by his close friend, scholar and ambassador Manuel Chrysoloras, who had been teaching Greek in Florence. From Milan the emperor proceeded to France, while Boucicaut was sent ahead to prepare the way. Manuel and his entourage were ceremoniously received at Charenton, outside Paris, by King Charles VI (1380-1422) and his court, in the presence of the people of Paris, on 3 June 1400. The Christian emperor from the East, then fifty years of age, left an indelible impression by his nobility, dignity and grace, and no less by his skills as a horseman. According to the anonymous French chronicler known as the Religious of Saint Denys, one of our main sources for Manuel's stay in France, the emperor, dressed in his imperial garb of white silk, delighted the Parisian crowds when he jumped from his mount onto the white one offered to him by Charles in his entry to the city, without setting foot upon the ground.⁷

It is not surprising that Manuel's magnificent reception inspired French artists, such as the Limbourg brothers, who were responsible for parts of the miniature decoration in the sumptuous *Book of Hours* of Jean, Duke of Berry (1340-1416), now preserved in Musée Condé,

7. See RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, *Chronicon Karoli Sexti*, XXI, i, De receptione imperatoris Grecie, ed. and French trans. L. BELLAGUET, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, in: *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, vol. 2, Paris 1840, pp. 754-760; English trans. BARKER, *Manuel II*, p. 397. Cf. ANONYMOUS, *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre*, I, 35, ed. LALANDE, pp. 154-155.

Chantilly.⁸ The scene of the royal reception at Charenton is alluded to in the meeting of the Magi, with Melchior, capturing Manuel's features, riding a white horse (f. 51v). In the miniature with the adoration of the Magi (f. 52r), Melchior-Manuel kisses the feet of the Child after he has removed his diadem. Manuel serves as the model also for the figure enthroned on a chariot carrying the sun drawn by two winged horses on the tympani of the calendar months (ff. 2-13), and several other miniatures (ff. 22r, 32v, 39r, 43v, 97v). As the manuscript was commissioned in 1409, with the Limbourg miniatures executed around 1413, the model for the depictions of the emperor must have been the medals produced earlier with the figures of two emperors associated with the True Cross, Constantine I and Heraclius, both of whom closely resemble Manuel (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles),⁹ copies of which were in the possession of the Duke of Berry.¹⁰ Similarly, Manuel, through the Heraclius medal, became the model for the depiction of King Charles VI by the miniaturist Jean (Jehan) Foucquet (c.1415-c.1480). The six miniatures Foucquet executed in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 6465, which contains a Chronicle of French Kings, include the meeting of the emperors before the walls of Paris (f. 446r), the reception by officials of the emperor mounting a white horse on the road to the royal abbey of Saint Denys (f. 444v), and the arrival of the emperor at the abbey (f. 444r).¹¹

Deeply impressed by Manuel, his hosts offered generous entertainment to their honoured guest, inviting him on royal hunts and to sumptuous festivals and court celebrations, including a banquet to celebrate the marriage of the son of Louis de Bourbon on 24 June 1400. It may not be coincidental that the emperor was seated on this occasion next to the papal legate.¹² The fact that Manuel, despite an

8. Facsimile edition by J. LONGNON and R. GAZELLES (eds.), Preface by M. MEISS, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly*, London 1969; repr. 1993, esp. pp. 19-20, Plates 2-13, 19-20, 34, 38, 48-49, 87. See BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 536-538.

9. Photographs of the medals in BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 196-197, figs. 13-16.

10. See LONGNON and GAZELLES (eds.), *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly*, p. 20.

11. See BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 538-539.

12. RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXI, ii, ed. and trans. BELLAGUET, vol. 2, pp. 758-759. See BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 175 n. 93 citing VASILIEV, "Putešestvie Vizantijskago Imperatora Manuila II Paleologa", pp. 71-74.

old, unfounded assumption,¹³ did not know Latin or French in order to hold direct conversations during his visit caused him some frustration. As he says in the letter he sent to Manuel Chrysoloras from Paris shortly after his arrival there, "The difference in language ... did not allow us to converse, as we had wished, with really good men who were extremely anxious to show us favour".¹⁴ Therefore, his discussions must have been conducted through interpreters.

Manuel was lodged as royal guest in the quarters prepared for him in the old Louvre. Most probably at some stage during his stay there, inspired by a dyed woven hanging tapestry depicting scenes of Spring, he composed his well-known *ekphrasis*.¹⁵ This tapestry so far has not been found, if it has survived. It has been suggested that it may have been part of a group with the theme of the Four Seasons, known to have been commissioned by the French court from Jean de Jaudoigne between 1400 and 1410.¹⁶ As has been pointed out, Manuel's short prose work departs from similar Byzantine *ekphraseis* of Spring. Far beyond a mere rhetorical exercise based on cliché perceptions and

13. S. RUNCIMAN, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge 1970, pp. 76, 77.

14. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, 37, ed. and trans. DENNIS, pp. 98 (trans.), 99.4-6 (text): "καὶ προσῆν τὸ τῆς διαλέκτου παρελλαγμένον, ὃ τὰς συνουσίας οὐ συνεχώρει κατὰ γνώμην γίνεσθαι ἀνδράσι πάντα ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πάνθ' ἡμῖν χαρίζεσθαι βουλομένοις".

15. Ed. and trans. J. DAVIS, "Manuel II Palaeologus' *A Depiction of Spring in a Dyed, Woven Hanging*", in: CH. DENDRINOS, J. HARRIS, E. HARVALIA-CROOK and J. HERRIN (eds.), *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, Aldershot-Burlington 2003, pp. 411-421, at 411-413. This short work is preserved also in codex *Parisinus graecus* 3041, which must have been in the emperor's own possession, since it comprises a collection of his literary and rhetorical works bearing his autograph corrections and emendations. Palaeographical and codicological evidence indicates that this manuscript consists of two parts (ff. 2-21 and 22-308), each copied by two different, though very similar, hands at two stages. The first hand copied part of the collection of Manuel's letters which are datable before he departed for his journey to the West, together with a number of his literary works composed up to that time, the last one being his *Dialogue on Marriage* (ff. 2-21). The second scribe copied a selection of the letters Manuel wrote during and after his journey (ff. 22-37), along with other rhetorical works he composed in this period, including the *ekphrasis* of Spring which bears a note above its title, added by another hand, possibly that of Manuel, indicating that it was written in Paris ("ἐν Παρισίῳ"). See A. ANGELOU (ed.), *Manuel Palaiologos, Dialogue with the Empress-Mother On Marriage* (Byzantina Vindobonensia, XIX), Vienna 1991, pp. 13-17.

16. J. SCHLOSSER, "Die höfische Kunst des Abendlandes in byzantinischer Beleuchtung", in: J. SCHLOSSER (ed.), *Präludien, Vorträge, und Aufsätze*, Berlin 1927, pp. 74-75 with n. 10, cited by DAVIS, "Manuel II Palaeologus' *A Depiction of Spring in a Dyed, Woven Hanging*", p. 419 n. 22.

representations of the subject, it brings a fresh approach to the genre, reflecting Manuel's intellectual and aesthetic appreciation of art as an image of life, of reality. "Indeed", he says in the epilogue, "the weaver's skill has produced a feast for the eyes, a true delight for those looking on. But the inspiration, of course, is spring itself — sorrow's end, or, if you like, joy's beginning".¹⁷ This last remark may imply Manuel's mood, wishful and hopeful thoughts, reflected also in the same letter to Chrysoloras mentioned above.¹⁸

Anxious to proceed with his task, during his stay in the French capital Manuel continued his diplomatic contacts and negotiations with other Western monarchs. During one of King Charles' periodic fits of mental illness the emperor took the opportunity to visit personally King Henry IV (1399-1413) in England in winter 1401.¹⁹ Manuel and his entourage crossed the Channel in December 1400 and, after a short stay in Canterbury as guests of the prior of Christ Church, he was received by Henry, who met him at Blackheath on 21 December and escorted him to London. There he remained in Eltham Palace as a royal guest until mid-February. In another letter he sent from London to Manuel Chrysoloras the emperor expressed his appreciation for the hospitality he received and the personality of Henry, "the King of Britain the Great, of a second empire, you might say" ("ὁ τῆς Βρετανίας ῥῆξ τῆς μεγάλης, τῆς δευτέρας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, οἰκουμένης"). Henry's assurances for the provision of financial and military assistance, including soldiers, archers, and ships for the transportation of the army, raised Manuel's hopes, giving him "even greater proof of [the king's] nobility, by adding a crowning touch to our negotia-

17. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *A Depiction of Spring in a Dyed, Woven Hanging*, ed. and trans. DAVIS, pp. 413 (trans.), 412.44-46: "ὅλως δὲ ἡ τέχνη τῶν ὑφασμένων ἐστὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, τρυφή γιγνόμενη θεαταῖς· αἴτιον δὲ τὸ ἔαρ, κατηφείας λύσις, εἰ δὲ βούλει, παιδρότητος πρόξενον".

18. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, 37, ed. and trans. DENNIS, pp. 101.11-19 (text), 100: "... many are the services provided for us by the most illustrious king and many, too, the things from his kinsmen, and not a few in number those from his officials and from everyone. All of this certainly gives evidence of their nobility of soul, their friendship toward us, and a constant zeal for the faith ... to sum it all up, unless the usual malice of evil fortune should oppose us, and some terrible and unexpected obstacle should occur, we have good reason to hope that we shall return to the fatherland soon, which is what we know you are praying for and what our enemies are praying against".

19. On Manuel's visit to London see D.M. NICOL, "A Byzantine Emperor in England: Manuel II's Visit to London in 1400-1401", in: *University of Birmingham Historical*

tions, worthy of his character and of the negotiations themselves".²⁰ Manuel's optimism for the progress of the discussions for military help reached its peak in the spring or summer of 1401, when he expressed his confidence for success to his friends the priest (and later Patriarch) Euthymius (*Letters* 39-40) and Demetrius Chrysoloras (*Letter* 41).²¹

At the same time Manuel's ambassadors travelled to Margaret, Queen of Denmark, Sweden and Norway,²² and as far as Portugal and Spain.²³ Aware of the power and authority holy relics exercised in international diplomacy, the emperor offered as gifts a particle of the garment of Christ that healed the woman of the issue of blood²⁴ to both the pope in Rome and the pope in Avignon, as well as to Queen Margaret and King Henry. He also presented King Charles III of Navarre, the duke of Berry and Visconti with pieces of the True Cross. The accompanying documents signed by Manuel confirming the authenticity of these relics have survived.²⁵ Manuel's so-called 'reliquary diplomacy' should be viewed both as a means to propagate the desperate state of the Empire at the time and, above all, as a symbol of Byzantine imperial ideology, stressing the special place Byzantium and its holy emperor held in the whole of Christendom,²⁶ carrying a message of unity of the mystical limbs of Christ.

Journal 12.2 (1971) (reprinted in IDEM, *Byzantium: its ecclesiastical history and relations with the western world*, Variorum: London 1972, no. X), pp. 204-225; IDEM, "Byzantium and England", in: *Balkan Studies* 15 (1974) (reprinted in IDEM, *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography*, Variorum: London 1986, no. XVII), pp. 196-199.

20. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, 38, ed. and trans. DENNIS, pp. 103.18-25, 39-42 (text), 102 (trans.). Manuel's expression "τῆς δευτέρας ... οἰκουμένης" is translated by Dennis as "of a second civilised world".

21. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letters*, 39-41, ed. and trans. DENNIS, pp. 104-111.

22. Cf. G.T. DENNIS, "Official Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus", in: *Byzantion* 41 (1971) pp. 45-58, at p. 49, no. 12, and IDEM, "Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus", in: *Travaux et Mémoires* 3 (1968), pp. 397-404 (both articles reprinted in IDEM, *Byzantium and the Franks, 1350-1420*, Variorum: London 1982, nos. IX and VIII, respectively).

23. See S. CIRAC ESTOPAÑAN, *La unión, Manuel II Paleólogo y sus recuerdos en España*, Barcelona 1952; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 183-189.

24. Cf. Matthew 9:20-22, Mark 5:25-34, Luke 8:43-47.

25. See above, note 22.

26. See S. MERGALI-SAHAS, "Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics. Use, and Misuse, of Sanctity and Authority", in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001), pp. 41-60, esp. pp. 55-60; EADEM, "An Ultimate Wealth for Inauspicious Times: Holy Relics in Rescue of Manuel II Palaeologus' Reign", in: *Byzantion* 76 (2006), pp. 264-275.

That Manuel was acquainted with the controversies in the Latin Church and the complexities of the Western Schism at the time of his visit in Europe, namely, the rivalry between the pope in Rome and the pope in Avignon, their efforts to gain the obedience of cardinals and sovereigns, as well as the dispute between the mendicant orders, is evident from his comments in the hitherto unpublished treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, the major part of which he wrote in Paris.²⁷ “Indeed”, Manuel states, criticizing the unchecked use of philosophical reasoning in Christian doctrine,

what inflamed even more the enmity which pre-existed between the Friars Minor [i.e., the Franciscans] and those called Preachers [i.e., the Dominicans] was rekindled for no other reason, but because they turned their attention wholeheartedly to the doctrines of philosophers...²⁸ I do not think that it is appropriate to explain now what is already clear, namely what invoked the dispute between the brothers — whose attitude to each other was not at all brotherly — among other similar issues. Besides you know this very well. Nevertheless, I should only say this much, that their differences concern the Conception of the most pure Virgin.²⁹

The different interpretation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception divided Franciscans and Dominicans. The former argued that the Virgin did not inherit a human nature infected with sin as a result of the Fall, and that she alone was free from original sin from the very beginning of her life, namely her conception. For the Dominicans, however, Mary was delivered from original sin only at the moment of the Annunciation.³⁰ “This along with certain other disputed issues”,

27. Ed. CH. DENDRINOS, *An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise 'On the Procession of the Holy Spirit'*, PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996. The critical text will appear in the *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*, vol. 71 (*in press*).

28. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 16, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 21.4-6: “Ἀλλὰ μήν, καὶ τὸ τὴν ἔχθραν ἀνάψαν ἐπὶ πλεόν, ἢ προϋπήρχε τοῖς Ἐλαχίστοις ἀδελφοῖς καλουμένοις πρὸς τοὺς Πρεδικάτορας προσηγορευμένους, οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν ἀνεφύη, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα προσέχειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς τῶν ἕξω δόγμασι”.

29. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 16, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 21.6-11: “Καὶ διδάξει μὲν ἤδη καθαρῶς ὅ τι ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἐκπολεμῶσαν, οὐδὲ πρὶν ἀδελφικῶς ἔχοντας ἄλλων εἵνεκα τοιούτων, οὐ δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι· ἄλλως θ' ὅτι καὶ καλῶς τοῦτο ὑπὸ σοῦ γινώσκεται. Πλήν, τοσοῦτον ἂν εἴποιμι· ὅτι περ διὰ τὴν σύλληψιν τῆς ὑπεράγνου Παρθένου τοῦτοις ἐστὶν ἡ διαφορά”.

30. On the history of the debate in the Catholic Church regarding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see I. BRADY, “The

Manuel points out to his anonymous disputant, “were of course already known to me, although you wished to hide them from us”,³¹ and he continues,

One would lament and shed bitter tears had he had precise knowledge of the different beliefs which exist between the orders, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and between certain individuals — beliefs which are overcast by the threat of fire (πυρὸς ἀπειλή) and are kept secret under some kind of inevitable punishment, while those who introduced this law aim at doing good.³²

Though it is not clear whether by πυρὸς ἀπειλή Manuel means the threat of fire in hell following excommunication or the burning of heretics at the stake by the secular authorities following the *auto-da-fé* of the Inquisition, the statement “τόνδε τὸν νόμον” may refer here specifically to the act *De haeretico comburendo* issued by King Henry

development of the doctrine on the Immaculate Conception in the fourteenth century after Aureoli”, in: *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955), pp. 175-202. M. JUGIE, “Manuel II Paléologue, Empereur de Constantinople (1391-1425), Homélie sur la Dormition de la Sainte Vierge”, in: *Homélies mariales Byzantines* (= *Patrologia Orientalis*, 16), Paris 1922, fasc. III. VI, pp. 540-542, pointed out that Manuel appears to defend the Franciscan views on the Immaculate Conception, and that probably he composed his *Oration on the Dormition of the Mother of God* under the influence of the debate between the two orders on this doctrine, which he must have heard about while in Paris. Though this may be possible, one has to place the emperor's views on this in the general context of the Orthodox teachings regarding the nature and transmission of the original sin. On the Orthodox views *vis-à-vis* the Roman Catholic teachings, see D.T. STROTMANN, “La Théotokos, prémices des justifiés”, in: *Irenikon* 27 (1954), pp. 122-141, esp. pp. 125-131, 140-141 n. 4; F. DVORNIK, “The Byzantine Church and the Immaculate Conception”, in: E.D. O’CONOR (ed.), *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: Its History and Significance*, Notre Dame, IN 1958, pp. 87-112, esp. p. 109 (correct the author's error in the same page: “The learned Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus... who attended the Council of Florence [1439]”); A. SPOURLAKOU-EUTYCHIADOU, *Ἡ παναγία Θεοτόκος τύπος χριστιανικῆς ἀγιότητος. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Ὁρθόδοξον τοποθέτησιν ἐναντι τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἀσπίλου Συλλήψεως καὶ τῶν συναφῶν ταύτῃ δογμάτων*, Athens 1990; M. LOT-BORODINE, “Le dogme de l’Immaculée Conception à la lumière de l’Église d’Orient”, in: *Irenikon* 67 (1994), pp. 328-344; E. GHIKAS, “La définition de 1854: cause de division ou de rapprochement”, in: *Irenikon* 67 (1994), pp. 345-352.

31. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 16, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 21.10-11: “Ἦδη μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ φανερόν ἡμῖν γέγονε καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα, καίτοι κρύπτειν ὑμῶν ἐθέλοντων”.

32. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 16, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 21.11-14: “Εἰ δέ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστατο τὰς διαφοράς, τὰς μέσον καὶ σχημάτων καὶ τάξεων καὶ τισιν ἰδίᾳ γεγενημένας, ἃς πυρὸς ἀπειλὴ καλύπτει καὶ ἀπορρήτους διατηρεῖ δίκῃ τις ἀπαραίτητος, εὖ ποιοῦντων τῶν θεμένων τόνδε τὸν νόμον, μέγα ἂν ἀνῶμαξε καὶ πικρὸν πολὺ ἀφιεῖς δάκρυον” (my italics).

in 1401 (Statute of the Realm, 2 Hen. IV. cap. 15) to suppress the heretical activities of John Wycliffe's followers known as Lollards, on the threat of punishment by burning at the stake. The questioning of the Lollard William Sawtre by the Archbishop Thomas Arundel of Canterbury at Saint Paul's Cathedral on 12 February 1401 coincides with Manuel's stay in London, while news of Sawtre's condemnation as a relapsed heretic on 26 February (before this act was officially passed in the parliament), followed by his public execution at Smithfield on 2 March of the same year, may have reached Manuel after his return to Paris in mid-February.³³ Moreover, Manuel must have been informed of the similar execution of John Huss following his condemnation at the Council of Constance in July 1415, attended by a Byzantine delegation. It should be stressed that the capital punishment of heretics was not accepted by canon law in the Orthodox Church.³⁴ If indeed Manuel refers at this point to the threat of physical, rather than spiritual, death for those charged with heresy, then his subsequent statement on the beneficial aspect of this law should be interpreted in the sense of its acting as a deterrent to the spread of heretical views. This interpretation is in agreement both with his conviction that as emperor he had the right and duty to defend the canons and doctrines of the Church,³⁵ and with his expressed view

33. This plausible hypothesis was put forward by Dr Jonathan Harris in his paper "Manuel II and the Lollards" delivered at the Workshop dedicated to *Manuel II Palaiologos' Dialogue with a Persian*, held at King's College London on 17 May 2008, and its revised version, "Byzantine Emperor meets English Heretics: Manuel II Palaiologos and the Lollards", at the Departmental Seminar, History Department, Royal Holloway, University of London on 28 October 2008.

34. See THEODORE BALSAMON, *Commentary on the Nomocanon*, Scholion to title IX, Chapter 25 of the Nomocanon of title XIV, edited in *Patrologia Graeca* 104, col. 1112B, with reference to the only attested public execution in Byzantium of a heretic at the stake, that of the Bogomil leader Basil (c.1099), on the order of Emperor Alexios I Comnenus (1081-1111), recorded by ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, XV, 8-10, eds. D.R. REINSCH and A. KAMBYLIS, *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XL.1), Berlin 2001, pp. 485-493; cf. EUTHYMIOS ZIGABENOS, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, Book II, 27, edited in *Patrologia Graeca* 130, cols. 24A, 1317D, 1332D (a new annotated critical edition of Book II, 23-28 of this treatise is in preparation by Mr Metin Berke for his doctoral thesis at the Queen's University Belfast). It should be noted, however, that the death sentence for heresy seemed an acceptable measure to Balsamon and certain other Orthodox authors: see J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Georgios Gemistos-Plethon's Dependence on Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* and *Summa Theologiae*", in: *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 12 (2006), pp. 276-341, at pp. 331-338.

35. Justinian I, *Novellae* 109 and 131, ed. R. SCHOELL, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3, Berlin 1912; phot. repr. 1954, pp. 519.35-520.7, 654.24-655.8; *Eisagōgē* II. Περί

that those suspected of unorthodox beliefs would be able to clear their name simply by making a profession of faith before the standing Synod.³⁶ In addition, Manuel was clearly against the use of violence in matters of faith.³⁷

More importantly, in the treatise Manuel refers to the confinement of Pope Benedict XIII (1394-1417) in Avignon and the threat to indict him of heresy should he persist in his refusal to abdicate voluntarily. He states that Benedict's former supporters and cardinals threatened to indict him for promoting the Schism into heresy, an accusation that was "highly criticized by the more moderate on the grounds that they had overstepped the boundaries of justice; however, [their opponents] did not change their minds".³⁸ It was Jean Courteu-
cuisse who brought the accusation of heresy and perjury against Benedict, on the grounds that his persistence of his claim to be the rightful pope was the cause of the continuation of the Schism.³⁹ Jean

βασιλέως, δ', eds. I. ZEPOS and P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, vol. 2, Athens 1931; repr. Darmstadt 1962, p. 241.4-16. See CH. DENDRINOS, "Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Β' Παλαιολόγου πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξιο Ἰαγούπ καὶ οἱ ἀντιλήψεις τοῦ περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς θεολογίας καὶ τῶν σχέσεων Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας", in: *Φιλοσοφίας Ἀνάλεκτα* 1 (2002), pp. 58-74.

36. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Letter to Iagoup* (c.1396), ed. DENDRINOS, *An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise 'On the Procession of the Holy Spirit'*, p. 352.7-9: "Ἡμεῖς δ' οὐδαμῶς τῷ παρ' αὐτῶν λόγῳ τέως οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν προσοίσομεν βάσανον· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὅσον ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀσφάλειάν τιν' ἐντεῦθεν ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντες πορίζεσθαι...". See DENDRINOS, "Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Β' Παλαιολόγου πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξιο Ἰαγούπ", pp. 65, 68.

37. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Dialogue with a Persian*, VII, ed. E. TRAPP, *Manuel II. Palaiologos. Dialog mit einem "Perser"* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 2), Vienna 1966, p. 79.4-33. Cf. J.A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, "Pope Benedict XVI's use of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos' *Dialogue with a Muslim* Muterizes: the Scholarly Background", in: *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 16 (2008), pp. 264-304.

38. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 15, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 20.5-13: "Ἡ [scil. φιλοσοφία] προσέχοντες ἡμεῖς, ὑποσαινύσῃ τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ πολλὰς τε καὶ ποικίλας μορφὰς εἰς τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχὰς εἰσαγοῦσῃ, πολλάκις τε ἀλλήλων διέστητε· καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο νοσεῖτε. Τοῦ μὲν Ῥώμης, παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρὰς πολλὰς δεχομένου, ὡς παρὰ κανόνας κατασχόντος τὸν θρόνον, τοῦ δὲ νῦν ἐν Ἀβενίου καθειργμένου, παρὰ μὲν τῶν προσκειμένων τῷ Ῥώμης ἀντιπάπῃ λεγομένου, παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ, ἑναγχος μὲν, πάντα τὰ σεμνὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων δεχομένου, νῦν δ' οὐκ οἶδα τί καλουμένου· πλὴν ἐγώ γε τινων ἤκουσα τῶν πρὶν ἐκείνῳ συνῆθαι καὶ τούτων καρδηνάλων ἀπειλούντων αὐτὸν ἐλέγξειν, εἰς αἵρεσιν τὸ σχίσμα προαγαγόντα τῷ χρόνῳ· οἱ πολλὰ παρὰ τινων ἐπιεικεστέρων ἐπιτιμώμενοι ἅτε δὴ παρεκφερόμενοι τοῦ δικαίου, οὐ καθυφῆκαν τῆς γνώμης".

39. See RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXIII, i, ed. and trans. BELLAGUET, vol. 3, pp. 22-23. See also N. VALOIS, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, vol. III, Paris 1901, p. 261; J.B. MORRALL, *Gerson and the Great Schism*, Manchester 1960, pp. 55-56.

Gerson, the chancellor of the University of Paris and leader of the moderate party, defended Benedict against these charges at the time.⁴⁰ Later on Gerson withdrew his support and adopted, along with the majority of the Avignonese cardinals and the conciliar party, the view that only a general council could, and should, impose its authority on a heretical pope.⁴¹

It is not clear whether the emperor visited the pope in Rome on his way to France,⁴² though Boniface issued a bull on 27 May 1400, renewing his plea for military and financial help for the defense of the Empire.⁴³ Manuel, however, makes no mention in his treatise of a meeting with the pope. In any case, one should exclude the unreliable late sixteenth-century *Historia politica Constantinopoleos*, which makes mention of Manuel's personal visit to Italy and his refusal to kiss the effigy of Christ on the maniple of the Latin bishop of the city where he arrived, whereupon the Pope, offended by the emperor's disrespectful act, withdrew his previous offer of help.⁴⁴ The *Ecthesis Chronica* repeats the same story, stressing however that it was on the bad advice of his entourage that Manuel objected to do obeisance to the Latin bishop, with the same results: "Τὰ ὅσα ἐπολῆσεν ἡ κακοσυμβουλία".⁴⁵ Convinced of the legitimacy of his office, Boniface made

40. MORRALL, *Gerson and the Great Schism*, pp. 55-69; see also C.M.D. CROWDER, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism*, London 1977. Finally the accusation of heresy was pronounced against both popes at the Council of Pisa in 1409. This did not solve the problem, for on 26 June 1409 a third Pope was elected, the Cretan-born Alexander V. On the active role of universities in the debate concerning the Western Schism and the conciliarist movement in the Catholic Church at that time, see R.N. SWANSON, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series, 12), Cambridge 1979, esp. pp. 70-174.

41. On these events RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXIII, i, ed. and trans. BELLAGUET, vol. 3, pp. 20-23, esp. 23. See also VALOIS, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, vol. III, pp. 189-323, esp. 264-323; vol. 4, pp. 20 n. 3. 111; MORRALL, *Gerson and the Great Schism*, pp. 44-93; G.H.M. POSTHUMUS MEYJES, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity: his Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, trans. J.C. GRAYSON, Leiden-Boston-Cologne 1999, esp. pp. 174-183.

42. See DENNIS, "Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus", pp. 402-404; BARKER, *Manuel II*, p. 222, Appendix XIX, pp. 510-512. For a discussion of this question, see CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Manuel Palaeologus, Funeral Oration*, pp. 162-164, n. 88 (citing relevant sources).

43. Ed. TAUTU, *Acta Bonifacii PP. IX (1389-1404)*, no. 90, pp. 183-186; see HALECKI, "Rome et Byzance au temps du grand Schisme d'Occident", pp. 514-515.

44. M. CRUSIUS (ed.), *Historiae Turcograeciae*, Basel 1584, p. 1.γ'-δ'.

45. S. LAMPROS (ed.), *Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum*, London 1902; repr. Amsterdam 1969, p. 2.4-20.

no attempt to put an end to the Schism. On the contrary, his intransigence eliminated any possibility of compromise. In 1404 he refused to co-operate with Benedict, who proposed a meeting for the two sides to discuss the settlement of the Schism, including the proposal of mutual abdication.⁴⁶

Manuel, as already mentioned, came into contact with Pope Benedict at Avignon through his envoys.⁴⁷ Whether the emperor's contacts with Benedict were sanctioned by King Charles, who, having failed to bring the two sides together, had been laying siege to the papal palace in Avignon since September 1398,⁴⁸ is difficult to tell. Charles, however, was anxious to convene a general council to put an end to the Schism — a project rejected by Benedict. It is perhaps in the context of these efforts for a general council and reconciliation between the two popes that Manuel's diplomatic overtures may have taken place, and in such case not without the sanction, or even encouragement, of Charles, for otherwise the emperor would have run the risk of offending his host.⁴⁹ Moreover, Manuel shared Charles' strong view that the emperor could and should intervene in ecclesiastical affairs when necessary to maintain peace in the Church, a policy the emperor maintained throughout his reign, facing strong reaction from the Church.⁵⁰

Manuel's diplomatic activities were coupled with his theological discussions. His treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* is in fact a response to a tract he was presented in Paris, concerning the Latin

46. See J.N.D. KELLY, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, Oxford-New York 1988,² pp. 230-232.

47. See above, p. 6 with note 22; BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 183, 195, 198.

48. See VALOIS, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, pp. 189-323. It was not until 11 or 12 March 1403 that Benedict fled in disguise to safety at Château Renard in the territory of the court of Provence (ibid., pp. 325-326). Manuel by then had left Paris.

49. On the relations of Byzantium with both Rome and Avignon during the Western Schism see HALECKI, *Un Empereur, passim*; IDEM, "Rome et Byzance"; IDEM, "La Papauté et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident", in: *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini*, vol. I, Rome 1939, pp. 184-187. See also M. DABROWSKA, "Francja i Bizancjum w okresie wielkiej schizmy zachodniej", in: *Historia Bizancjum, Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis, Folia Historica* 48 (1993), pp. 127-141 (with a summary in French), who bases her study mainly on the evidence provided by the anonymous Religious of Saint Denys.

50. See DENDRINOS, "Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Β' Παλαιολόγου πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξιο Ἰαγούπ", esp. pp. 68-71.

doctrine of the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, from the Father and the Son. The identity of the author of the Latin tract, which proved instrumental for Manuel in composing his treatise, remains unknown. The emperor seems not to have met him in person. It has been assumed that he was a doctor of theology at the University of Paris,⁵¹ and although this may be very probable, no evidence to support such an assumption has been adduced so far. The only specific reference Manuel makes on his anonymous disputant is that he was "a monk practising his monastic life in the suburbs of Paris"⁵² and "in reclusion".⁵³ We know that the French court was attached to the royal Benedictine abbey of Saint Denys in the suburbs of Paris, and that Manuel had the occasion to visit it a number of times in the company of King Charles VI during his stay there.⁵⁴ It is not implausible, therefore, that Manuel was presented with the Latin tract, without meeting its author in person, for the anonymous Benedictine, a recluse, would have been bound by vows of 'stability'.⁵⁵

51. M. JUGIE, *Le schisme byzantin, aperçu historique et doctrinal*, Paris 1941, p. 263; IDEM, "Le voyage de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue en Occident", p. 331: "un docteur parisien"; IDEM, "Manuel II Paléologue, Empereur de Constantinople (1391-1425)", p. 542: "un docteur de l'université"; repeated by R.-J. LOENERTZ (ed.), *Correspondance de Manuel Calécas* (Studi e Testi, 152), Vatican City 1950, p. 49; T. KHOURY, *Manuel Paléologue: Entretiens avec un Musulman, 7^e Controverse* (Sources chrétiennes, 115), Paris 1966, pp. 16-17; and V. LAURENT, "Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I^{er} (1397-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XV^e siècle", in: *Revue des Études Byzantines* 30 (1972), pp. 5-166 at pp. 33-34.

52. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, *Expositio syllogismi secundum Latinos de processione Spiritus Sancti ex Patre Filioque*, p. 2.1: "... ἀσκούντος ἐν τοῖς προαστέλοις τοῦ Παρυστίου...".

53. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, Prologus imperatoris, p. 1.3 (titulus): "... τοῦ ἀπρόιτου μονάζοντος...". In his *Dialogue with a Persian*, ed. TRAPP, p. 35.5, Manuel uses the word ἀπρόιτος in the sense of "a person in seclusion" or "confinement". Cf. the similar use of the word by Symeon the New Theologian, B. KRIVOCHEINE (ed.), *Syméon le nouveau théologien, Catéchèses 6-22*, vol. II (Sources chrétiennes, 104), Paris 1964, cat. xx, p. 345.162-163: "...Καθέζου ὡδε ἀπρόιτος ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσει δύνανται ἐξ ὕψους" (cf. Luke 24:49).

54. Manuel and Charles jointly attended a Latin Mass at the royal Abbey of St Denys, producing mixed feelings among the Catholic French: RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXI, vii, ed. and trans. L. BELLAGUET, vol. 2, pp. 774-775; cf. BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 181-182. It is possible that the miniature in the *Book of Hours* of the Duc de Berry (f. 39r) (eds. LONGNON and GAZELLES, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly*, Plate 34), illustrating Psalm 92 with the enthroned Christ in Majesty receiving homage by two royal figures, the one resembling Manuel, commemorates this event.

55. For the Benedictine principle of 'stability', see D.O. HUNTER BLAIR, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, IV, LVIII, LX, London-Edinburgh 1902,² pp. 34-35, 154-155, 160-161;

The Latin tract so far has not been found, if it has survived,⁵⁶ and hence we have no knowledge of its precise length and content, though internal evidence suggests that it must have been extensive.⁵⁷ Manuel gives a summary (in Greek translation) in his introduction and in addition quotes sections of the Latin tract in translation throughout his treatise, including arguments in support of the papal primacy.⁵⁸ This enables us to reconstruct to a certain degree the Latin argument on both themes. It should be noted that, since Manuel had no knowledge of Latin, the tract must have been translated for him by interpreters.

In response to the challenge of his disputant Manuel composed a lengthy treatise in which he refuted the arguments put forward by the Latin monk. Internal and external evidence suggests that the major part of Manuel's treatise was written in Paris sometime between 3 June 1400, the date of Manuel's arrival there,⁵⁹ and 23 November 1402, when he left the city for the last time.⁶⁰ In chapter 87 Manuel

C. BUTLER, *Benedictine Monachism*, Cambridge, MA-New York 1924; phot. repr. 1961, pp. 123-134, 141. I would like to thank Dr J.A. Munitiz, S.J. for his valuable advice on this point. For a list of Benedictines at the University of Paris during the time of Manuel's visit, see T. SULLIVAN, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, 1229-1550: A biographical Register* (Education & Society in the Middle Ages & Renaissance, 4), Leiden 1995; IDEM, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373-1500: a Biographical Register*, Leiden-Boston 2003-. The information provided in these two works is not sufficient to trace Manuel's anonymous disputant.

56. The archives of the Abbey of St Denys were destroyed during World War II, and so far no evidence regarding the treatise has been found in the catalogues of its library published by D. NEBBIAI-DALLA GUARDA, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IX^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Document, études et répertoires, CNRS, Paris 1985, or the catalogues of the Latin manuscripts and the archive registers at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Sorbonne (H. DENIFLE and E. CHÂTELAIN [eds.], *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. IV, Paris 1899; phot. repr., Brussels 1964; Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* [nos. 1-3835], 7 vols., Paris 1939-1988; L. DELISLE, *Inventaire de manuscrits de la Sorbonne conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 15176-16718 du fonds latin*, Paris 1870).

57. See DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, pp. xx-xxi.

58. These sections are indicated in both manuscripts by distinctive marginal quotation marks; see DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, p. xxxi, n. 139.

59. RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XXI, i, ed. and trans. BELLAGUET, vol. 2, pp. 754-759.

60. On the date of his departure from Paris see DENNIS, "Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus", p. 401; repeated in his edition of Manuel's *Letters*, 43, p. 14, n. 1.

mentions Saint Dionysius, “who suffered martyrdom and lies here”, referring to the relics of the legendary founder of the Church of Gaul, preserved in the abbey of Saint Denys.⁶¹ Saint Denys of Paris is in fact a fusion of the historical third-century bishop of Paris with Saint Paul’s disciple Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34) and the fifth-century anonymous author of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus of mystical writings attributed to the Areopagite. This legend, and the authority of Saint Dionysius’ patronage of the French monarchy, was created in the abbey.⁶² Given that Manuel refers (in chapter 15) to the events involving Jean Courtecuisse’s accusation against Benedict on 15 April 1402, he must have composed this section (in chapter 87) sometime after that date.⁶³

It is true that the dating of the composition of chapter 15 cannot provide conclusive evidence as to the beginning of the writing of the treatise, for it is possible that Manuel inserted this section at a later stage. On the other hand, the note in the same chapter, clarifying that he heard of these events “while in Paris”,⁶⁴ would indicate that the

61. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 87, p. 147.6: “... Διονύσιος οὗτος, ὃ ἐνταυθοῦ καὶ μαρτυρήσας καὶ κείμενος ...”. On the conflict between the abbey of Saint Denys and the canons of the cathedral of Notre-Dame over the authenticity of their capital relics of Saint Dionysius, which resulted with the case referred to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris for discussion in 1406, finally appearing before the Parlement of Paris in 1410, see H.-F. DELABORDE, “Le Procès du chef de Saint Denis en 1410”, in: *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France* 11 (1884), pp. 297-409; R. BOSSUAT, “Traditions populaires relatives au martyr et à la sépulture de saint Denis”, in: *Moyen Âge* 11 (1956), pp. 479-509.

62. On the legendary founding of the Church of Gaul by Dionysius Areopagite and his martyrdom in Paris, see R.-J. LOENERTZ, “La légende parisienne de S. Denys l’Aréopagite. Sa genèse et son premier témoin”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 69 (1951), pp. 217-237. See also G.M. SPIEGEL, “The Cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship”, in: S. WILSON (ed.), *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 141-168; P. ROREM, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to their Influence*, New York-Oxford 1993, pp. 12-18; Y. DE ANDIA (ed.), *Denys l’Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident. Actes du Colloque International, Paris, 21-24 septembre 1994* (Collections des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 151), Paris 1997. On the Greek Life of Saint Dionysius, see F. HALKIN (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a), 2 vols. and Supplement, Brussels 1957,³ nos. 554-558, pp. 166-169.

63. See above, pp. 407-408.

64. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 15, ed. DENDRINOS, p. 20.10: “πλὴν ἔγωγέ τινων ἤκουσα, ἐν τῷ Παρυσίῳ δηλονότι in marg. *Vat. gr* 1107, add. sup. lin. *Barb. gr*. 219>”.

emperor wrote this section most probably while he was still there, but had continued to revise his text after he had left the city, following his return to Constantinople in June 1403.⁶⁵ The revision would not have extended beyond November 1417, date of the end of the Western Schism with the election of Pope Martin V (1417-1431) at the Council of Constance, for Manuel makes no mention of the reconciliation in his treatise, but talks about the conflict between Rome and Avignon as still being in existence.⁶⁶

In revising his treatise Manuel secured the help of his friend and fellow theologian Makarios Makres. This is indicated by palaeographical evidence contained in the two extant manuscripts, *Vaticanus graecus* 1107, which preserves a working copy of the text, and the final edited work in *Barberinianus graecus* 219 copied by his chief scribe Isidore of Kiev.⁶⁷

The treatise comprises a brief Preface by the emperor, a *précis* of the syllogism put forward by the Latin in defense of the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, and Manuel's refutation of the Latin arguments in no less than 156 chapters, followed by the annexed discourse *On the Order in the Holy Trinity*. Though not entirely systematic in his approach, in the course of the argument Manuel succeeds in moving from the specific issues into a wider theological discussion regarding the Trinity, concentrating on the important theological questions which underlie the *Filioque* controversy: man's pursuit of the knowledge of God; the relation between God and His creation; and the path which leads to man's salvation and deification. Having established the fundamental principles, namely the scriptural, patristic and conciliar authority on doctrine, the impossibility of discovering divine truths merely by philosophical reasoning, and the Orthodox teaching regarding the distinction of divine essence, energy and hypostases, Manuel moves on to refute the specific points of the Latin syllogism

65. See DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, pp. xvii-xix. On the date of Manuel's return to Constantinople, see P. SCHREINER (ed.), *Chronica Byzantina Breviora (Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken)* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XII/1-2), Vienna 1975, vol. 1, no. 12.14, p. 114; vol. 2, pp. 378-379.

66. See above, note 38.

67. See DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, pp. xl-xciii; CH. DENDRINOS, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Manuel II Palaeologus (†1425)", in: DENDRINOS, HARRIS, HARVALIA-CROOK and HERRIN (eds.), *Porphyrogenita*, pp. 423-456, at pp. 424-427.

concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, before he turns to the next important question raised by the Latin, the primacy of the pope. Though the arguments put forth by the emperor in response to the Latin challenge follow strictly traditional lines, and in that sense the treatise lacks originality, it is clear that Manuel was a serious theological thinker, evidently familiar with the wider Latin theological views, including Thomas Aquinas' teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

In both the treatise and the annexed discourse, the emperor adopts a defensive tone. However, his approach, though forceful at times, is far from hostile. His awareness that the two sides follow different traditions, but nonetheless are parts of the 'body of Christ', permeates his theological thought. It is this belief in the unity of the Christian Church that prevails in his work, rather than his bitterness which underlies some of his comments on the failing of the scholastic theologians to appreciate contemporary Byzantine theological thought.

Manuel concludes his treatise with an appeal to his anonymous challenger, in which he makes clear the basis on which an ecumenical council could take place, namely the conduct of genuine discussion which would bring true reconciliation, stressing the unifying element of the two Churches on a theological and doctrinal level, namely the belief "that the Trinity which is the cause of all is one God, the same God Whom we consider to be united in a unit according to the essence, but a trinity according to the hypostases", adding the need for accepting the fundamental distinction between the essence and energy of God.⁶⁸

Whether his intentions were appreciated by his Latin disputant is unknown, for though Manuel may have sent his reply, possibly a summarized translated version, either when he was still in Paris, or

68. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 156, p. 316.5-12: "Καὶ δὴ, πειθόμενοι φωναῖς προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, διδασκάλων, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν λογισμῶν καλῶς ἡμῖν ἀποδεδειγμένοις ὡς οἴμαι, συνέλθωμεν ἀλλήλοις, ὡ φίλοι, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνιον [cf. 1 Peter 5:2], οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀγρυπνῶν ἢ χερσὶ περιποιηθέντες τῷ κτίσαντι, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι φησὶν, ὡς ἄμνοῦ ἁμόμου καὶ ἁσπίλου Χριστοῦ [1 Peter 1:18-19]. Τὸ δὲ συνελθεῖν ἔσται πῶς; Ἄν Θεὸν ἓνα μὲν τὴν πανταίτιαν Τριάδα εἶναι φρονῶμεν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἡνωμένως μονάδα καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις διακρίμενως τριάδα, καὶ ὄντα καὶ πιστευόμενον καὶ λεγόμενον ἄναρχον, δημιουργόν, ἀγαθόν, ἰσχυρόν, δίκαιον· αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν".

later on through his envoys, we cannot tell. What is certain, however, is that by his lengthy refutation of the Latin views, the emperor proved above all to his own people that despite the desperate political situation they could still be proud of their theological tradition and intellectual creativity.⁶⁹

The prospects of an ecumenical council were discussed by Manuel and the representatives of Charles. This information is recorded by a member of the emperor's entourage, the theologian Makarios Metropolitan of Ankyra (1397-1405). In chapter 102 of his lengthy theological treatise, which in some manuscripts bears the subsequent title *Against the Errors of the Latins*, Makarios states that

certain persons among the bishops and nobles in Paris visited [the emperor] as representatives of the king and his council, and asked, either truly or as a pretext, that an ecumenical council should be convened for the union and peace of the Churches; and after [the emperor] defined in his imperial capacity the strains involved, he gave his consent.

Makarios strongly advised Manuel to insist that the French delegation

should demand what concerns this council persistently as a matter of greater importance, so that a full agreement on this is concluded not in a rush and, as one might say, unobjectionably; but those who make this demand should promise this in advance, in writing, and confirm this securely, according to the ancient custom, the canons and the acts of the ecumenical councils⁷⁰

69. See the comments to Manuel's treatise by an anonymous contemporary young author: ed. DENDRINOS, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Manuel II Palaeologus (†1425)", pp. 449.254-265, 274-290.

70. MAKARIOS OF ANKYRA, *Against the Errors of the Latins*, 102, *editio princeps* by DOSITHEOS PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM, *Τόμος Καταλλαγής*, Jasi 1692-1694, pp. 187 (ad fin.)-188; new edition by CH. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, *An annotated critical edition of the treatise Against the Errors of the Latins by Makarios, Metropolitan of Ankyra (1397-1405)*, 2 vols., Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2009, vol. 2, p. 362.8-21: "Ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀπάρξασθαι, ἀξιῶ τὸν ἅγιον βασιλέα, τὸν κράτιστόν τε καὶ γαληνότατον, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ τινες ἀναδραμόντες πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῷ Παρισίῳ ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ ἀρχόντων, ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ῥηγὸς καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν βουλῆς, εἴτε ἀληθεῖα, εἴτε προσήματι ἠξίωσαν ὥστε σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν συναθροῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ἐνώσεως καὶ εἰρήνης τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτον ὀρίσας βασιλικῶς τὰ συντείνοντα, οὕτω κατένευσεν, ὡς εἴπερ καὶ ἔτι σπουδαιότερον καὶ ἐπιμόνως αἰτήσουσι τὸ περὶ τῆς συνόδου, ἵνα μὴ εὐκόλως καὶ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, μὴ ἀνεπιφωνήτως τὸ περὶ τούτου σύνθηται τελείως πρὶν ἂν ἐγγράφως καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ὑποσχεθεῖεν οἱ ἀξιούντες κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος καὶ τὴν τῶν κανόνων καὶ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς τετάρτης, διάταξιν καὶ

Makarios' advice to the emperor to proceed with caution, placing certain pre-conditions concerning the spirit, procedure and basis on which the dialogue should be conducted, for otherwise "things might become worse than before",⁷¹ is indicative of the climate of the discussions and tensions within the Orthodox Church.

Unfortunately, Makarios does not specify the members of this embassy. However, the names of the members of the royal council of France are recorded in the journal of Nicolas de Baye, notary of the Parliament of Paris between 1400 and 1417. In July 1401 the council consisted of members of the higher clergy, including the bishops of Paris, St Flour, Puy, and Maguelonne, and nobles, including the Chancellor of France Arnault de Corbie, the President of the Parliament Pierre Boschet and Marshal Boucicaut.⁷² Whether it was this embassy that Manuel received in Paris, or indeed on his return to Constantinople, as Makarios is not clear on this, is difficult to tell, for to our knowledge, so far this information cannot be checked in any other contemporary source.

Makarios' treatise, first published by the scholar Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem at the end of the seventeenth century, has been severely criticized by Roman Catholic scholars in terms of its polemical tone and lack of structure, systematic analysis and originality.⁷³ It seems that for this reason the treatise has not been duly studied as a historical source. Two further passages in the same treatise, referring to

ἀκριβείαν, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν προβῆναι καὶ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν σύνοδον. Μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς δ' ὡς εἴρηται ἁγίας συνόδου...". I would like to thank Dr Christos Triantafyllopoulos for drawing my attention to this passage, the one cited below, note 75, and the references in note 73.

71. MAKARIOS OF ANKYRA, *Against the Errors of the Latins*, 102, ed. DOSITHEOS, p. 188; ed. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, vol. 2, p. 363.12-13: "... καὶ οὕτω συμβῆ γενέσθαι τὰ ἔσχατα χεῖρω τῶν πρώτων".

72. NICOLAS DE BAYE, *Journal*, ed. A. TUETÉY, *Journal de Nicolas de Baye, greffier du Parlement de Paris, 1400-1417*, vol. I, Paris 1885, pp. 7-8 (assembly of the Council at the court on 14 July 1401).

73. See LEONE ALLACI (= LEO ALLATIUS), *De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione*, Cologne 1648; phot. repr. 1970, pp. 865-866; L. PETIT, "Macaire d'Ancyre", in: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. IX.1, Paris 1926, cols. 1441-1443 at 1442; DENNIS, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. liii. LAURENT, "Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I^{er} (1397-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XV^e siècle", pp. 15-19, is more appreciative. For a discussion of the reception of Makarios' treatise, see TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, *An annotated critical edition*, vol. 1, pp. 32*-35*.

the debate on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist in the Latin Church, confirm this view and highlight Makarios' reliability.

Listing the lands and cities he went through in his travels to Western Europe accompanying the emperor, Makarios describes the iconographical representation of the Trinity known as the *Throne of Grace* or *Mercy* which he saw in Latin churches he visited, using it as pictorial evidence in support of the Greek views on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone:

So, the description of the aforementioned icon is as follows. As a symbol and an impress of the blessed and life-giving Trinity, as far as it is possible to contemplate what is beyond us using our own human experience — not to mention those people who lack in intelligence — the Latins traditionally depict on the one hand God the Father as 'The Ancient of Days' [Daniel (LXX) 7:9, 13, 22] seated on a throne stretching His arms, while His Son our Lord and God Jesus Christ [is depicted] as usual on the Cross, raised from off the ground. The Father holds the Cross upright from the level of His chest down to His feet, while He projects the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, from His mouth, as if towards His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, Who, as we have already said, stands on the Cross. This much, as far as the image is concerned. The depiction shows that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests and remains within the Son. But the Latins, shutting their physical and spiritual eyes, remain indifferent to the holy sayings and decrees of the Fathers, and in this way to the meaning of the icon, thus erring in both respects...⁷⁴

"While in Paris", Makarios remarks elsewhere in his treatise, "the points in the present discourse were handed to the incumbent of the

74. MAKARIOS OF ANKYRA, *Against the Errors of the Latins*, 99, ed. DOSITHEOS, pp. 175-176; ed. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, vol. 2, pp. 336-337; see DENDRINOS, *Manuel II Palaeologus, On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, pp. 386-387. On the representation of the Trinity in the Latin Church known as *der Gnadenstuhl*, see E. KIRSCHBAUM (ed.), *Lexicon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. I, Rome 1968, s.v. *Dreifaltigkeit*, cols. 535-536. Two representative Icons depicting the *Throne of Mercy*, one Italian by Barnaba da Modena, dated 1374, and the other from Austria by an anonymous artist, dated to the early fifteenth century, are part of the National Gallery collection in London (nos. 2927 and 3662, respectively). An interesting, and the only surviving, depiction of *der Gnadenstuhl* in Byzantium recorded so far is preserved in the Church of the Virgin in Rustica, Rethymnon, Crete, painted in 1391 by Greek artists in Byzantine iconographical style: see I. SPATHARAKIS, "A Gnadenstuhl in Crete and its Significance", in K. FLEDELIUS (ed.), *Byzantium: Identity, Image, Influence. XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Copenhagen, 18-24 August 1996*, Copenhagen 1996, Abstracts of Communications, no. 5332.

whole of France",⁷⁵ referring either to the Chancellor of France Arnault de Corbie (1400-1405) or most probably the bishop of Paris Pierre d'Orgemont (1384-1409). With relation to the discussion over the use of *azymes* in the Eucharist by the Latin Church, Makarios states that he needed to find out whether the Jewish custom prescribes, or not, leavened bread from the moment of the celebration of the Jewish Passover and the week following, in order to confirm the use of leavened bread by Christ in the Last Supper in support of the Greek liturgical practice. Despite his efforts, however, Makarios was unable to do so, for "it is impossible not only to find a Jew there, but virtually even to hear the name of a Jew".⁷⁶ This statement refers to the expulsion of Jews from France, which occurred several years earlier, in September 1394, on the order of Charles VI. According to the Religious of Saint Denys, the king was instigated to take action by the queen against the "excesses of usury by the Jews which led to the misery of Christian families in the kingdom".⁷⁷

Returning to Manuel's policy towards the union of the Churches, the question has been raised whether it reflects his own conviction to the cause or was used by him merely as a lever for the much hoped for military aid from the West. The fact that he provisionally agreed to the convening of an ecumenical council for that reason, as Makarios of Ankyra reports, and his comments in his own treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* on the pre-conditions for a union in terms of doctrine, show willingness but also caution. This approach is better understood in the wider context of Manuel's internal and external policy, and priorities.

A climate of mutual understanding and admiration among Greek and Latin intellectuals, theologians and statesmen — exemplified in

75. MAKARIOS OF ANKYRA, *Against the Errors of the Latins*, 101, ed. DOSITHEOS, p. 179; ed. TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, pp. 345.25-346.8: "... ἐν γὰρ τῷ Παρισίῳ τῷ προκαθημένῳ πάσης τῆς Φράντζας τὰ τῆς παρούσης πραγματείας ἡμῶν ἐγκεχέιρηται, ἔνθα οὐ μόνον πάντῃ ἀδύνατον εὐρεῖν Ἑβραῖον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὄνομα σχεδὸν Ἑβραίου ἀκούεται —, φέρε ὡς οἶόν τε δι' ἄλλων ἀξιοπρίστων μαρτυριῶν τὸ ἀμφιβαλλόμενον διαλύσωμεν, καὶ παραστήσωμεν μετὰ τὸ Πάσχα, ἡγουν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὥρας καὶ ἐξῆς, γίνεσθαι τοῦ ἐνζύμου τὴν ἄρσιν, μηδὲν ἐλάσσω τῶν ἰουδαϊκῶν λόγων, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τὸ νῦν ἔχον τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους πράξεων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀσυγκρίτως μείζω καὶ βεβαιωτέραν ἔχουσῶν τῶν εἰρημένων μαρτυριῶν τὴν παράστασιν".

76. See note above.

77. RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS, *Chronique*, XIV, xvii, ed. and trans. L. BELLAGUET, vol. 3, pp. 118-121.

Manuel's circle by his mentor Demetrios Cydones and Manuel Chrysoloras⁷⁸ — fostered a rapprochement between the two Churches, which in turn promoted the theological dialogue and the unionist cause. The political advantage of this approach by both sides did not exclude a genuine desire to mend the breach between the two Churches. This policy was supported especially by Latinophile circles in Byzantium, including members of the imperial court and the higher clergy, who considered it as the only possible and realistic solution for the survival of the Empire in the face of the imminent Ottoman threat.

These feelings and views, however, were not shared by the anti-unionist party, largely formed by the majority of the Byzantine people and clergy, in particular the lower clergy and monastic community. In their view, the bitter experience of the Latin occupation of the Empire (1204-1261) and the intransigence of the papacy, which demanded union and submission to Rome prior to any financial and military aid, instead of providing help and agreeing to the convening of an ecumenical council to discuss on equal terms doctrinal and ecclesiastical points of dispute, as the Byzantines insisted,⁷⁹ confirmed that the

78. See D.J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, Oxford 1966; IDEM, *Byzantium and the Renaissance*, Hamden, CN 1973; IDEM, *Constantinople and the West*, Madison, WI-London 1989; W. BERSCHIN, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*, Berlin-Munich 1980; C.N. CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Nicosia 1982; N.G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983; IDEM, *From Byzantium to Italy*, London 1992; S. MERGIALI, *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261-1453)*, Athens 1996; S. LAMPAKES, "Οι ελληνομαθείς λόγιοι στο πλαίσιο των πνευματικών αλληλεπιδράσεων Ανατολής — Δύσης από τον 12° έως τον 14° αιώνα", in: N.G. MOSCHONAS (ed.), *Η Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος*, Athens 2008, pp. 327-341.

79. For contemporary views on the possible terms of union, see JOHN CANTACUZENUS, *Dialogue with the papal legate Paul*, ed. J. MEYENDORFF, "Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367. Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960) (reprinted in IDEM, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems*, Variorum: London 1974, no. XI), pp. 147-177, at pp. 161-177; JOSEPH BRYENNIOUS, *Council on the Union of the Churches* (1422), ed. E. BOULGARES, *Ἱωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου, Τὰ Ἐργεθέντα*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1768; revised edition Thessalonica 1991,² i, pp. 400-424; cf. G. PATACSI, "Joseph Bryennios et les discussions sur un concile d'union (1414-1431)", *Κληρονομία* 5.1 (1973), pp. 73-96; I.M. CHIVU, *Ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἱωσήφ Βρυέννιον*, Thessalonica 1985. See also D. BALFOUR, *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 13), Vienna 1979, p. 222; J. BOOJAMRA, "The Byzantine Notion of the 'Ecumenical Council' in the Fourteenth Century", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 80 (1987), pp. 59-76; D.M. NICOL, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, Cambridge 1993²; repr. 1994, p. 337 with n. 37.

much discussed union was in fact a pretext for the gradual Latinization of the Empire. The asphyxiation of the Byzantine economy by Venice and Genoa created additional problems, which in turn contributed to the political and social tension in the Empire, directed not only against the Latins, but also the Latinophiles, who were considered by their compatriots as betraying their country and faith.⁸⁰

It is in this light that one should consider Manuel's *Realpolitik*, primarily aiming at preserving the unity of the Byzantine Church and society, essential for the very survival of the Empire. Nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the advice he gave to his son John VIII (1425-1448), who was entrusted with the then on-going negotiations with the papacy (1422), namely, always to discuss the union but never to materialize it, fearing that a *worse schism* (Matthew 9:16, Mark 2:21) might be brought about among his own people and clergy, thus leaving the Empire exposed to the enemy.⁸¹ This policy was the result of his long political experience, including that gained from his journey to the West, for the promises and assurances he received were not fulfilled.

Meanwhile, the Emperor was kept informed of the developments in the East. The unexpected defeat of the Turkish army by Timur in the battle of Ankara on 28 July 1402 changed the course of events, giving the Empire a brief respite from the Ottoman threat. Manuel decided that this was the right time to return to Constantinople. His relief at the deliverance of the City from the Ottomans and the imprisonment of Bayezid by Timur is expressed in the two short compositions he wrote possibly while still in Paris or shortly afterwards, a hymn in the form of a Psalm on the occasion of Bayezid's

80. See P. GOUNARIDES, "Πολιτικές διαστάσεις της συνόδου Φερράρας-Φλωρεντίας", in: *Θεσανυρίσματα* 31 (2001), pp. 107-129; T. ΚΙΟΥΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Βασιλεύς ή Οικονόμος. Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την Άλωση*, Athens 2007; J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, "Η διείσδυση της δυτικής οικονομίας στη Βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορία", in: MOSCHONAS (ed.), *Η Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος*, pp. 27-42.

81. GEORGE SPHRANTZES, *Chronicon Minus*, XXIII, 5-6, ed. R. MAISANO, *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XXIX), Rome 1990, p. 82.1-15. Cf. Manuel's comments in his treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, ed. DENDRINOS, pp. 30.12-31.7-13, 91.3-6, 316.3-317.18, and his *Letter to Iagoup*, ed. cit., p. 367.3-10. Cf. JOSEPH BRYENNIUS, *Council on the Union of the Churches* (1422), ed. BOULGARES, p. 409.25: "τοῦ προτέρου ... σχίσματος σχίσμα χειρόν". See CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Manuel Palaeologus, Funeral Oration*, pp. 8-10; CH. DENDRINOS, "Reflections on the failure of the Union of Florence", in: *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 39 (2007), pp. 131-148.

defeat, and an *ethopoiea*, a fictional address by Timur to Bayezid.⁸² Manuel left the French capital on 23 November 1402 and via Genoa, possibly Florence, and Ferrara reached Venice in March 1403. Boarding Venetian ships he sailed to the Morea to re-join his family, and with a Genoese and Venetian escort returned to Constantinople three months later.⁸³

When Manuel Chrysoloras visited Paris, as Manuel's ambassador, in 1408, he presented the abbey of Saint Denys, on behalf of the emperor, with the well-known manuscript with the works of their patron Saint (the Dionysian corpus), adorned with the beautiful illuminated portrait of Manuel, his wife and their three oldest sons standing under the protective figures of the Virgin and Christ.⁸⁴ The manuscript contains Chrysoloras' autograph dated subscription (f. 237v), which relates the emperor's earlier visit to Paris.⁸⁵ Almost six centuries earlier (in 827) another Greek manuscript containing the Dionysian corpus was presented by Emperor Michael II (820-829) to King Louis the Pious (814-840).⁸⁶ Apart from their value as diplomatic gifts and personal

82. MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS, *Τίνας ἂν εἶπε λόγους ὁ τῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐξηγούμενος τῷ τυραννοῦντι τῶν Τούρκων μεγάλη τε καὶ σοβαρὰ φθεγγομένῳ καὶ ἀφορήτῳ ὄντι ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἥνικα εὖ ἐπραττε, τραπέντι δὲ πρὸς τοῦναντίον μετὰ τὴν ἦταν*, and *Ἐν εἶδει ψαλμοῦ περὶ Κερανοῦ τοῦ ἀγαρηνοῦ, ὁπότε ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν παντοδαπὸν ἀπέκτεινε θῆρα*, ed. J. LÖWENKLAU (= LEUNCLAVIUS), *Praecepta educationis regiae*, Basel 1578, pp. 446-448 and 448-451, respectively (reprinted in *Patrologia Graeca* 156, cols. 579C-582A and 581A-C, and *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue*, ed. E. LEGRAND, Paris 1893, pp. 103-104).

83. See BARKER, *Manuel II*, pp. 227-38.

84. *Musée du Louvre, Dept. des objets d'art*, M.R. 416 (olim Ivoires A. 53 0 10078). See D. NEBBIAI-DALLA GUARDA, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IX^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1985, pp. 35, 193.31, 273. The miniature is reproduced in BARKER, *Manuel II*, p. 101, fig. 5. See also I. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, vol. I, Text (Byzantina Neerlandica, 8), Leiden 1981, p. 68, no. 278 (with bibliography).

85. Reproduced in BARKER, *Manuel II*, p. 264, fig. 20; R. BARBOUR, *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400-1600*, Oxford 1981, p. 24, Plate 87; S. BERNARDINELLO, *Autografi greci e greco-latini in occidente*, Padua 1979; P. ELEUTERI and P. CANART, *Scrittura greca nell'Umanesimo Italiano*, Milan 1991, no. II, pp. 30-32; no. 6, p. 47.

86. Cod. *Parisinus graecus* 437, so far the earliest Greek manuscript preserving the Dionysian corpus. See H.A. OMONT, "Manuscrit des œuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827", in: *Revue des Études Grecques* 17 (1904), pp. 230-236; G.P.A. BROWN, *Politics and Patronage at the Abbey of Saint-Denis (814-898): the Rise of a Royal Patron Saint*, D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University 1989, pp. 209, 279-282, 324-329; M. MCCORMICK, "Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium

royal tokens of appreciation and friendship, these two manuscripts and their content symbolize the common tradition and intellectual dialogue between Byzantium and the West, an important area of European history explored in depth by the late Professor Deno John Geanakoplos, in whose memory the conference on which this volume is based was dedicated with profound admiration and respect.

down to the Accession of Charles the Bald", in: B. MCGINN and W. OTTEN (eds.), *Eriugena: East and West*, Notre Dame 1994, pp. 31-32.

GREEKS AT THE PAPAL CURIA IN THE FIFTEENTH
CENTURY: THE CASE OF GEORGE VRANAS,
BISHOP OF DROMORE AND ELPHIN

Jonathan HARRIS

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some Byzantine intellectuals took an extraordinarily positive view of Rome and the papacy. Demetrius Kydones, a Catholic convert, hailed those who acknowledged the authority of the pope as virtuous, prosperous, law-abiding and courageous Christians, and his pupil and fellow-convert, Manuel Chrysoloras, expressed his amazement at the devotion felt by Catholic Christians for the pope so that men and women from as far away as England would make arduous pilgrimage to the Holy See. For Kydones, the Church of Rome was "a storehouse of all wisdom, bringing forth companies of philosophers, surrounded by groups of theologians, adorned by monks of manifold virtue".¹

Unfortunately, the late medieval papal curia was not a collection of other worldly individuals given to contemplating higher things. It was more like a secular court and the centre of a vast bureaucracy. Many of its members were laymen and even the clergy were largely occupied with matters of state and administration. By the late fifteenth century cardinals were usually the sons of princes or the relatives of the pope and they lived in a style worthy of a monarch. As a centre of government and power, Rome was a place to get rich and the halls of the curia were thronged with diplomats, bankers, artists and soldiers who were all drawn there for political and financial reasons. Inevitably, with so much at stake, the curia was also a centre of political intrigue. The papacy changed hands quickly, for its incumbents were always elderly

1. DEMETRIUS KYDONES, *Apologia della propria fede*, in: *Notizie di Proculo e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota*, ed. G. MERCATI (Studi e Testi 56), Vatican City 1931, pp. 359-435, esp. 373; F. KIANKA, "The Apology of Demetrius Cydones: a fourteenth-century autobiographical source", in: *Byzantine Studies* 7 (1980), pp. 57-71, esp. 67; MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS, *Epistola ad Joannem Imperatorem*, in: J.-P. MIGNÉ (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 156, cols. 23-54, esp. 32.

men who everyone knew would die within ten years or so. When a new pope was elected, he brought with him a crowd of his own favourites and those left over from the previous pontificate might find themselves marginalised. There was constant manoeuvring as each party sought to ensure that the next pope was favourable to their interests.² Consequently those with rather more first-hand knowledge of the curia tended to be less complimentary than the optimistic Byzantines. Humanists of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century presented Rome not as a centre of religious life but of worldliness and depravity. Erasmus famously portrayed Pope Julius II (1503-1513) being turned away from the gates of Paradise by St Peter.³

Nevertheless, as the Byzantine world finally succumbed to Turkish domination, Rome remained an irresistible magnet for Greek intellectuals and converts who hoped to secure patronage and security. Foremost among them was Thomas Palaiologos, younger brother of the last emperor, Constantine XI. In 1461 he fled the Turkish conquest of the Morea and arrived in Rome as a humble supplicant to live out the rest of his days there on a papal pension. A number of distinguished scholars were also lured to Rome in the hope of advancement, such as Andronicus Kallistos, Theodore Gaza, John Argyropoulos, George of Trebizond and Demetrius Rhaoul Kavakes.⁴ Among these Byzantines in Rome, Cardinal Bessarion seems to be the obvious success story. Bessarion had led the pro-union party among the Byzantine delegation at the Council of Florence and was well rewarded when he moved to Rome in around 1440. As well as the cardinal priesthood of the Church of the Holy Apostles, Bessarion held, at one point or another, the bishoprics of Sabina, Tusculum, Thebes,

2. E. LEE, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Temi e Testi 26), Rome 1978, pp. 33-45; M. MALLETT, *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty*, London 1969, pp. 42-46; M. PELLEGRINI, "A turning point in the history of the factional system in the sacred college: the power of the pope and the cardinals in the age of Alexander VI", in: G. SIGNORETTO and M.A. VISCEGLIA (eds.), *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 8-30.

3. DESIDERIUS ERASMUS, *Julius excluded*, trans. M.J. HEATH, in: A.H.T. LEVI (ed.), in: *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 27, Toronto, Buffalo and London 1986, pp. 155-197, esp. 196; C.L. STINGER, "Roman humanist images of Rome", in: S. GENSINI (ed.), *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)*, Pisa 1994, pp. 15-38, esp. 23-24.

4. J. HARRIS, *Greek Emigrés in the West, 1400-1520*, Camberley 1995, pp. 29-31; W. MILLER, "Balkan exiles in Rome", in: IDEM, *Essays in the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, pp. 497-515.

Manfredonia, Mazzaro and Pamplona. In 1463 he became archbishop of Negroponte and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople. All these appointments brought with them considerable revenues making Bessarion a veritable prince of the Church.⁵

For many years, Bessarion's wealth and status meant that Byzantine exiles in Rome had a powerful patron. His house at the foot of the Quirinal near the Church of the Holy Apostles acted as their meeting point and Bessarion expended a great deal of money paying ransoms and providing pensions. Among the Byzantine exiles who benefited from his patronage at one time or another were the scholars Andronicus Kallistos, Theodore Gaza and George Hermonymos, the future bishops Athanasius Chalkeopoulos and Alexios Kelodanos, and two passing Constantinopolitan refugees, Thomas Eparchos and George Diplovatatzes.⁶ Bessarion also looked after the interests of Andreas, Manuel and Zoe, the children of Thomas Palaiologos, who arrived in Rome shortly after their father's death in May 1465. It was Bessarion who arranged for their education and took the lead in the negotiations which led to the marriage of Zoe to the Grand Duke of Moscow in the summer of 1472.⁷ Bessarion was not the only former Byzantine ecclesiastic in Rome to play this role. Both Cardinal Isidore, former archbishop of Kiev, and the patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory III, who had fled to Rome in 1450 to escape anti-unionist agitation in Constantinople, were entrusted with money by the pope to distribute

5. C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, vol. 2, Münster 1914, pp. 8, 135, 188, 211, 238, 249.

6. G. CAMMELLI, "Andronico Callisto", in: *La Rinascita* 5 (1942), pp. 104-21, 174-214, esp. 174-176; D.J. GEANAKOPOLOS, "Theodore Gaza, a Byzantine scholar of the Palaeologan 'renaissance' in the early Italian Renaissance (c.1400-1475)", in: IDEM, *Constantinople and the West: Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissance and the Byzantine and Roman Churches*, Madison WI 1989, pp. 68-90, esp. 77-81; M. KALATZI, "Are the two Greek scribes, George Hermonymos and Charitonymos Hermonymos, one and the same person?", in: *Thesaurismata* 26 (1996), pp. 105-118, esp. 117-118; G. PIGNATARO, "Un vescovo di Gerace alla corte di Cipro (1467-1468) e un matrimonio mancato", in: *Historica* 17 (1964), pp. 19-23; N.H. MINNICH, "Alexios Celadanos: a disciple of Bessarion in Renaissance Italy", in: *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 15 (1988), pp. 47-64; J. HARRIS, "Publicising the Crusade: English bishops and the Jubilee Indulgence of 1455", in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50 (1999), pp. 23-37, esp. 33; L. MOHLER, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Staatsmann und Humanist*, vol. 1, Paderborn 1923, pp. 249, 331-335; HARRIS, *Greek Émigrés*, pp. 102-103.

7. J. HARRIS, "A worthless prince? Andreas Palaeologus in Rome, 1465-1502", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 61 (1995), pp. 537-554, esp. 538.

among refugees.⁸ The sheer weight of resources available to Bessarion, however, ensured that he was the pre-eminent patron of Byzantines in Rome.

Yet if the Greek exiles believed that Rome and Bessarion's household offered some kind of secure and trouble-free paradise, they were mistaken. On 18 November 1472, Bessarion died at Ravenna while on the return journey from a legatine mission to France. Rumours quickly circulated that the elderly cardinal was the victim of intrigue at the curia. It was said that his former protégé, Francesco della Rovere, who had recently been elected as Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84), found it embarrassing to have the high-principled Bessarion around the curia disapproving of his every action. So he decided to get rid of his former patron by sending him as legate to France. It was effectively a death sentence since Bessarion's frail health was completely undermined by the difficult journey.⁹

Whether the rumour was true or not, and it may well not have been, the effect on Bessarion's Greek protégés was soon apparent. Sixtus IV was by no means the worst of the fifteenth-century popes, but he was a big spender. He embarked on several major building projects, including the renovation of several of the great basilicas, and at the same time he involved the papacy in another round of Italian wars. He was also a notorious nepotist who took every opportunity to provide for members of his extended family.¹⁰ The effect soon made itself felt on the pension given to Andreas and Manuel Palaiologos from the Apostolic Camera. It began to be paid irregularly and was progressively cut down. As matters got worse, Manuel left Rome and ultimately went to Constantinople where the Ottoman sultan proved to be more generous. Andreas' pension was then halved to take account of Manuel's departure and in November 1478 it plummeted again from 150 ducats a month to 104. The reason for the

8. HARRIS, *Greek Émigrés*, p. 101.

9. VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite*, ed. A. GRECO, vol. 1, Florence 1970, pp. 169-175, esp. 174; LEE, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 17-18, 29-31; J.W. O'MALLEY, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c.1450-1521*, Durham NC 1979, p. 211; P. OURLIAC, "Louis XI et le Cardinal Bessarion", in: *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France* 5 (1942-45), pp. 33-55, and reprinted in: IDEM, *Études d'histoire du droit médiéval*, Paris 1979, pp. 491-505; LEE, *Sixtus IV*, p. 31.

10. LEE, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 33-45, 123-150.

reduction, it was stated in the accounts, was the wars that were then in progress. This was a reference to Sixtus' struggle against Florence in alliance with Naples that had followed the failure of the Pazzi conspiracy to assassinate Lorenzo de' Medici in April 1478. As a result of the curtailment of his pension, Andreas spent the rest of his life in virtual poverty, travelling around the courts of Western Europe seeking gifts to supplement his pension and ultimately selling his title to the throne of Constantinople to the king of France.¹¹

Many other former protégés of the Greek cardinal seem to have left Rome in the years that followed. Theodore Gaza departed for Southern Italy in 1473, allegedly incensed by Sixtus' failure to pay him properly for his translation of Aristotle's *De Animalibus*, and went to live in Calabria where he died in around 1475.¹² Andronicus Kallistos had left Rome in 1471, while Bessarion was still alive, seemingly to take up a teaching position in Florence. The move was not a success, and in 1475 Kallistos travelled to Milan and then to London, where he is said to have died in poverty in 1476.¹³ George Hermonymos left Rome in 1473 when he was sent by Sixtus to London to negotiate the release of the archbishop of York, who had been imprisoned by the king of England. He never returned to Rome and ended up in Paris where he taught Greek to a number of rather ungrateful students.¹⁴

While Gaza, Kallistos and Hermonymos had not prospered in Rome without Bessarion's protection, not all of the Greek cardinal's Greek protégés fared so badly. The key to success was obtaining ecclesiastical office. This was the case with Athanasius Chalkeopoulos, who became bishop of Gerace in Calabria in 1461, no doubt with Bessarion's sponsorship, and remained so until his death in 1497.¹⁵ There is another example of a Greek who succeeded in making his fortune at the papal curia through ecclesiastical office, apparently surviving the coming and going of several popes and dying a wealthy man at an advanced age, without the help of a powerful Greek patron. He was not a cardinal or a member of the Byzantine royal family, but an

11. HARRIS, "Worthless prince", pp. 539-545.

12. LEE, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 171-174; GEANAKOPOLOS, "Theodore Gaza", pp. 87-88.

13. CAMMELLI, "Andronico Callisto", pp. 178-182, 202-213.

14. HARRIS, *Greek Emigrés*, pp. 143-147.

15. EUBEL, vol. 2, p. 159.

obscure individual called George Vranas, or Branas, as it is usually spelt in the western archival records.

Originally from Athens, Vranas is first known to have been in Rome in July 1477, some five years after the death of Bessarion, when Sixtus IV was still pope. He came as a refugee, claiming that his wife, two sons and five other people had been captured by the Turks and that he needed to raise money in order to pay their ransoms and secure their release. Sixtus did what many popes before him had done and issued a letter of indulgence promising that anyone who gave money to Vranas to raise the ransom would be entitled to up to five years remission of penance.¹⁶

From Rome, Vranas set out to wander around Europe collecting contributions. Greeks bearing letters of indulgence like this were not an uncommon sight during the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They are attested as far afield as Denmark and Spain, Scotland and Germany, and their indulgences all told much the same story of relatives in captivity and the need to raise a ransom. Indeed so common were they that suspicions were sometimes raised as to whether their claims were genuine. Michael Palaiologos, who was in the Low Countries in 1510, was taken for an Italian spy at Turnhout, and in spite of his claim that he was collecting alms to free captives and his possession of a papal indulgence, he was thrown into prison.¹⁷ George Vranas, however, does not seem to have experienced any such difficulties. By 1482, presumably after having traversed other European countries, he was in Ireland. There he was well treated by both the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities. He was formally given the protection of English law, which would have offered the right to seek justice in the Four Courts in Dublin.¹⁸ At the same time, Ottaviano de Spinelli, archbishop of Armagh (1478-1513), had Vranas'

16. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 777, f. 40; A. MERCATI, "Documenti pontifici su persone e cose del mar Egeo e di Cipro poco dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 20 (1954), pp. 85-136, esp. 128-129.

17. Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, B18834, no. 27231, ff. 307-307v (orig. B855, no. 27231); A. LE GLAY (ed.), *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790 (Nord)*, series B, vol. 1, pt. 2, Lille 1863, p. 63; HARRIS, *Greek Émigrés*, pp. 16-24.

18. E. TRESHAM (ed.), *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, Dublin 1827, p. 270. In general on the extension of English law to Ireland, see J.H. BAKER, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 3rd ed. London 1990, pp. 38-39.

papal indulgence copied into his episcopal register. This would suggest that the archbishop recognised its authenticity and gave the Greek permission to collect money in his province.¹⁹

Even so, there is something very perplexing as to why Vranas should wander so far from the beaten track and take the trouble of making the difficult journey to Ireland. The official reason, contained in the indulgence, was that Vranas was gathering alms to pay the ransom of his family. Yet Ireland was hardly a country that was renowned for its wealth and to add to the mystery, at some point during his stay, Vranas, for reasons that can only be guessed at, decided to take monastic vows. He became a canon of the Augustinian priory of All Saints in Dublin.²⁰ It is difficult to see how Vranas could have admitted to having a wife now that he was in holy orders. It may have been that he had received news that she was no longer alive and this might have prompted him to enter the priory. That is impossible to prove one way or another, but there is a possible reason for Vranas' decision to go to Ireland that will be advanced later on.

In spite of his monastic vows, Vranas did not remain in Dublin. In the spring of 1483, he was back in Rome, having possibly travelled there in the company of Archbishop Ottaviano. Once again he came to the attention of Sixtus IV, but this time in quite a different way. On 18 April 1483 Sixtus appointed him bishop of an Irish see, that of Dromore in the north of the island.²¹ The pope was so keen to appoint Vranas that he was prepared to overlook the fact that his candidate was only in very minor clerical orders at the time of his appointment. That lowly status was soon remedied. On 20 April, Vranas was made a subdeacon, then a deacon on the 23rd and a priest

19. M.A. SUGHI (ed.), *Registrum Octaviani alias Liber Niger: The Register of Octavian de Palatio, Archbishop of Armagh 1478-1513*, vol. 1, Dublin 1999, p. 96, vol. 2, Dublin 1999, pp. 472-473.

20. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 827, ff. 273-275 and Oblig. et Solut. 83, f. 111v (orig. 84v); J.A. TWEMLOW (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, vol. 13, 1471-1484, Part II*, London 1955, p. 826. On All Saints Priory, see A. GWYNN and R.N. HANCOCK, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, London 1970, pp. 171-172.

21. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 827, ff. 273-275, and Oblig. et Solut. 83, f. 111v (orig. 84v); TWEMLOW, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, vol. 13, Part II*, p. 826; EUBEL, vol. 2, p. 146; D. MCROBERTS, "The Greek bishop of Dromore", in: *Innes Review* 28 (1977), pp. 22-38, esp. 24.

on the 25th. Finally he was consecrated as bishop in a chapel of the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso on 4 May 1483.²²

At first sight it seems very odd that an Athenian Greek should be made an Irish bishop. Part of the reason no doubt lies in the unenviable nature of the appointment. Dromore was a remote and wretchedly impoverished see which could not provide a fraction of the rich revenues that bishoprics in Italy would yield. It covered an area where there was constant conflict between English settlers and Irish warlords and there was no settled secular government. Consequently no archbishop of Armagh had visited the see between 1417 and 1471 because it was considered too dangerous and over recent years Dromore had often been without a bishop at all.²³ There was, however, another factor. Irish sees such as Dromore were frequently used as what might be termed appointments of convenience. The bishop never actually visited his see, but he made use of the title to pursue his career elsewhere. Between 1410 and 1433, for example, an English Benedictine called John Chourles was bishop of Dromore. He spent that period in Canterbury, where he acted as a suffragan, doing the routine jobs to which the archbishop was too busy to attend. Indeed, by the time Chourles died three more bishops of Dromore had been appointed by the pope, all of whom worked as suffragans in English or Welsh dioceses, a much safer and more lucrative occupation than looking after the souls of the people of Dromore.²⁴

George Vranas' appointment to Dromore was no different. He does not seem to have returned to Ireland immediately after his consecration in Rome, for there is no record of his being there in the mid-1480s. In August 1485 he was certainly in Scotland, working as a suffragan at Arbroath. He is recorded as having consecrated a number of altars and ecclesiastical buildings in the town on behalf of the archbishop of St. Andrews.²⁵ He appears in the same role in England some years later.

22. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Formatori 7, f. 89v; W.M. BRADY, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A.D. 1400-1875*, vol. 1, Rome 1876, pp. XXV-VI.

23. A. GWYNN, *The Medieval Province of Armagh*, Dundalk 1946, pp. 141-149; A. COSGROVE, "Ireland beyond the Pale, 1399-1460", in: A. COSGROVE (ed.), *A New History of Ireland. II: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534*, Oxford 1987, pp. 569-590, esp. 584.

24. J. WATT, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, Dublin 1972, pp. 192-193; COSGROVE, "Ireland beyond the Pale", p. 587.

25. C. INNIS (ed.), *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc: Registrum Abbatie de Aberbrothoc* (Bannatyne Club 86), vol. 2, Edinburgh 1856, pp. 226-227; D. MACGREGOR, "Some fragments

In the spring of 1497 he was in London, where he performed several ordinations for Bishop Thomas Savage (1496-1501). The following year found him in Worcester, carrying out similar services on behalf of the absentee Italian bishop, Giovanni de'Gigli (1497-1498).²⁶ There is no evidence that he ever visited his own diocese at all. During the period of his tenure, papal letters concerning routine matters were invariably addressed to the archdeacons and canons rather than to the bishop.²⁷ To be fair, his absenteeism was in no way unusual by the standards of the time. During the same period, the diocese of Worcester was provided with a series of Italian bishops who seldom set foot in England, let alone in their see. Their function was to represent the king of England at the Papal Curia and the bishopric merely served to furnish them with the recompense for their labours.²⁸ For Vranas, his elevation as bishop was an investment, one for which he had had to pay out some thirty florins in service taxes.²⁹ He had to recoup that investment by accessing other sources of revenue.

Yet unlike John Chourles and his other predecessors, even if he never went to Dromore, George Vranas did at least ultimately return to Ireland. A note in Archbishop Ottaviano's register implies that he was there by the summer of 1487 and in July 1489 he attended a synod of the province of Armagh.³⁰ That does not mean, however, that Vranas was there to attend to the routine affairs of his diocese.

of ancient mss, discovered in the bindings of old books in the university library, Aberdeen", in: *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society* 4 (1897-1905), pp. 6-9, esp. 8.

26. Guildhall Library, London, ms 9531/8, 3rd series, ff. 1v-3v; Hereford and Worcester Record Office, Worcester, 716.093 (BA 2648/7 iii), ff. 25-26; McROBERTS, "Greek bishop", p. 27.

27. J.A. TWEMLOW (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, vol. 14, 1484-1492*, London 1960, p. 297; M.J. HAREN (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, vol. 15, Innocent VIII, Lateran Registers, 1484-1492*, Dublin 1978, pp. 280, 434, 439-440, 451-452.

28. M. CREIGHTON, "The Italian bishops of Worcester", in: *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers* 20 (1889-90), pp. 94-118; C.H. CLOUGH, "Three Gigli of Lucca in England during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: diversification in a family of mercery merchants", in: L. VISSER-FUCHS (ed.), *Tant d'Emprises – So Many Undertakings: Essays in Honour of Anne F. Sutton, The Ricardian* 13 (2003), pp. 121-147, esp. 138-147.

29. Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale I, Quietanze 1131, f. 149 (orig. 136); BRADY, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. 1, p. 298.

30. SUGHI, *Registrum Octaviani*, vol. 1, pp. 102, 131, 143, vol. 2, pp. 503, 682, 743.

The synod of 1489 was held in the town of Ardee, some way to the south of Dromore and within the area of English settlement known as the Pale. Conditions there were rather more peaceful and settled than they were to the north and it is likely that Vranas remained inside the Pale for most of his time in Ireland.³¹ His activities there were connected with a particular project which probably explains why he was made an Irish bishop in the first place.

Sixtus IV, who had appointed Vranas to Dromore, had a favourite charity, the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Sassia. Founded by Pope Innocent III in 1201 on a site close to the Vatican, the hospital's task was to tend the sick and care for foundlings. There was also a confraternity whose members donated money to sustain the hospital's work. Branches of the hospital were established throughout Europe and the confraternity proved very popular, attracting a multi-national membership.³² When Sixtus became pope, he revived the confraternity, which had languished somewhat in recent years, and had the hospital buildings entirely renovated, commissioning the magnificent Sala Sistina which was decorated throughout with frescoes.³³ Sixtus seems also to have planned to extend the confraternity to parts of Europe in which hitherto it had been unrepresented. Two months after elevating Vranas to bishop, he appointed him Vicar Commissary and Factor of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit with the power of enrolling new members and to raise funds for the construction of a hospital in Ireland. The new bishop was equipped with a seal bearing the words 'Sig. Georgii Branni Vicarii Generalis S. Spiritus' with which to stamp his authority.³⁴

31. On the Pale, see J. LYDON, *Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, Dublin 1973, pp. 130-131; A. COSGROVE, "The emergence of the Pale, 1399-1447", in: A. COSGROVE (ed.), *A New History of Ireland. II: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534*, Oxford 1987, pp. 533-556.

32. P. EGIDI (ed.), *Liber Fraternitatis di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, in: *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia romana*, ed. P. EGIDI, vol. 2 (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 45), Rome 1914, pp. 107-446; P. DE ANGELIS, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia*, vol. 1, Rome 1960, pp. 205-224; IDEM, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia e le sue filiali nel mondo*, Rome 1958; I. ORIGO, "The Hospital of the Holy Spirit", in: *History Today* 9 (1959), pp. 252-261.

33. LEE, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 137-142; E.D. HOWE, *Art and Culture at the Sistine Court: Platina's 'Life of Sixtus IV' and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito* (Studi e Testi 422), Vatican City 2005, pp. 73-99; DE ANGELIS, *Ospedale di Santo Spirito*, vol. 2, pp. 104-110.

34. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 948, ff. 55v-56v; A.P. FULLER (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, vol. 16,

The connection with the hospital of the Holy Spirit might not only explain why Vranas was appointed bishop of Dromore. It may also provide a clue as to why he had been in Ireland in the first place. In July 1483, not so long after Vranas' consecration, Archbishop Ottaviano of Armagh wrote from his diocese to one of the cardinals to complain about the selling of indulgences in Ireland for, among other causes, the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome. Those dispensing the indulgences had persuaded many of the uneducated peasants that if they paid the required fee they could then commit even the most heinous crime with impunity. Curiously, Ottaviano identified two groups who were responsible for hawking the indulgences in this way, Franciscan Observantist friars and Greek laymen.³⁵ The latter can hardly have included Vranas, who was no longer a layman and who had not had time to reach Ireland and begin his work for Sixtus' hospital. Yet it is curious that Ottaviano should single out Greeks. It is quite possible therefore that Vranas' association with Sixtus IV and with the hospital of the Holy Spirit predates his appointment as bishop of Dromore and the selling of indulgences for the hospital was behind his first appearance in Ireland in 1482. The Greeks complained about by Ottaviano may have been companions of his who had stayed behind while Vranas had travelled to Rome.

There may have been good reason why Greeks were to be found selling indulgences for the Roman hospital, for several prominent exiles from the East had been associated with it in the past. Cardinal Bessarion had become a member of the confraternity in 1446, long before Sixtus revived it. In March 1478, Charlotte Lusignan, queen of Cyprus, who was descended from the Palaiologoi on her mother's side, was also enrolled as a member.³⁶ When the Despot Thomas Palaiologos had fled to Rome in 1461, Pope Pius II (1458-1464) had

Alexander VI (1492-1503), Lateran Registers, Part I: 1492-1498, Dublin 1986, pp. 147-148; J. WARE, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae Commentarius a Prima Gentis Hibernicae ad Fidem Christianam Conversione ad nostra usque Tempora*, Dublin 1665, p. 93.

35. SUGHI, *Registrum Octaviani*, vol. 1, p. 120, vol. 2, pp. 617-618, at 617: "hiis diebus tantus existit ad Hiberniam indulgentiarum plenarie remissionis omnium peccatorum ac anni Iubilei et aliarum diversarum eciam hospitalis Sancti Spiritus in Saxia de urbe conflutus, quarum execucio interdum Grecis laicis, de quorum conversacione et cultu hic aliquando dubitatur, interdum fratribus ordinis Minorum sancti Francisci de Observancia nuncupati, quos pro monstro in Hibernia supradicta peccunias recipere ...".

36. EGIDI, *Liber Fratemitatis*, pp. 115, 143.

given him lodging in the hospital and it is likely that his children lived there too, for Andreas and Zoe are both depicted in the frescoes that adorn the Sala Sistina.³⁷ It may well have been, therefore, that the hospital played a role in housing other destitute refugees. That is certainly suggested in a draft letter of Archbishop Ottaviano on the selling of indulgences in Ireland in which he links indulgences for the crusade and the redemption of prisoners from the Turks with those for the Roman hospital.³⁸

It might have been that George Vranas himself and members of his family were among those refugees who benefited from the hospitality of this charity. An entry in the hospital's *Liber Fraternitatis* may suggest that. It records that in May 1482 a priest called 'Laurencius' was enrolled in the confraternity and that he was the son of George 'de Achina'. Given the tendency of 't' to be represented as 'c' in medieval Latin documents, this could be read as 'de Athina' or 'of Athens'. This Laurence might have been one of the sons of George who had been a prisoner but had been ransomed and brought to Rome, where he might have been lodged in the hospital.³⁹

Whatever the truth of Laurence's identity, Vranas proved to be very active in promoting the cause of the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Ireland. Irish names, such as James Comford and Raymond Ginte of Waterford diocese, and John of Limerick, start to appear among the members of the confraternity. It is interesting too that it was also during Vranas' tenure of Dromore, in November 1494, that the self-proclaimed ruler of Ireland, Henry VII of England (1485-1509), became a member of the confraternity along with his wife Elizabeth, although there is no way of knowing whether the Athenian bishop was involved in that.⁴⁰

37. PIUS II (AENEAS SILVIUS PICCOLOMINI), *Commentaries*, trans. F.A. GRAGG and L.C. GABEL, Northampton MA 1936-57, pp. 377-378; V. FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma*, vol. 6, Rome 1875, no. 1286, p. 416; P. DE ANGELIS, *L'architetto e gli affreschi di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, Rome 1961, pp. 265-266.

38. SUGHI, *Registrum Octaviani*, vol. 2, pp. 616-617: "... tam ad opus cruciate quam ad redemptionem captivorum per Turcos, et ad Hospitale sancti spiritus in saxia de Urbe ...".

39. EGIDI, *Liber Fraternitatis*, p. 334. On 'Athina' for Athens, see: J.G.T. GRAESSE, F. BENEDICT, and H. & S.-C. PLECHL, *Orbis Latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, vol. 1, Braunschweig 1972, p. 168.

40. EGIDI, *Liber Fraternitatis*, pp. 141, 314.

As far as building the hospital was concerned, progress was slow. It had still not come into being by 1493 when Vranas had to secure a renewal of his licence from the new pope, Alexander VI (1492-1503). Papal indulgences for the new hospital were then publicised throughout Ireland.⁴¹ In spite of the delay, it would seem that the project was ultimately successful and the Irish hospital was finally constructed at Trim on the river Boyne near Dublin, well within the Pale. There is, however, no contemporary information about this institution and its existence is only known at all from a document from the following century. In 1591, after the English Reformation, the master of the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome was making efforts to retrieve the confraternity's confiscated property in England and Ireland. He included on his list the hospital and house of the Holy Spirit at Trim in the diocese of Meath, which he specifically stated had been founded on the orders of Sixtus IV by George Vranas, bishop of Dromore.⁴² The buildings of the hospital still stood at that time and probably well into the seventeenth century when James Usher, archbishop of Armagh (1625-1656), recorded that the people of Trim called one of their ecclesiastical buildings 'the Greek church'. It is likely that this building was the former hospital and that its name reflected a dim memory of its founder, who was, after all, known to the Irish of his day as *espoc gregag*, the Greek bishop.⁴³ Even after the building disappeared, the site close to the Navan Gate in the town's walls was still visible at the end of the nineteenth century and a small bronze crucifix of the fifteenth or sixteenth century was found there. Since then the area has been built over and all traces of what might have been Vranas' hospital have been lost.⁴⁴

In all this, George Vranas comes across as a dedicated servant of Sixtus IV and his successors who carried out his duties faithfully in

41. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 948, ff. 55v-56v; A.P. FULLER (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: vol. 16*, pp. 147-148; SUGHI, *Registrum Octavianiani*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 135, vol. 2, pp. 241, 706-708.

42. DE ANGELIS, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia e le sue filiali nel mondo*, pp. 221, 245-246.

43. A.M. FREEMAN (ed.), *The Annals of Connacht*, Dublin 1944, p. 675; J. USHER, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, Dublin 1632, p. 132.

44. E. EVANS, *Trim: Its Ecclesiastical Ruins, its Castle etc.*, Dublin 1886, pp. 10-11; J. HEALY, "Notice of a crucifix found at Trim", in: *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 10 (1900), p. 176.

conditions that cannot have been easy. At the same time, however, he was also climbing the career ladder. In April 1499 he was translated to the see of Elphin, although the position seems to have been vacated for him by the previous incumbent, Nicholas O'Flanagan, as early as September 1494. Elphin was well outside the English Pale, but it was a much more settled and peaceful see than Dromore and therefore a great deal richer, yielding an annual income of 150 ducats.⁴⁵ Again, it is extremely unlikely that Vranas ever went to his diocese. The routine tasks of its administration were delegated to others and, as in the case of Dromore, papal letters were always addressed to the dean and canons rather than to the bishop.⁴⁶ One of the canons of Elphin, Cornelius O'Kelly (or Ocellyd, as he is called in papal letters), seems to have carried out some of the bishop's functions. In 1523, for example, when a provincial synod was called at Galway, Cornelius attended in the bishop's place.⁴⁷ By that time, Elphin had acquired another bishop, in spite of the fact that Vranas was still alive. In 1508, Christopher Fisher was appointed to the see, followed by John Maxey in 1525. Maxey adhered to the established practise of never visiting his see and he worked as a suffragan in York.⁴⁸

Given his absenteeism, it is not surprising that Vranas was not a very popular bishop of Elphin. Irish chronicles comment sourly that he was no great asset to humanity.⁴⁹ Such hostility is unlikely to have worried him too much, because by 1525 Vranas had long since ceased to live in Ireland and had moved to Scotland. He now resided in

45. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Acta Camerarii 1, f. 95v (orig. 73v) and Oblig. Communes 12, f. 32v; SUGHI, *Registrum Octaviani*, vol. 1, p. 138, vol. 2, pp. 720-722; BRADY, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. 2, p. 197; A.P. FULLER (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, vol. 17, part I, Alexander VI (1492-1503), Lateran Registers, Part II: 1495-1503*, Dublin 1994, pp. 378-380; EUBEL, vol. 2, p. 150; MCROBERTS, "Greek bishop", pp. 28-29.

46. FULLER, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, vol. 17, part I*, pp. 517, 582, 613.

47. M.J. HAREN (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, vol. 18, Pius III and Julius II, Vatican Registers, 1503-1513, Lateran Registers, 1503-1508*, Dublin 1989, p. 454; J. LYNCH, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, 2 vols., Dublin 1944, vol. 2, p. 230.

48. E.B. FRYDE, D.E. GREENWAY, S. PORTER, and I. ROY, *Handbook of British Chronology*, London 1986, p. 353.

49. FREEMAN, *Annals of Connacht*, p. 675; W.M. HENNESSY (ed.), *The Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from AD 1014 to AD 1590*, vol. 2, London 1871, pp. 272-275.

Edinburgh, where he may have acted as suffragan, although there is no evidence for it. In any case, he had another source of income in the properties which he had acquired in Edinburgh. He owned a number of these, including a chapel, some houses and a plot of vacant land on Castlehill.⁵⁰ He seems to have enjoyed a long and prosperous retirement, dying at an advanced age, probably in 1529. This date can be deduced from the fact that the deceased bishop of Elphin's property was granted by the king of Scotland to one of his subjects on 27 December 1529.⁵¹

Vranas' success takes some accounting for. After all, he was a complete outsider, a penniless refugee, who none the less managed to mount the career ladder and survive the cut-throat politics of the curia. The answer may well be that he knew how the system worked. To take one example, during the fifteenth century, the volume of business passing through the papal curia had grown so vast that the practice grew up that some concessions could be obtained directly from the pope's secretaries. Rather than going through the tedious process of having a bull drawn up and signed by the pope, the same routine matter could be dealt with in a short letter drawn up by a secretary without the pope's signature (*per breve absque signatura*). Obviously you had to reward the secretary, but it was a good deal cheaper than getting a bull.⁵² In the later fifteenth century this system was only slowly developing and not everyone knew that you could get what you wanted so easily. George Vranas, however, did know. In the autumn of 1492, when he was looking for a papal confirmation and indult connected with his work for the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Ireland, he obtained the necessary letters from Rome. The copies of these letters in the papal registers show that they were expedited "per breve".⁵³

50. J.B. PAUL and J.M. THOMSON (eds.), *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1513-1546*, Edinburgh 1883, no. 872, p. 191, no. 1300, p. 284; JOHN FOULAR, *The Protocol Book*, ed. W. MCLEOD, M. WOOD, and G. DONALDSON (Scottish Record Society, 64, 72, 74, 75, vol. 2 & 3), Edinburgh 1953, p. 235; MCROBERTS, "Greek bishop", pp. 30-31.

51. PAUL-THOMSON, *Register of the Great Seal*, no. 872, p. 191; MCROBERTS, "Greek bishop", pp. 30-32.

52. P. PARTNER, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance*, Oxford 1990, pp. 27-28; G. BARRACLOUGH, *The Medieval Papacy*, London 1968, pp. 188-190.

53. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Suppl. 963, ff. 191v-192, 964, f. 264 (orig. 266); A.P. FULLER (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, vol. 17, part II, Alexander VI (1492-1503), *Vatican Registers, 1492-1503*, Dublin 1994, p. cxxxiv.

To that extent, therefore, Vranas was an insider. Though he was far from Rome, he needed the curia to provide him with his authority and ultimately to promote him to Elphin. Therefore he had to play the system, even at long distance. His career shows just how far a Greek with no powerful backers could go in the Roman Church, if he did just that. Everything he did shows that he had learned the system well and consequently, unlike Andronicus Kallistos and Andreas Palaiologos, he was able to maintain his comfortable position to the last.

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